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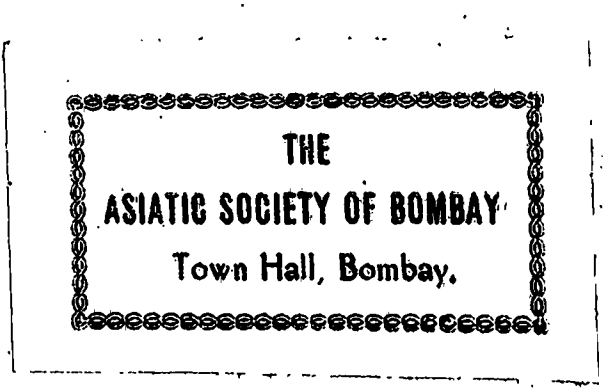


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# EGYPT'S

# PLACE IN UNIVERSAL

# HISTORY:

287

AN HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION IN FIVE BOOKS,

48784

BY

CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D.Ph. & D.C.L.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY CHARLES H. COTTRELL, ESQ., M.A.

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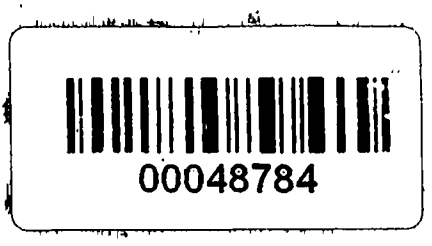

TO

# FREDERIC WILLIAM THE FOURTH

## KING OF PRUSSIA

THE ENLIGHTENED FRIEND OF ANTIQUITY AND LOVER OF RESEARCH

THE FIRST GERMAN PRINCE

WHO

SENT A SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION TO EGYPT ÆTHIOPIA AND SINAI

FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXAMINING

THEIR MOST ANCIENT HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

THE SOVEREIGN

WHO

SECURED LEISURE AND INSPIRED COURAGE TO UNDERTAKE THIS WORK

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MASTER AND PATRON

THESE

FIRST FRUITS

OF HIS RESEARCHES IN ANCIENT HISTORY

ARE

WITH GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

Dedicated

BY

THE AUTHOR

# PREFACE.

TWENTY years have now elapsed since I became convinced by Champollion's lectures and writings, as well as by my own examination of the Egyptian monuments at Rome, and particularly the obelisks, that the great discovery of the Hieroglyphical System would prove to be of the highest importance for the ancient history of Mankind. In analysing its bearing upon the course of historical research pursued in Germany and upon my own studies, three questions presented themselves. Is the Chronology of Egypt, as embodied in the Dynasties of Manetho, capable of restoration, wholly or in part, by means of the monuments and the names of its Kings? Will the Egyptian language enable us to establish the position of the Egyptians, as a nation, in primeval history, and especially their connexion with the tribes of the Aramaic and Indo-Germanic stock? Lastly, may we hope, by persevering in a course of Egyptian research based, in the strictest sense of the word, on historical principles, to obtain for the History of Mankind a more sure and unfailing foundation than we at present possess?

The scientific assumptions and views with which I set out in the solution of these three questions were, in the main, as follows.

The Roman researches of Niebuhr had proved to me the uncertainty of the chronological system of the

Greeks, beyond the Olympiads; and that even Eusebius's chronicle, as preserved in the Armenian translation, furnishes merely isolated, although important, data for the Assyrian and Babylonian chronology beyond the era of Nabonassar. Again, as regards the Jewish computation of time, the study of Scripture had long convinced me, that there is in the Old Testament no connected chronology prior to Solomon. All that now passes for a system of ancient chronology beyond that fixed point, is the melancholy legacy of the 17th and 18th centuries; a compound of intentional deceit and utter misconception of the principles of historical research. Egyptian history is the only one which possesses contemporary monuments of those primeval ages, and at the same time offers points of contact with the primitive tribes of Asia, especially the Jewish, from the latest up to the earliest times. It is here, if anywhere, that materials are to be gathered for the foundation of a chronology of the oldest history of nations. Thus much for the first question.

German philology, to any one who has cultivated it since Frederic Schlegel, must necessarily present the great truth, that a method has been found of restoring the genealogy of mankind, through the medium of language; not by means of forced, isolated etymologies, but by taking a large and comprehensive view of the organic and indestructible fabric of individual tongues, according to the family to which they belong. Viewing the question upon the principles established by those researches, I found a comparison of the Coptic language with such roots and forms of the Old Egyptian as were then discovered, sufficient to remove from my mind all doubt as to the Asiatic origin of the Egyptians, and their affinity with the Semitic or Aramaic stock. But I had, moreover, long arrived

at the conclusion, from a more general study of language, that the civilisation of the human race is principally due to two great families of nations, whose connexion is a fact as much beyond the possibility of mistake, as is their early separation. What we call universal history necessarily therefore appeared to me, from this point of view, as the history of two races, who, under a variety of names, represent the development of the human mind. Of these, the Indo-Germanic seemed to me the one which carried on the main stream of history; the Aramaic, that which crossed it, and formed the episodes in the divine drama. It had struck me, therefore, as a convenient course, and in our time in particular a most appropriate one, to make the structure of the language of these two parent stocks the basis of all research into the origin of the human race, and the laws of its development.

Proceeding upon these views, I had endeavoured, between the years 1812 and 1815, to strike out a plan for discovering the strictly historical principle in philology, that is to say, the principle which explains the gradual development of the phenomena. The result was a full conviction that this principle was discoverable. In order to test my views on the subject in a field where the facts are incontrovertible, I first undertook to analyse the formation of the Romanic languages. Here the main point was to discover the general law by which new languages are formed out of a declining one, through a change in the ideas of the people, and usually also by the introduction of new materials. I then turned my attention to the history of the Scandinavian languages. There my principal object was to find a universal formula for the relation which a colonial language (like the Icelandic) bears, on the one side, to the old tongue of the mother-country, and on the other to

the modern idioms which there may have entirely superseded it. The old form of the language may thus be preserved in the colony, owing to the interruption of its progressive natural development, whilst in the mother-country, in the course of national vicissitudes, new formations took place, by a gradual wearing out of flexions, and generalisation of the meaning of the old roots, according to the ordinary rules of the development of language. Now the Icelandic appeared to me to possess immense importance for the solution of the general problem, as being identical with the Old Norse, and as forming the point of departure for the Swedish and Danish, which in Scandinavia have succeeded that old idiom. In order to make a practical use of this method and the formulas discovered by means of it, I had likewise sought at an early stage of my inquiries for a lever applicable to universal history; for what is true in a small circle must also be so in a larger and the largest. In consequence of the unexpected light thrown on history by the discoveries in hieroglyphics, the Egyptian language at last appeared to me to offer such a lever. It clearly stands between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic; for its forms and roots cannot be explained by either of them singly, but are evidently a combination of the two. If, then, it be of Asiatic origin, and consequently introduced by colonisation into the valley of the Nile, where it became naturalised, it will enable us to pronounce upon the state of the Asiatic language from which it sprang, and consequently upon an unknown period of mental development in primeval Asia. Thus much as to the assumptions from which I started upon the second of the three questions.

It is manifestly useless to attempt a satisfactory restoration of the oldest national histories, or to establish the true philosophy of primeval history on a solid

basis, before the chronology of the historic ages is settled, and the laws of language in the ante-historical are defined. Will not Egyptian Chronology and Philology, however, impart a new element of vitality to both these departments, and do they not offer very important points of contact with the ancient and most ancient national history of Asia?

Again, do not the Egyptian Monuments possess this paramount superiority over all others, that their inscriptions and dates remove all doubt as to the course of the development of art; the epochs of which it is so important to determine, and which nevertheless, as regards individual monuments, are everywhere else mere matters of conjecture, not excepting even those of Greece? Egyptian art is clearly as old as the history of the nation, and a highly important phenomenon in general history. The chronology being settled, will not vestiges of the Egyptian Mythology enable us to draw new and valuable conclusions as to the history of religious traditions and speculations, not only in Egypt, but in the world in general?

Lastly, and above all, can it not be demonstrated, mainly through the instrumentality of Egypt, that Language, the immediate type and organ of the mind, ranks as the oldest authentic record of mental development in the primordial epochs of the human race? At the very outset of my historical aspirations, I had as strong a conviction of the existence of laws by which the development of the human mind is governed in all its branches, as of the impossibility of discovering them by research without theory, or by theory without research. Winckelmann assumed the existence of such laws in the history of art, and he discovered them. Herder, in like manner, had a forecast of their existence in the universal history of mankind. Since the days of

those philosophers and Kant, German science, consciously and unconsciously, has had a manifest tendency to enlarge the sphere of observation as regards the objects both of religious and natural knowledge. This it has done by the joint aid of philology, history, and philosophy; from the want of which combination endless misunderstandings and confusion occurred in the last two centuries. We may hope, therefore, to attain at least to an approximate solution of the problem we propose, now that the sphere of history has been so considerably extended beyond the limits assigned to it in those early days of Egyptian research.

Starting with these views and assumptions, I resolved to pursue the Egyptian inquiry independently. My attention was necessarily directed, in the first place, to the Chronology, the key to all further advancement. Here, however, I could not but be aware that success must depend in a great measure upon the method adopted. The point at issue was, the application of the principles of criticism, by which a scientific study of history is guided, to the philological sources of Egyptian chronology. This, for reasons not difficult to explain, had never been hitherto attempted; as indeed it never has been, thoroughly, to the present hour. I very soon saw that the systems of chronology invented, or adopted, at the moment of the discovery of the great historical names of Psammetichus, Sesak, and Ramesses, were utterly untenable. The tablet of Abydos stimulated and encouraged me to attempt a solution of the contradictions between the monuments and Manetho. It was in December, 1832, that I first succeeded in finding the key to the restoration of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, which produced such immediate satisfactory results as increased my ardour in pursuing the same course. The following years completed the restoration

of the chronology of the New Empire from the 18th to the 30th Dynasty. In 1834 I discovered in the list of Eratosthenes the key to the restoration of the first 12 Dynasties of Manetho, and was thereby enabled to fix the length of the Old Empire. These two points being settled, the next step obviously was, to fill up the chasm between the Old and New Empires, which is commonly called the Hyksos Period; and, after the preliminary steps had been taken by a critical examination of the different authorities, I commenced in the year 1835 the chronological portion of my inquiry, proceeding from the earlier down to later times, whereas the inquiry itself was necessarily conducted in the reverse direction. In all main points the chronological result of my labours was the same as is now presented to the public in the first three books of this work, after it has been tested nearly twelve years.

During this process, however, I found so many chasms in the monuments, that I should never have had the resolution to enter systematically into all the details, had not my acquaintance with Lepsius, in the spring of 1836, been the means of introducing me to a variety of hitherto unknown treasures. These consisted of Egyptian monuments hidden in various European collections, numerically very considerable, and of the highest importance as furnishing corrections of, as well as additions to, our previous knowledge. The most invaluable of all was the friendly and zealous assistance I received from himself. My connexion with him I consider as the most fortunate of the many favourable circumstances which have attended me during the course of my Egyptian studies. From that time forward, I thought seriously of investigating thoroughly all the three questions above alluded to; and determined to run the risk of having my discoveries anticipated by others, rather

than publish them precipitately and in an incomplete state. With this view, I collected voluminous materials for the historical synchronisms in the years 1836 and 1837, and commenced the preliminary researches relative to the language and mythology.

At the very beginning of January, 1838, when a crisis in the diplomatic relations between Prussia and the Court of Rome produced a temporary cessation of my official duties, and created in me the want of an absorbing mental occupation, I commenced writing the work which I now present to the public. It advanced so rapidly that the chronological researches requisite for the second, third, and fourth books, the greater part of them at least, were prepared in the first three months, and communicated to some of my friends, substantially in the shape in which they have been published after an interval of seven years. The greater part of the mythological portion also, which forms the sixth section of this volume, was composed at that time, although completed subsequently at Munich.

An examination, during this and the following year, of the treasures of the British Museum, and especially of the inscriptions and works of art found in and near the great Pyramids, furnished me with the means and desire of making many additions to, and of re-writing a portion of, the work. It still bore in many parts too evident traces of the preliminary researches and investigations made during its composition. At Berne, in January, 1841, I set about remodelling it, owing to the discoveries made by Lepsius in the Royal Papyrus at Turin, and his examination of other monuments. With the exception of some slight alterations, the first two chapters of the third book were then written, in the shape in which they are now published. The chronological tables of Egyptian history, and its points of

synchronism in the Jewish, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian histories, which I had arranged for my own use, were likewise completed at that time, in the form in which they will appear in a subsequent volume.

The finishing stroke was put to the second book in December, 1842, when Perring's important work, a continuation of General Vyse's description of the Pyramids of Gizeh, appeared. The results which it contained of the opening and examination of the other groups of Pyramids furnished me, quite unexpectedly, with much new and valuable matter in proof of my assertion, that they are the tombs of the Kings of the Old Empire, and the most important monuments of its grandeur. The printing of the second book, which commenced in the beginning of 1843, was concluded towards the close of that year.

Lepsius's mission to Egypt, in September, 1842, warned me, on the one hand, against offering a precipitate judgment upon those points about which doubts existed, owing to the want of monuments; and, on the other, held out an inducement to publish all that was known for certain upon sufficient monumental evidence. The discovery of new monuments was not likely to furnish additional materials for completing or correcting the chronological system I had laid down, except in the case of the Old Empire; and that, indeed, merely with respect to the Pyramids of Gizeh, Sakkarah, and the Fayum.

This was the very reason, however, why it seemed desirable to make known in what state the inquiry was when he went to Egypt, and to insert in its proper place any new discovery which had an important bearing on chronology or history, while the work was in the press. All the rest I left to Lepsius, to digest and publish. On the other hand, it seemed a matter of some consequence, to

lose no time in showing the general nature of the system of Egyptian chronology which I worked out as long ago as 1833, and which, upon the whole, is the same as that adopted by Lepsius.

Another argument in favour of this course was, to create a stimulus to the study of Egyptian science. Nothing is to be expected for this portion of philology, until the sympathy of all the students of history is enlisted in it. This, however, implies two things: first, the arrangement and exposition of every thing which has been, or can be, obtained by means of the hieroglyphics, for Egyptian and general chronology and national history; secondly, an analysis of the language and writing, as well as mythology, of the Egyptians, carried out in an historical sense. There is a want of both, not only in Germany, but everywhere else. According to my views, and the plan of this work, such an exposition ought to be given immediately after the general criticism of the authorities, inasmuch as it comprises facts anterior to chronology, and connected with the primeval ages of the world.

In working out the first volume, I was necessarily obliged, not only to go deeper into the details of the hieroglyphic grammar and character than I had hitherto been able to do, or than was requisite indeed when Lepsius was with me, but also to a certain extent to come to a definite conclusion on the main points of the inquiry which were reserved for the second volume. The consequence was, that the first book was printed after the second. Owing to various interruptions, its completion was delayed till the present moment.

It seemed to me indispensable, in spite of its savouring of a want of modesty, to present my readers with this detailed account of the chronology of the work; not only for the sake of anticipating criticism, either as

to its premature or tardy publication; but more especially in order to show the train of thought to which it owes its present shape, and which I wish to be taken into consideration when it is judged. There was yet another reason; that I might thus briefly explain the unity of the different parts, and their reference to scientific questions now under discussion. It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to state that the general assumptions here made will be substantiated and proved in the work itself, to the best of my ability; as far as is requisite, at least, in order to give it a basis of its own, and enable the reader to form an independent opinion for himself.

Upon the execution of the work I wish to offer only one remark. My aim has been to give it the stamp of an historical composition; and in every branch of the subject I have endeavoured to exclude all that did not appear to bear that character. Much, therefore, of the learned substructure, to which, in order to excite further investigation, and in the hope of eliciting useful information from others, I should have been glad to have given a more prominent place, has been in a great measure kept out of sight. Language, writing, mythology, chronology, and monumental lore, have all of them some phase which is out of place in an historical exposition, however impossible it is for the historian to pass them over when making his own researches. But, on the other hand, there is in all of them an historical element, and this the historian must bring forward; the more so as these points are often overlooked, or at least thrown into the background, in the technical treatises on those particular sciences. It is my firm conviction that every one of those phenomena, however dry or insignificant it appears, may find its place in an historical treatise; and that it is only

when taken as a part of history that it acquires its real importance, and is thoroughly understood. I am fully conscious how far I am from coming up to this ideal standard; but that is no reason why I should not have placed it before me. I am convinced, indeed, that, the further we advance in our Egyptian studies, our labours, instead of increasing, will be diminished. It appeared requisite nevertheless, at the present moment, to discuss many things in detail, which, ten years hence, may perhaps be so self-evident, that we shall forget it was once necessary to prove them.

I am very far, however, from thinking it in character with an historical treatise to omit the mention of the authorities for simple and naked facts. It is, on the contrary, in my opinion, an essential failing in the style of writing history, so much in vogue in modern days, that these authorities are kept out of sight, and that historians are either too proud or too superficial to inform their readers on what foundation their researches are based.

For my own part, I have considered it a duty, in every branch of the inquiry, to notice the sources of my information, and fully to detail without any additions, the facts that have been transmitted. I have moreover given at the end of this volume an "Appendix of Authorities" for the benefit of my philological readers. It contains the whole amended text of the authors quoted in these volumes, whose writings do not form complete historical works like those of Herodotus and Diodorus. With a view to facilitate the studies of Egyptologers, a complete Hieroglyphical Alphabet, succinctly explained as far as the state of Egyptian research will allow, is likewise subjoined. In elucidation of the language, again, not only are all the Old Egyptian well-ascertained grammatical forms arranged in a syn-

optical shape, according to their internal connexion, but an Alphabetical List is likewise given of those roots and words about which no doubt exists. Finally, the Representations of the Divinities, combined with the exposition in the sixth and last section, exhibit the Egyptian Gods as they occur on the monuments, now deciphered, thanks to the discoveries of Champollion, for the first time since the sun of Egypt set.

To those who feel called upon to expose the omissions, defects, and errors in this work, I tender my thanks beforehand, begging them, at the same time, not to forget the condition in which I found Egyptian science.

In conclusion, I have only to offer the expression of heartfelt gratitude to all those who have held out their hand to me on the long and solitary road, in a benevolent and friendly spirit. To the memory of my friends in Italy, now no more, Sir William Gell and Ippolito Rosellini, I pay this tribute of mournful affection. To those still surviving — Alexander von Humboldt at Berlin; Letronne at Paris; William Hamilton, Dr. Prichard, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Mr. Perring, in England; but, above all, to my three valuable coadjutors, Lepsius and Abeken, the former of whom has lately returned from Egypt, and Mr. Birch of the British Museum (in which a great part of the last three sections of the first volume was written) — I offer my thanks and hearty good wishes. It is unnecessary and superfluous to make express mention of the great kindness of the curators of the Royal Library at Paris and the British Museum, which is known to, and appreciated by, all the educated world. I must, in conclusion, especially allude to the good offices of M. Maurice Schwartze, the author of the learned work on Egypt, and Professor of the Coptic language and

literature at Berlin, who has kindly revised the Coptic part of my grammar, and been a valuable contributor to the Coptic portion of the Egyptian vocabulary.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

*Highwood, Sept.* 27. 1847.

I CANNOT allow this English translation of my work to appear before the public, without acknowledging the merits of Mr. Cottrell, already known to the English public as the translator of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, and Lepsius's *Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai*, and as the author of *Recollections of Siberia in* 1840 *and* 1841. He has bestowed upon the task he undertook a scrupulous diligence and unremitting zeal to make the book English, without destroying what may be idiomatic in the German diction, and characteristic in the style of the author. After the whole of the German text had been translated, that of the first volume, which now appears, has been most carefully revised, and I have myself spared no trouble to give him my assistance in this revision.

This English edition owes many valuable remarks and additions to my learned friend Mr. Samuel Birch, particularly in the grammatical, lexicographic, and mythological part. That I have been able to make out of the collection of Egyptian roots, printed in the German edition, a complete hieroglyphical dictionary, is owing to him. To him also belong the references to the monumental evidence for the signification of an Egyptian word, wherever the proof exhibited in Champollion's

dictionary or grammar is not clear or satisfactory. Without any addition to the bulk of the volume, and without any incumbrance to the text, the work may now be said to contain the only complete Egyptian grammar and dictionary, as well as the only existing collection and interpretation of all the hieroglyphical signs; in short, all that a general scholar wants, to make himself master of the hieroglyphic system by studying the monuments.

The hieroglyphical signs, instead of being given in separate plates, have been printed by the side of their respective interpretations. These signs have been drawn by Mr. Bonomi, and cut by Mr. Martin, under the superintendence of Mr. Birch. The text and analysis of the last line of the hieroglyphical inscription on the Rosetta stone have been appended for the use of the Egyptian scholar.

I am further happy to mention that this English edition, as well as the original, owes much, as to the completeness and correctness of the Coptic explanations in the dictionary, to the care of Prof. Moritz Schwarze, who is now in London, having received the honourable commission from the Royal Academy of Berlin, with the generous support of the King, to prepare the publication of important Coptic MSS. in the British Museum and other libraries of Great Britain.

The elegant translations of the distichs prefixed to each of the five books are due to the kindness of J. G. Lockhart, Esq.

As to the critical reviews of the first two volumes of the German edition, I shall reserve it for the continuation, to notice such of them as seem to me to call for an answer. Still, having availed myself already in this English volume of some valuable remarks contained in these reviews, I feel bound to thank the

learned writers, on this occasion, for the attention they have bestowed upon my researches. I wish, in particular, to express these my thanks to M. Raoul Rochette (review in the *Journal des Savans*), to Colonel Mure of Caldwell (in the *Edinburgh Review*), and to Dr. Kenrick (in the *Prospective Review*).

The continuation of this English translation will appear as soon as the German edition is completed. The second volume will contain the whole of the second and third books. The two concluding books will be comprised in the last volume.

BUNSEN.

# INTRODUCTION.

In accomplishing the task we have undertaken, that of establishing the exact position of Egypt in relation to general history, there are many and serious difficulties to encounter before our goal is reached. In the first of these volumes, we shall endeavour to point out wherein these difficulties consist, the means and conditions requisite for overcoming them, as well as the paramount importance of the object proposed, which can only be attained by the laborious process adopted in its pursuit.

To this end the whole question will first be examined in its widest extent, both for the sake of encouraging our readers to study the subject for themselves, and of conciliating their sympathy and indulgence. For, if they find that we have aimed at a point beyond our powers, they will also concede in fairness, that, in the present state of Egyptian science, the desired result can only be attained by a combination of researches of different kinds.

If the place of Egypt can be fixed at all, it must, first, be done according to time, by settling the chronology; and, secondly, according to its own intrinsic importance to general history. These two points, each of which is dependent on the other, will form the main divisions of the whole work, as well as of this introductory volume. The proof of the latter rests

upon the adjustment of the former, although itself the prize, for the sake of which the preliminary researches have been made.

Our first efforts, therefore, will be directed towards the elucidation of the Chronology of the oldest monumental nation in the world, from Menes to Alexander, during a period of at least 3000 years. It is the first time, since the days of Manetho and Eratosthenes, that this has been attempted by the aid of the monuments, and, in part even, of the very records which were placed at the disposal of those chronologers. It must, likewise, not be forgotten, that, in the re-adjustment of Egyptian chronology, we work upon the authority of monuments the characters of which have not been deciphered till the present day, and not without differences of opinion having existed, and still existing upon several points. We are guided in our researches, moreover, by the ancient lists of Kings, and by traditions, the confusion in which, despite the labours of those two great antiquarians, the Greeks and Romans soon after, consequently more than 2000 years ago, found cause to lament. Nor are we prepared to deny that the attempts of modern critics to clear up those obscurities do not fully justify such a regret.

We are convinced, nevertheless, that it may and will be the lot of our age to disentangle the clue of Egyptian chronology by the light of hieroglyphical science and the aid of modern historical research, even after the loss of so many invaluable records of the old world; and thus to fasten the thread of universal chronology round the apex of those indestructible pyramids, which are no longer closed and mysterious. Admitting, however, that we do succeed in this, one portion only of our task, though certainly the most difficult and toilsome, is accomplished; the original problem, the definition of the position of

Egypt in general history, still remains to be solved. We cannot claim the introduction of a period of more than thirty centuries, the chronology of Egypt, into the general chronology of the world, without submitting it to the test of that general chronology. We shall commence, therefore, with the lowest point in general history, the foundation of the Macedonian empire, and proceed upwards in an unbroken line, along the turning points in the history of those nations with which that of Egypt is connected. The epochs of the Persian and Babylonian dominion, both of which are fixed by astronomical and historical records, will first be noticed; and then we shall pass on beyond the Olympiads, the limits of Grecian chronology, and the threshold of the Jewish, the dedication of Solomon's temple. Prior to the latter event, there is no systematic computation by years; nothing save mere scattered dates, in which frequent contradictions occur, and requiring consequently to be verified and adjusted themselves, instead of furnishing us any guarantee in the prosecution of our chronological researches. Even this, however, should not deter us from making further investigation. We must still go onward, beyond the commencement of the Assyrian empire and the days of the great legislator of Israel, in order to arrive at last, through seemingly barren ages, the supposed nonage of human civilisation, at the starting-point of all Egyptian chronology, the foundation of an empire of Upper and Lower Egypt by Menes.

In the second portion of our chronological researches, therefore, we shall verify and elucidate Egyptian history by data deduced from the general history of the world. In doing this we shall not be satisfied merely with showing that the other fragmentary remains of the most ancient chronology and historical tradition are not at variance

with the Egyptian computation. If the latter be correct, not only must the apparent contradictions occurring in the hitherto existing systems be explained away; but, with the discovery of the true state of facts, it must be self-evident that those hypotheses were based upon no real and tenable foundation. The gaps and flaws which have been dexterously glossed over will re-appear; and many portions of history which have been dissected and artfully torn asunder will, on the re-establishment of the natural connexion, fall back, like dislocated members of an organic body, at once into their places, and mutually co-operate to restore to the ancient history of the world the vital energy of which it has been so long deprived.

We have thus offered a sketch of the two divisions of our chronological researches: the strictly Egyptian chronology in the Old, Middle, and New Empires, and the synchronisms in the most ancient general history, which must be made to harmonise with the Egyptian series. The former comes down from Menes to Alexander; the latter goes back from Alexander to Menes. One is the calculation, the other the proof.

Our researches, however, do not end here. We may hope by this method to establish the position of Egypt, as regards general history, in point of time; and certainly the adjustment of the chronology is indispensably requisite to an historical development. Its importance, indeed, in the most ancient histories cannot well be rated too highly. The nearer we approach to the primordial epochs of the history of our race, and the vaster those epochs become which it is our business to compute, the more important it is to establish that external relation, and the closer becomes the connexion between time and history. In those silent primeval recesses, in those ages the deeds and exploits of which have long

been buried in oblivion, and in which some prominent individuals even (the bright point of tradition, and humanly speaking, the lever of all history) manifest themselves at most only by the magic of their names and their influence upon their contemporaries and posterity —in those ages, we say, the adjustment of the chronology is decisive of the last questions which we have to ask in the history of the ancient world, and excludes at once many erroneous suppositions and conjectures. This is the case pre-eminently in the history of Egypt. We inquire whether she exercised material influence on the ceremonial of Jewish worship, on Jewish laws and customs; whether she did so upon Greece, and at what period; whether that influence was direct, or through the medium of other nations; whether the Egyptians can have derived the germs of their wisdom and civilisation from India; whether they are an Ethiopian or Asiatic race, from Meroe or Chaldea. These and other similar questions have been asked in the infancy of research, and still oftener in our own times, and have received very different answers. The restoration of Egyptian chronology may, perhaps, set some of them at rest, such as that of their Indian origin, by negativing them at once; and influence materially the solution of them all. Finally, if in the primeval times of Egypt we approach the infancy of our race, and examine the traditions and theories propounded with respect to it—which consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily, all Christian writers have done—the exact definition of Egypt's place in history will acquire a vastly higher and more universal importance. If, after having ascertained the date of the foundation of the Egyptian empire, we inquire whether it tallies with Scripture tradition as to the creation of mankind, and whether it corroborates the chronological systems

based upon it; what bearing it has upon the assumptions of the Greek and Latin churches; or (which will be the most sensible course) if we agree not to dispute about a few thousand years where objects so infinitely higher are concerned, how the result of our computations affects the question of creation; must we blink the point altogether, instead of answering it? Again, we inquire whether the study of Egyptian history would lead us to the conclusion that there was one universal, or several partial and local floods; and whether the most ancient traditions, those of Egypt especially, exhibit any indications of violent interruptions in the early stages of human advancement; and lastly, what light is thrown by our researches, on the great question of the unity of the human race and its primordial epochs.

No historian in these days, who deals honestly and conscientiously with Egyptian chronology, can evade these questions. We have no hesitation in asserting at once, without entering into any further investigation, that there exist Egyptian monuments, the date of which can be accurately fixed, of a higher antiquity than those of any other nation known in history, viz. above 5000 years. This fact must be explained; to deny it would be a proof of little skill, and still less candour, on the part of any critic who has once undertaken to prosecute the inquiry.

The immediate result, then, of our Egyptian researches is to carry us far beyond the limits of strict chronology, and to plunge us into the sea of universal history. Should, however, its shores seem to vanish from our sight at the very moment when we hoped to be nearing the land, this must not deter us from continuing our researches. The Egyptians, as regards their chronology even, belong to general history. It

were impossible to sail up the stream of ancient history without inquiring for the site of Egypt, and saluting it with veneration and respect. It is equally impossible to determine its position without ascending the pinnacle of time, and investigating the primitive epochs of the human race.

This must be done, indeed, for higher purposes than merely that of establishing a system of universal chronology, and solving the questions immediately connected with that subject. If history teach any lesson, and convey to us any instruction, we must suppose progress and development. Man, in his toilsome passage through the dark periods of history, must follow out some eternal law, and that, indeed, not an external one, but one peculiar to itself, of an internal and intelligible character. If history be not merely an endless unmeaning repetition of the same phenomena, and its u ity a dream and empty sound, its epochs, when rightly understood, will represent the different stages of one grand and general development. It is only upon such an assumption that man can be said to have an internal life out of time and independent of time, by virtue of the powers of his mind, and his efforts to realise its brightest conceptions. This is true, not of individuals merely, but in a still more remarkable degree of the masses also. Various attempts have been made by philosophers and historians to ascertain the laws of this development. It were foreign to the character of an historical work to inquire whether these can be understood by the highest effort of speculation, as the necessary consequences of the nature of the Divine Essence. We cannot, however, entirely pass by such questions as these: whether we may not obtain a clearer knowledge of the sphere of human development when the horizon of history is so considerably extended by our Egyptian

researches? and whether by observations on that portion of the curve already measured, which is far from insignificant, we cannot determine the nature of the whole? and if the nature, why not the laws of this line of development of the human mind in universal history?

But, to however wide an extent chronological researches may be pushed, the solution of the problem proposed, the discovery of the position of Egypt in general history, or at least the attempt to discover it, is in reality still unaccomplished. The main object of history, indeed, would be but little advanced by such researches, if they only furnished us with the genealogy of the Egyptians, or even of mankind. The history of a nation, if it deserve the name, is a thing of too high moment to be used as the instrument for ennobling a genealogical register. Still less can the study of general history be a mere genealogical investigation. Even the unity and affinity of race among great nations is either the external manifestation of internal unity and internal connexion, or it is really of no more essential importance than the classification of animal and vegetable productions according to the countries which gave them birth. It is, therefore, indispensably necessary for the investigator of general history to establish this internal unity as an historical fact; whether it be within the scope of human intellect, or not, to prove that it is the necessary consequence of the operation of demonstrable laws.

The result, then, of the first portion of our inquiry is to raise its character and purport much higher than was apparent at the outset. But while the value of the object to be attained is considerably enhanced, the difficulties also, it must be admitted, are very considerably magnified. A second important problem still remains to be solved after the end of our chronological researches has been effected, that of bringing the Egyptian

dates into harmony with the corresponding synchronisms in general history. The second portion of this work will be dedicated to an attempt at solving this problem, and the latter sections of the present volume will serve as introductory to that attempt.

In order to give a slight sketch of the nature of the proposed problem, we proceed to consider the views respecting the origin of the human race to which allusion has been already made.

The result of our chronological investigation has been to carry us up to the foundation of an empire of Egypt, and to a series of Kings whose names have not only been registered and transmitted to us by the Egyptians themselves, but which are now legible on Egyptian monuments, most of them erected in the lifetime of the Kings whose names they record. Now, there must necessarily have been a period, comprising the infancy of the nation, anterior to the existence of this empire and the chronological registration of its Kings; and as the adjustment of Egyptian chronology carries us very much nearer than has been hitherto supposed possible to the first dawning of national history, so, in like manner, the examination of the germs of Egyptian history may, perhaps, do more than any other study towards the elucidation of the primitive history of man.

Upon a closer survey of these earliest germs of Egyptian existence, we shall see at once that they comprise two totally distinct periods. That immediately before us does not differ materially from the preceding. In the one we have a chronology which implies a connected definition of time: in the other, unconnected facts, fragments of historical tradition, very frequently mixed up together by ancient poetry or modern fable. But, under any circumstances, we find at this immediately

preceding epoch a nation possessed of language and religion, and undoubtedly also of written characters; the germs, therefore, of that national life which we meet with in the chronological epoch. Those germs contain, indeed, an incipient element of progression, although much still remains to be developed. The germs of national existence, however, which we find in Egypt, are not the most ancient traces of humanity. No historical investigator will consider the Egyptians as the most ancient nation of the earth, even before he has called to his assistance the science of the philologer and mythologist. Their very history shows them to belong to the great middle ages of mankind. If, therefore, there were no further knowledge to be acquired of the origin of man than is furnished by the earliest commencement of Egyptian life, we should gain from it but little new and valuable information; we should have toiled on in vain through dark and undefinable ages, and found ourselves at last just as far off as ever from the object of our researches—an acquaintance with the origin of the human race.

The Egyptian patriarchs, perhaps, were descended from a cognate race, which sprang, in like manner, from another of kindred origin. It will, however, be generally admitted, on a little consideration, that the world must once have been differently constituted, before national bodies, possessing language and religious systems, could appear on the stage of history. For even those who believe that language and religion were not human inventions, but, like Prometheus' fire, given to man from Heaven, cannot but admit, without rejecting all the evidence of research, that they were not communicated in a state of completeness. The reverse is indeed obvious, viz. that man has never received more than the germ, which he has been left to mould and modify according to his own will and capabilities. Modern

philology, more especially, proves that the various conformations have been gradually worked out upon the principles of an internal law. The period, then, at which this occurred, may with propriety be termed the period of the Origines. I believe this to be a strictly historical era: at all events it alone can rightly be termed primeval, as contradistinguished from history generally so called. Properly speaking, then, what we call universal history is simply a record of Man in modern times; or, should there be a history of the Origines, the more modern history of our species. In the latter case, the so-called national Origines are evidently nothing more than the transition from ancient to modern history.

We have intimated that the necessary consequence of the adjustment of Egyptian chronology has been to extend materially the field of history which is chronologically definable. We have stated that there are internal and external grounds for believing that the period which can be chronologically computed was preceded by one, and that of no very brief duration, which bids defiance to chronological definition. There is however another era, preceding that which we have divided into chronological and unchronological; it is still historical, belonging therefore to time and space, though wholly different from the later period. It is the period in which national bodies were forming their language and mythology. It seems, indeed, that this portion of history must have struck its roots very deep into the soil of time, inasmuch as it is now six or seven thousand years since it produced in the valley of the Nile (the slow formation of the deposit of that river) a mighty tree the germ of which is not indigenous in that country.

In prosecuting this inquiry, success will consequently depend upon whether we can offer an exposition of the

historical infancy of the human race. This again will depend on two points: whether we possess monuments of the primeval time; and if so, whether they exhibit any development. The first is manifestly a superfluous question; for, without taking into consideration the earliest stages of mythology, language is evidently the earliest as well as the grandest monument of man. It will be clear, on the slightest consideration, that all rational consciousness, all the later creations of the human mind in the different nations of the earth, and in our own days especially, are based on language and dependent on it. If this be true of all individual nations, why should it not be so of mankind collectively?

In exploring a world, therefore, which is new to history, but in reality the old world, we need not inquire whether we possess any monuments of it, but simply whether we can propose a method by which we may detect in it the historical element, the sign of progression. Every history, for instance, civil history and the history of art, implies a development, the evolution of a primordial germ. On this point it will be sufficient to offer the following remarks. All development, if not the effect of chance or caprice, is essentially dependent on the nature of the germ to be developed. Development is a growth; and all external growth, in nature and history, is nothing more than an internal essence developing itself. The development of plants depends upon the nature of their germs; the development of nations, upon that of their Origines. Now it will be universally admitted, that chance and individual caprice have less influence in the formation of language than in any other product of the human mind. For language is not merely a property, but the expression of the very inward life of all. As being the common expression of thought, its develop-

ment must depend on internal laws, and must precede any other. The intelligible expression of religious consciousness even presupposes language; and language and religion conjointly must exist previously to all political institutions, as well as to all art and all science.

To any one who has clear views on this subject, two totally distinct courses are open in considering these primeval works of man. He may either attempt to show that the organisation of language and mythology necessarily follows from the supreme laws of a Supreme Being; or, at all events, he may establish a formula within the range of which the development of every thing finite, and of those great primitive products of the human mind in particular, must necessarily move. This is the strictly speculative method; a name which it only properly deserves when it aims not merely at explaining all the laws of development by the nature of the Supreme Infinite Being, but also proves the necessity of such a development. This is not the plan we pursue in the following work.

The other we call the historical, and in its highest acceptation the philosophy of general history. Its aim, likewise, is to find a development, and in so doing it looks for the historical element in the phenomena. It endeavours, also, to discover the laws of development, but such as are direct and finite, and consequently conditional; in other words, such as emanate from the conditional, limited, and finite nature of the object evolved. Thus it attempts gradually to ascend from isolated facts to general formulas; which, however, are not those of a metaphysical nature, but such as are adapted simply to the particular substance the history of which is the point at issue. Although they lay no claim to be demonstrable as absolutely necessary, and consequently to unqualified recognition, their value

consists in this, that the raw material of the phenomena is classified according to the qualities of that particular finite substance. For it is an axiom in historical research, that without such previous arrangement the raw material cannot be the subject of pure thought. When this arrangement and classification have taken place, the confused lines of the Ptolemaic orbit of mankind are converted, as it were, into those of the true solar system, and the Keplerian laws may be discovered. An historical investigation must leave the question undecided, whether a more complete knowledge of these laws can be deduced from the nature of the Infinite Essence. But if this be possible, it must unquestionably be something of a very different and more elevated kind, than the laws which Newton laid down for the motions of the heavenly bodies. The preliminary assumption, indeed, that history exhibits a progression of mankind in time, corresponds to a still unsolved problem in astronomy, whether our solar system advances in space. Any advancement, however, within the circle of such researches, will undoubtedly depend as much upon historical investigation, as on speculative efforts.

The method which we call the philosophy of general history will be applied, in this work, to the examination of the strictly primeval Origines of man. We shall endeavour by means of it to discover, if possible, some strata and deposits in the earliest stages of man's existence, like those which modern geology has pointed out in the material stratum of our planet, and which it has traced over the whole globe. As it has been so successful in discovering progression in these strata, and in defining thereby the periods in our orb, so will the science of primitive history have to distinguish the ancient from the modern element, and thus to fix the turning points and epochs which are actually exhibited

in those periods. But should primeval monuments exist of the most important nations, the philosophy of history may hope to be even more successful than the sister science. For in the evolution of nature the law of matter and co-ordination predominates; it is difficult even to establish succession, impossible to discover more than an external law of development. In history, on the contrary, which is the world of mind, the development proceeds successively in time; and the thing developed is the human mind itself. As far, therefore, as the laws of development are intelligible, the history of the human mind possesses this advantage, that the laws of the investigated object coincide with those of the investigating subject.

But the epochs and laws of development in early history thus exhibited, can really be no other than those of the later, or properly so called national, history. When we shall have reached the furthest point in the Egyptian Origines which is strictly historical, we shall from thence take a retrospective survey of the whole history of the Egyptian nation, the chronology of which is restored in our first two volumes; and endeavour to seize its prominent landmarks, as representing the development of a connected series of national life, and, indeed, of a portion of the general history of the human mind. We must then, as in the case of the Origines, proceed to investigate the general phenomena of history with which Egypt is connected, and among which its place must necessarily be found. This is the last point to which our researches are directed.

It will, after what has been said, be no difficult task to form an estimate of the contents and connexion of the different books, as well as of the particular sections into which this preliminary volume is divided.

The first book is destined to lay the foundation of the

whole work; first, by a criticism of the sources of our historical knowledge of Egypt, and then by a complete and historical representation of the facts of primitive Egyptian history (the Origines). As to the first object, three points will be decisive: the adequacy and value of our authorities, the assistance we derive from the use hitherto made of them, and the principles which seem to result from both in furtherance of our own researches. The first is clearly the most important, especially for the chronological portion of the subject. Nothing can compensate for the want of evidence; our whole inquiry, indeed, will be unintelligible to those who are ignorant of the nature of our authorities. We shall, therefore, give our evidence in an authentic shape, and make it accessible to every one. The historical traditions which are not found in well known classic writers, such as Herodotus and Diodorus, we have compiled, in an amended text, in the "Appendix of Authorities," at the end of this volume. Lepsius has already published the most important Egyptian monuments in his *Denkmäler*. Our historical analysis of these two collections of evidence, written and monumental, will enable those who feel no inclination to study the originals, to form a competent estimate of their real value and contents. Unfortunately, the authorities which relate to the earliest chronology are so few in number that their text occupies less space than any explanation of them would, without, after all, compensating for the want of the authorities themselves. It would be the more unpardonable, therefore, to ask men of education to commence such a course of study, without putting the elements on which it is based into their hands, and thus enabling every one to prosecute the inquiry for himself. Where difficult questions of deep historical research are concerned, the all-important

object is to establish in the student's mind a full and clear conviction of the degree of certainty attaching to any particular point. From the want of insight into this point, one of two great evils necessarily must ensue. Either too much stress will be laid upon something of doubtful authority, and its real value will be endangered, as well as that of all historic truth, by dogmatic unqualified assertion. From this error sprang that dry, uncritical, and lifeless style of writing primeval history, first introduced by the Byzantine school, and subsequently adopted throughout Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. Or doubts will be thrown alike on certain and uncertain facts, till at length a general scepticism will prevail as to the authenticity of all history, and as to any security in historic truth. Men are apt to think lightly of a thing which they despair of understanding, to keep it out of sight as much as possible, and by degrees to forget that it exists. We are particularly liable to the latter evil in the present day, when history is analysed on a new principle, and doubts consequently are continually thrown on hitherto undoubted facts. This renders it more difficult than ever to keep the reasoning powers and judgment in a healthy state. Sound judgment, however, is displayed rather in an aptness for believing what is historical, than in a readiness at denying it. For in days like our own, of so much curiosity and inquiry, and so little earnestness of purpose, shallow minds have a decided propensity to fall into the latter error. This is very unfortunate; because the almost universal tendency of the human mind being to take the negative side of a question, such an age loses easily that serious cast and feeling of respect, which are so closely connected, for the subjects under discussion. Without respect there is no zeal, and without

zeal no hope of succeeding in any undertaking. Incapability of believing on evidence is the last form of the intellectual imbecility of an enervated age, and a warning sign of impending decay: but it is also the reaction against a dogmatic coercion, or a thoughtless credulity.

We shall pursue the same system when treating of the Origines. The first great fact we meet with in primordial history is Language, which we shall endeavour to elucidate, as we would any other monument, by offering a list of all such roots and flexions as can be shown to have been the national heritage of the Old Empire from the primeval times. The second is Mythology, which contains different Orders of gods, admitting of, and therefore requiring, classification and explanation. The third is Writing, which we shall also analyse systematically, according to the historical stages it must have gone through in its complete development in the Old Empire. Thus we hope to have prepared the way for appreciating the important rank which the Egyptian Origines hold in history, as well as for the foundation of its historical chronology, which will form the subject of the second volume.

At the head of the first book stands the venerable name of NIEBUHR. By placing it there we mean to intimate that he is in our estimation the highest model of an historical critic; an honour which would seem to depend, not on the negation, but the recognition and restoration, of true historic principles. In attaching his name to illustrations of an antiquarian rather than historical character, we would also express our conviction that the restoration of history is the last and most complete form in which the skill of the antiquarian can be exhibited. Inquiries like these undoubtedly demand that we should enter into philological and antiquarian details, and explain the present state of science in both

these respects. This should be done with as much conciseness as is compatible with perspicuity, and the process should embrace, not merely a list of authors, but show the real history of the inquiry. Thus, only, will all that is essential be fully appreciated, and the rest consigned to literary bookworms or to oblivion. No bibliographical matter ought to be introduced into an historical work, which is not evidently indispensable to a clear understanding of the point under consideration.

In the second book we shall restore the Chronology of the Old Empire, a period of 1076 years, according to the data of ERATOSTHENES, with whose name that portion of our work is headed.

In the third we treat of the Period of the Middle and New Empires, comprising nine and thirteen centuries, respectively. Here MANETHO is our guide, and his name is affixed to the book.

In this manner we hope to have made all the necessary preparations for giving a connected survey of our researches, as well as for testing the chronological results arising out of them, both on internal and external grounds. We propose to submit them to a double test. First, that of Astronomy, which is an infallible test; and, secondly, the historical Synchronisms: or, in other words, to gain fixed points of time, both by the synchronism of celestial phenomena and of remarkable events in the history of other nations. The former is evidently of more immediate importance to the most ancient and consequently darkest period of our inquiry; and, therefore, we affix to our fourth book the name of CHAMPOLLION, who made the most brilliant discovery, and one fraught with the greatest results, upon this subject; although it has barely been noticed out of France. It bears also the name of another Frenchman; for the second part, in which the historical

synchronisms are examined, is dedicated to JOSEPH SCALIGER, who, though of Italian origin and Dutch renown, was by birth a Frenchman.

The fifth book will contain a Survey of general History. Its object will be to exhibit whatever in the history of Egypt is of universal importance for the whole history of the human mind. The first thing requisite, therefore, is to connect the Origines of Egypt with those of the human race by the three steps above mentioned, language, mythology, and the germs of national life. In the second part, we shall endeavour to point out the development of strictly Egyptian history, which commences with these Origines and is dependent on them.

This book, which forms the second division of our work, will be headed with the name of SCHELLING, to mark our personal respect for him, as well as our conviction that not only by his philosophical system, but also by his researches in the highest branches of the development of the human mind, he has laid the foundation of the true philosophy of history. Egyptian mythology offers, moreover, a striking proof of the importance of philosophical research in a fact asserted by him, but the proof of which has but lately been discovered.

After this general sketch of the work, we proceed to the details of the first volume. It is divided into six sections; in the first half of which the Historical Period is treated of; in the second, the Origines.

In the chronological portion, the tradition of the Egyptians as to their history and computation of time, as well as their national researches, will be considered. These two points will be elucidated in the first section, which comprises an epoch of thirty centuries of tradition, and an historical one of fifteen centuries of research.

In the second will be considered the results of Grecian Research during five centuries, from Herodotus to Diodorus.

Christian researches have been guided by these two lines of research, conjointly with the tradition and research contained in Scripture. The third section, therefore, will commence with the Bible Chronology, from the dedication of Solomon's temple, up to the earliest notices of the Jewish nation; a chronology which is as important to the Egyptian research, as the latter is to the Jewish. By settling this, the foundation is laid of the inquiry into the Origines. We shall there have to deal with a period of more than 1000 years, and be brought to the verge of the most ancient tradition relative to those Origines. Jewish research must next be examined, from the Septuagint down to Josephus; then, that of the Eastern churches, from the 2nd to the 9th century of the Christian era; and, lastly, that of the Western churches, from the 16th century to the present day.

These three sections form the first part of the present volume; the three latter will be occupied with the remains of the primeval epochs themselves. In the first of these we shall give the Roots hitherto discovered, distinguishing those which can be clearly proved by the monuments of the first 12 Dynasties to have existed in the Old Empire. In the same manner we give all the facts of Egyptian grammar. To this analysis of Language, the first stage of mental development, we subjoin immediately, in the fifth section, that of the third stage, Writing, on account of their direct connexion; and we offer to our readers the first regular synopsis of the whole Hieroglyphical System of Writing. Such elements as can be verified as having been used in the Old Empire have been particularly noticed. The restoration of the three

great Egyptian Orders of Gods, the subject of the sixth section, completes our historical account of the facts of those primeval times. They form the historical centre, out of which grew the traditional Dynasties of gods, through the intervention of an heroic age, which led to the chronological empire of Menes. If we succeed in this the first attempt at a strictly historical examination of the formation of language, writing, and mythology, if we succeed in discovering in them the strata and epochs of the oldest history, we shall not only thereby have exhibited those deeds and thoughts of the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Nile which form the substructure of the chronological empire of the Egyptian Charlemagne, but we may also hope to have paved the way, for ourselves and others, towards a more correct estimate and an historical treatment of the Origines of the human Race, to elucidate which will be the main object of our last book, and indeed of the whole work.

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# BOOK I.

THE

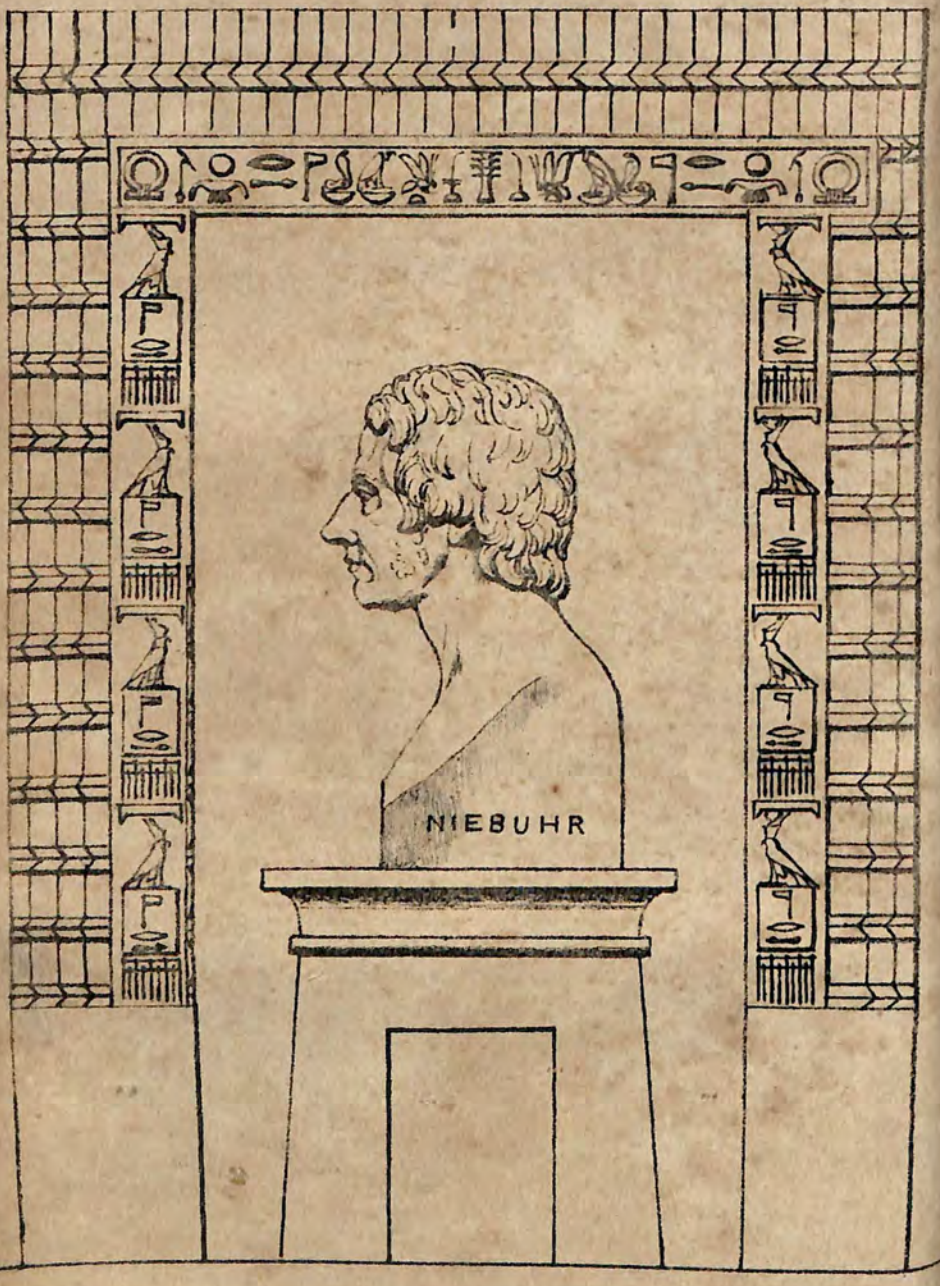
# SOURCES AND PRIMEVAL FACTS

OF

# EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

# NIEBUHR.

Great was what thou didst abolish; but greater what thou hast erected
High on the ruins of Fraud, shatter'd for aye by thy blow.
Firm in the Faith didst thou stand, with a Prophet's serenest assurance,
Then when thy plummet explor'd deepest abysses of Time.
Then the primeval Reality sprang into day at thy bidding;
Rome the majestic arose, sepulchred long among lies.
Not without awe we beheld her antique regulation of freedom,
Ev'n in the cradle sublime, breathing of glory to come;
All to thine eye was reveal'd, every fragment for thee had its place-mark,
Each misinterpreted sign spake to thine augury clear.
Piercing indeed was thy wit, but combin'd with a heavenlier treasure:
Pure was thy love of mankind: Niebuhr! thy heart was of gold.
True to thy land and thy time, yet with brotherly sympathy scanning
Hoary Humanity's page, welfare and woe of the Past;
Loving thy glance, when it fell on the beauty, the freedom, of Hellas;
Loving thy labour of life, vow'd to the grandeur of Rome:
Yet was there leisure and love for the Orient's holy remoteness:
Never of Muses divine dull was the echo for Thee;
Nor didst thou coldly survey the resurgence of mystical Egypt,
When the unhoped for light flash'd on her Pyramid Tomb.
Thither my venture is bound: but do Thou be the star of my guidance,
Father! As upward I gaze, strengthen the eye and the heart.




J. Bonomi del.

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# EGYPT'S PLACE

IN

# UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

## BOOK I.

### THE SOURCES AND PRIMEVAL FACTS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

### SECTION I.

#### HISTORICAL TRADITION AND RESEARCH AMONG THE EGYPTIANS.

#### A.

##### THE NATURE AND ANTIQUITY OF EGYPTIAN TRADITION— OF THE SACRED BOOKS IN PARTICULAR.

###### I. THE TWO ORIGINAL SOURCES — ANNALS AND LAYS, ACCORDING TO THE GREEKS.

HERODOTUS describes the inhabitants of the cultivated portion of Egypt as the best informed or most learned of mankind.[1] In one of his lost works Theophrastus

[1] ii. 77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα, λογιώτατοί εἰσι μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην. The old translation, that they *exercise the memory*, is quite inadmissible: but even Schweighäuser's interpretation, adopted by Bähr, that they above all other men record past events and exploits, is scarcely accurate. In the whole section (c. 77—91.) no mention is made of their knowledge

used the same expression regarding them, and evidently also with reference to the high antiquity of their traditions.[2] The reason assigned by Herodotus for so characterising them, is their rigid adherence to these traditions; in other words, the exactness with which they maintained ancient usage and the remembrance of the past. Although there is here no direct allusion to their familiarity with the dates and history of their nation, still it is clear from the whole tenour of the second book, that he had devoted great attention to their historical and chronological tradition, and that even where it appeared to him improbable or barely credible, he yet retails it, as worthy of the serious consideration of his readers.

"No Egyptian," he remarks (ii. 82.), "omits taking accurate note of extraordinary or striking events." Manetho observes, in agreement with all the Greek annalists, that the Egyptians possessed uninterrupted descriptions of their kings from Menes downwards. Herodotus (ii. 99. seqq.) was also acquainted with lists of kings kept by the priests, in which the events and monuments of each reign were recorded: from one of these they read to him the names of 330 kings, successors of Menes (ii. 100.). Diodorus enters more into detail as to the nature of these lists or annals of the priests, although his information, as we shall see, is less accurate. "The priests," he says in the introduction to that part of his work which treats of Egyptian History (i. 44.), "had in their sacred books, transmitted from the olden time, and handed down by them to their successors in office,

of history; but merely of their manners and customs, which are described as altogether indigenous (with the exception, it may be presumed, of the Maneros-Song).

[2] In Porphyry: de Abstin. ii. 5. (p. 106. de Rh.): compare Eusebius, Prop. Ev. 1. 9. — τόγε πάντων λογιώτατον γένος. The rest of the passage belongs to Porphyry: but the writings of Theophrastus, which he so repeatedly quotes in that work, clearly contained a contribution to the history of the various religious systems of the old world. See de Rhoer. § 20, 21.; and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Theophrastus.

written descriptions[3] of all their kings" (from the time of the fabulous monarchs, called heroes, to that of the Ptolemies). "In these an account is given of every king —of his physical powers and disposition, and of the exploits of each in the order of time." Artaxerxes in his expedition through the country, carried off these descriptions from the archives of the Temple[4]; Bagoas, his lieutenant, afterwards restored them to the priests for a large sum of money. It was in these "descriptions," or at least in works compiled from them, that Theophrastus found his account of an emerald of immense size, which a king of Babylon had on some occasion sent with other objects of great value, as a present to a king of Egypt — probably Nechao.[5]

The lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, which have come down to us, profess, and with truth, as their own internal evidence shows, to have been derived from these royal annals. In these annals, as we shall see, were entered the names of each king, together with his stature, the date of his reign, notices of its more remarkable events or prodigies, and doubtless of his lineage, birth, and age. Concurrent with them, according to the same authorities, was another source of historical tradition, namely, songs or lays, which do not

[3] Ἀναγραφαί: this is their usual designation. He also calls them ἱεραὶ ἀναγραφαί; and as he here says ἀναγραφαὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, so it is said in another place, ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμέναι πράξεις: they were therefore not mere lists of names. Zoega quotes these and all the other passages in his work "de Obeliscis," first, in literal extract, and afterwards, in the body of his own text.

[4] xvi. 51. Ἤνεγκε δὲ καὶ (Artaxerxes) τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν ἀναγραφάς (perhaps τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων ἱερέων ἀναγραφάς?).

[5] Theophr. de Lapidibus, p. 692. ed. Schneider: Ἡ δὲ σμάραγδός ἐστι σπανία, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη· πλὴν εἰ πιστεύειν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ΝΕΧΑΟΙ γάρ φασι κομισθῆναί ποτ' ἐν δώροις παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως, μῆκος μὲν τετράπηχυν . . . . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων γραφήν. (See Commentary, p. 557.) We read since the correction of Turnebus, ἔνιοι γάρ φασι. The Basle edit. and Cod. Voss. have ** νους.

seem to have been limited to mere popular ballads, but to have comprised also hymns of a purely sacred or sacerdotal character. "With regard to Sesoōsis," says Diodorus (i. 53.), "not only is there a disagreement among Greek writers, but the priests also, and those who praise him in their songs, vary in their statements."[6] Manetho also, in his history of the nineteenth dynasty, according to the extracts of Josephus, to be examined more closely in the sequel, quotes popular legends, which he expressly characterises as such, and the authenticity of which consequently he does not pretend to warrant.[7]

### II. THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING AMONG THE EGYPTIANS.

The historical tradition of the Egyptians thus appears to be derived from two very different sources—from dry, but accurate records kept by the priests, and from poetical legends. Nor has this fact been overlooked by the modern critical school of philologers, from Heyne downwards. But in their days it supplied no satisfactory answer to the two great questions which must have suggested themselves to these critics. The first is, whether we are in a position to restore from the remnants of this tradition the purely historical element even of its chronology? The second, whether the Egyptians themselves of the New Empire, which commenced a little before the time of Moses, had rescued any genuine historical knowledge of their primitive ages from the desolation consequent on the Hyksos rule? This Niebuhr doubted, although a firm be-

[6] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντες οὐχ ὁμολογούμενα λέγουσιν.

[7] Joseph. c. Apion. 16. and 26. See the Appendix of Authorities. In the first principal passage it is said: ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Μανεθὼς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ', ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικε: in the other, διὰ τοῦ φάναι (Μανεθῶνα) γράψειν τὰ μυθευόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

liever, as his lectures show[8], in the possibility of restoring the chronology of the New Empire, that is, up to the eighteenth dynasty. Every thing must here ultimately depend upon the antiquity of writing, and the existence and preservation of written records of the Old Empire. It has long been no secret to Egyptologers that the rule of the shepherd kings really marks an intermediate epoch between a new and an old empire. Champollion was clear upon the point that Egyptian tradition could not have been interrupted by that dominion, to the extent commonly supposed, and that monuments of Upper Egypt, dating from that period, are not entirely wanting. It is the more to be lamented that, after the foundation had been secured, so little further advance should have been made in the investigation and analysis of the sources themselves. For it must have been evident that the question of any value attaching either to the Egyptian or Greek traditions, relative to that earlier period, turns upon the point— What dependence can be placed on the knowledge which the Egyptians of the New Empire themselves possessed of their most ancient chronology? — for more than this cannot have been transmitted to us. Any specific answer to that question must necessarily depend on a previous thorough analysis of those traditions. It must therefore be reserved for the fourth book, after our readers have accompanied us through all the three empires by the joint aid of tradition and the monuments. Our attention will here be directed to the general evidence of the antiquity and chronological elements of those primary authorities — evidence which

[8] Of Niebuhr's lectures, those on the history of Rome have at length, twelve years after his death, been published in London in an English dress by a former pupil of the deceased, Dr. Schmitz, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. They form the concluding volume of the translation of the historical work. Those on ancient history in general will shortly be published in Germany, by Marcus Niebuhr, the son of the historian.

seems to substantiate their claims to a superiority in both respects over all other records of the primitive world.

We need not here recapitulate the universal testimony to the antiquity of writing among the Egyptians. It is no longer a question of proving that antiquity by such evidence. But the antiquity of the written monuments and of the books, which is well authenticated, proves that testimony to be deserving of respect. The Egyptians, like all other nations possessing very ancient records, the Jews only excepted, have from early times exaggerated the dates of their history, or mixed them up with astronomical calculations relative to the primeval annals of the globe, to which their own approximated — calculations difficult to understand, and which have, accordingly, been misunderstood. Moreover, the Neo-Platonists of Egypt and Syria in the third and fourth centuries, as also various Christian writers of that and a later period, have not only mixed up apocryphal or fallacious data with such as are genuine and certain, but have superadded some altogether false. We abstain, therefore, from quoting Plato's Egyptian songs and works of art ten thousand years old, or his eight thousand years of Saïtic annals; or the statements of the younger Hecatæus and other Greeks — as preserved by Diodorus[9] — concerning the library of the primeval king Osymandyas. — Still less shall we defer to those of Iamblichus, (partly, perhaps, his own invention,) contained in his work on the Egyptian mysteries[10], which he passed off

[9] Plato, Legg. ii. 657.; Tim. § 6. Diodorus, i. 49.

[10] It is well known that this assumption rests upon a statement prefixed to one of the MSS., that Proclus in his commentary on the Enneads of Plotinus had asserted Iamblichus to have written this work, as a reply to Porphyry's letter to the priest Anebo, whose master the fictitious Abammon gives himself out to be. Tennemann and Tzschirner (the Fall of Paganism, p. 419. Notes) have impugned the validity of this testimony in opposition to Meiners. But the book itself is the most decisive evidence: first, its style; then the quota-

under the name of the Egyptian Priest Abammon. He attributes to Hermes, consequently to a period before Menes, 1100 books; and describes Seleucus as having mentioned 20,000 volumes of the same Hermes, and Manetho even 36,500. This latter number is nothing but the year of the world in twenty-five Sothiac cycles of 1461 years.[11] It was either invented by Iamblichus himself, or a Pseudo-Manetho, whose writings will be examined in the sequel. As little do we here propose to renew the inquiry concerning the celebrated antediluvian columns or stelæ, on which the lore of this primeval world with all its wisdom was said to be transmitted. Plato, it is well known, speaks of these columns in the opening of the Timæus. We shall examine in the fifth book whether this be any thing more than a figurative description, and how far we may be justified in assuming any connection between the Egyptian legend and the two pillars of Seth mentioned by Josephus.[12] These pillars, it is obvious, have reference to the Book of Enoch[13]; perhaps, also, to the pillars of Akikarus, or Akicharus, the prophet of Babylon or the Bosphorus (whose wisdom Democritus was said to have stolen), and on which Theophrastus composed a treatise.[14] In

tion of the work upon the gods (viii. 8.). Damascius, Proclus, Olympiodorus, and Julianus ascribe the work to Iamblichus; as, in fact, does he himself in the explanation of the Pythagorean Symbola (Gale on that passage). Iamblichus might even have been the author of some or all the books of Hermes quoted by Stobæus. It is at least remarkable that in both of them, according to all the MSS., a god, Emeph (Ἠμήφ), occurs, of whom no notice is extant elsewhere. See viii. 2.

[11] Iamblichus de Mysteriis, viii. 1, 2.

[12] Joseph. Antiq. i. c. 2.

[13] See the English translation of this book from the Ethiopian, by Lawrence, Oxford, 1821; and compare with it the extracts from it in Syncellus (p. 9—14.) upon the so-called *Egregors*, who are alluded to in the Epistle of Jude (v. 6.).

[14] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 357. P. See Strabo, xvi. p. 762.; Diog. Laërt. v. 50.; and Potter and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. i. 87., &c.

the Egyptian traditions that have come down to us, these primeval stelæ do not make their appearance until the third and fourth centuries. They are first mentioned in the so-called fragments of Hermes in Stobæus, where they are mysticised into secret symbols of created things[15]; afterwards in Zosimus of Panopolis, evidently in the colouring of Judaising-Christian writers.[16] They again appear in the worst shape of all somewhere in the fourth century, in the work of an impostor who assumed the name of Manetho. That, in this latter instance at least, they were connected with the narrative of Josephus, is shown by their allusion to the "Syriadic Country."

Passing over these and similar notices, attention must be called to the fact that Lepsius found on monuments of as early a date as the twelfth dynasty, the last but one of the Old Empire, the hieroglyphic sign of the papyrus roll. That of the stylus and inkstand was observed by him on those of the fourth[17] — consequently in the fifth century after Menes, or the earliest period of which we possess hieroglyphical monuments. All that has hitherto been identified as belonging to the third dynasty are royal Rings and Pyramids — the latter devoid of inscriptions.

The monumental characters, however, can be traced on contemporary records above a century earlier, and in forms altogether similar to those of later times. With such evidence we can hardly hesitate to assume — whatever preconceived ideas it may disturb — that this genuine Egyptian writing, combining Phonetic with figurative signs, is, in its essential elements, *at least* as old

[15] Stobæi, Ecl. Eth. Λόγος Ἴσιδος, p. 930. Comp. 978. The author was a Neo-Platonist; probably, however, an Egyptian.

[16] Syncellus, p. 13., from the ninth book of his work "Imuth" (Æsculapius), in which also the "Chemia" was introduced, i. e. the science of medicine and alchemy — from "Chemi," Egypt.

[17] Lepsius, the *Todtenbuch* of the Egyptians, Leip. 1842, Pref. p. 17.

as the time of Menes. It is the general tradition of the ancients, that the chronological registers of the Egyptian kings above referred to commenced with him — and there is no tradition of antiquity which admits of being better authenticated.

### III. THE ANTIQUITY AND HISTORICAL CONTENTS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

WITH these facts before us, it may here be proper to meet a question hitherto neglected by Egyptologers: whether the genuine books of Hermes, that is, the really Sacred Books of the Egyptians, contained any historical element, and in what shape? May not the older registers of the kings have been themselves, perhaps, a part of the Sacred Books? Or did the contents of the latter embody any considerable amount of matter of fact concerning the reigns of those kings? If they did so in ever so slight a degree, we must certainly consider them as a main source of historical tradition. For in a nation whose literature had a religious origin, and remained always in the hands of the priests, the most ancient history must also necessarily have been contained in the Sacred Writings. The progress of our researches will show how important this inquiry may become in forming any judgment upon the sources of history which have been preserved to us; and even at this stage of our subject it may throw some new light upon the Sacred Books.

We are indebted for our knowledge of these writings to Clemens of Alexandria alone; the very remarkable passage of whose work we give in our Appendix of Authorities.[18] From it we learn that the Egyptians in his time had forty-two Sacred Books — a canon, which must have been closed at latest in the time of the Psammetici, but probably earlier. The last six of these

[18] See Zoega de Obeliscis, p. 505. &c.

books treated of the art of medicine, which had taken root in Egypt in the darkest ages of antiquity, and boasted royal authors from Athotis down to Nechepso. The books of both these kings are quoted, and that of the former (a son of Menes) was certainly a sacred one. The other thirty-six books were divided into five classes, each of which requires separate consideration.

### 1. *The Two Books of the Chanter.*

The first book of the first class contained songs in honour of the gods; the second a description of royal life and its duties. The Chanter was required to know both by heart. The first book, therefore, was something like the Rig-Veda. Such was the reputed antiquity and sanctity of the Egyptian hymns, that some of them, according to Plato[19], were ascribed to Isis, and, like the earliest paintings and sculptures, were held to be 10,000 years old, and that—not, he adds, by mere figure of speech, but in the literal sense. In fact the fragments of Hermes, preserved by Stobæus, place hymns in the mouth of Isis, who teaches them to Horus. Stobæus has omitted the compositions themselves, and their genuine antiquity is very questionable.[20] The title of the second book reminds us of the precepts which Manu's Code lays down for the Indian Kings, and even of some passages in the Vedas. This book was not strictly of an historical nature, although it may have contained, doubtless, as Zoega himself remarks, a few particulars of the lives or ordinances of primeval rulers by

[19] Plato de Legg. ii. p. 657.: Σκοπῶν δὲ εὑρήσεις τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα — οὐχ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν μυριοστόν, ἀλλ' ὄντως — τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα, οὔτ' αἰσχίω, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα. And soon after where he speaks of the songs which were prescribed as being an institution worthy of the divinity, or of the divine name: καθάπερ ἐκεῖ φασι τὰ τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον σεσωσμένα χρόνον μέλη τῆς Ἰσιδος ποιήματα γεγονέναι.

[20] Stob. Eclog. Eth. ed. Heeren, p. 980.

way of examples. Here, therefore, we have historical songs in praise of the ancient kings; for both the books were adapted for musical recitation. The Egyptians, therefore, alluded principally, if not exclusively, to this book, when they described Darius as having learned from their sacred books their mythology, as well as the magnanimity and clemency of their ancient rulers, for which qualities he was himself so much distinguished and beloved.[21]

### 2. *The Four Astronomical Books of the Horoscopus.*

The second class comprised the so-called astrological books, four in number, a knowledge of which was required on the part of the Horoscopus. The first treated of the system of the fixed stars, the second and third of the solar and lunar conjunction, and the phases of the moon; the fourth of the "risings," i. e. of the sun, moon, and stars in general. Originally, doubtless, their contents were purely astronomical, relating to the constellations (not the twelve signs of the zodiac, however), the synodic epochs, and the rising of particular stars at different seasons of the year, as in Aratus. The astrological element, in the usual sense, was akin to the astronomical, but was, as we shall see, unknown to the ancient Egyptians in the shape in which we understand it. Observations of the stars were, nevertheless, of old date among them. This is stated by Aristotle in a passage to be quoted in the sequel; and the antiquity of the Sothiac cycle, which implies that observations of that star had been taken, and in fact continuously, in connection with the course of the sun, is in itself evidence of the fact. Here also the royal writings, mentioned in Manetho's "Lists of the Kings of the Old Empire," may probably have formed part of the Sacred Books.

In later times the astrological element of these books

[21] Diod. Sic. i. 95.

afforded, questionless, materials for the gross falsification of history. For not only did the impostor (a professing Christian) who, under the venerable name of Manetho, wrote in bad hexameters the still worse book of the Apotelesmata[22], borrow from their text, or from works compiled from them — but the author of the book on the Dog-star, who, if not the same, flourished certainly during the Christian æra, actually divided all history into astronomical cycles, and added, besides, rules for the art of divination.[23] Heraiskus, whom the Neo-Platonists revered as an Egyptian saint in the third century, had, it seems, already brought these absurdities into vogue.[24] We have now palpable proof, as the progress of the inquiry will show, how unfortunate was the course pursued by those critics who selected as their guide this "ignis fatuus" of astrology, astronomy, and chronology.

### 3. *The Ten Books of the Hierogrammatist.*

The relative antiquity of the astronomical books must not, therefore, lightly be called in question, however recent may be the origin of the zodiacal astrology. But the ten books of the Hierogrammatist, or sacred scribe, which composed the third class, were probably still more ancient, and certainly of a more instructive character. The first treated of the hieroglyphic art, and taught by consequence the rudiments of writing. On this

[22] The fact of Gronovius having considered such a book as genuine, only proves that historical philology — the discovery of Bentley, and the heritage and glory of German scholars — is of late origin. Zoega (p. 255. N.) detected the impostor, who, as an Egyptian priest, did not blush to desecrate the funeral ceremonies of his nation, and though professedly patronised by Ptolemy Philadelphus, to whom the book is said to be dedicated, did not scruple to represent his marriage with his sister as a Thyestean abomination.

[23] See Section IV. of this Book; and, in the Appendix of Authorities, Pseudo-Manetho de Sothide (A. VIII.).

[24] Suidas on Ἡραΐσκος. See the end of this Section.

subject also there was a royal author of primeval times, the elder Sesostris, in the beginning of the third dynasty. His work, or one compiled by the priests at his instance, was probably incorporated in the books of this class. The well-known work of Horapollo is a late and very garbled version of data supplied by them. We shall resume this head of the subject in the last section of this book, when treating of the Egyptian written character. The next of the following books treated of Cosmography and Geography. A fragment of Hermes, in Stobæus [25], may give a fair idea of part of its contents. The earth is there figured as a woman, in a recumbent position, with her arms raised towards heaven, and her feet in the direction of the Great Bear; its geographical divisions being typified by the members of the human body. Egypt naturally represents the heart. The passage of Apollonius Rhodius [26], also, where he speaks of Tablets on which the roads of the earth are laid down, contains an allusion to descriptions of a more strictly geographical nature in these books. But geographical Tablets, and consequently maps, are ascribed by the legend to the same Sesostris, who is even said to have communicated them to the Scythians.[27] This legend, also, is certainly based on these books. It is not quite clear what connection existed between the two subsequent books, "On the System of the Sun and Moon, and the Five Planets," and those of the second class, in which the sun and moon are also treated of. Both, or one of them, must naturally have contained data for

[25] Stobæus, Ecl. Eth. p. 992. sqq.

[26] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. iv. 279. sqq. See the Appendix of Authorities.

[27] Eustath. Epist. prefixed to his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (p. 80. edit. Bernhard): Καὶ Σέσωστρις δέ, φασίν, ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πολλὴν περιεληλυθὼς γῆν πίναξί τε δέδωκε τὴν περίοδον, καὶ τῆς τῶν πινάκων ἀναγραφῆς οὐκ Αἰγυπτίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σκύθαις εἰς θαῦμα μεταδοῦναι ἠξιώσεν.

calculating the solar and lunar cycles (for these form the basis of the whole arrangement of the sacred and civil year); besides other astronomical definitions and calculations closely connected with the Egyptian computation of time; for example, the notation of solar and lunar eclipses. The statement of Diogenes Laërtius, in the introduction to his biographical work[28], that the Egyptians possessed observations of 373 eclipses of the sun, and 832 of the moon, may be derived from them. This number is certainly not a mere fiction, but as certainly not to be understood of observations actually taken. Freret has remarked, in his acute treatise on the Babylonian year[29], how absurd it were to attach importance to the period of 48,863 years before Alexander, to which Diogenes carries back those observations; but we cannot so readily acquiesce in his proposed restriction of it to 1200 years. If they were actual observations they must have extended over 10,000 years, for the ancients assuredly observed and reckoned none but total, or almost total eclipses. But if the Egyptians took and recorded astronomical observations, even during the last Sothiac cycle of 1461 years, which commenced 1322 years before our æra, how is it to be explained that not one of them is mentioned by their learned countryman, Ptolemy, under the Antonines? Why, with the exception of those noted by Hipparchus, does he quote the Babylonian observations alone, the oldest of which, according to him, occurred in the 27th year of Nabonassar, i. e. 720 years before our æra? The method of reducing the vague, or solar, year of the Egyptians to the Julian reckoning, and, in general, the whole arrangement of their years, was perfectly familiar to him, and to the school of Alexandria, even at a much later period.

[28] Diog. Laërt. Proem. § 2.

[29] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr. xvi. p. 205.

The Egyptians, however, were very early acquainted with the cycles of the moon and sun, and the celestial phenomena connected with their conjunction. Hence it was easy for their priests to calculate solar and lunar eclipses with tolerable exactitude for many thousand years back. At what period such calculations may have been made cannot be ascertained, ignorant as we are of the sources from which Diogenes obtained his information. We learn, however, from one of their own old chronological works, to be cited below, that the genuine Egyptian tradition concerning the mythological period, treated of myriads of years.

We would not be understood, by what is here said, to invalidate our previous remarks on the antiquity and steady prosecution of their astronomical observations. Aristotle[30] gives precedence to the Egyptians, even above the Babylonians, as the earliest cultivators of the science; and his faithful interpreter, Simplicius, remarks on this passage, that the philosopher had procured the Babylonian observations to be sent to him by Callisthenes, one of the companions of Alexander. These observations extended back 1903 years before the Macedonian conquest. Niebuhr found historical confirmation of this statement, which we hope materially to strengthen in the fourth book.[31] The high antiquity claimed by the Egyptians for their calculations rested, therefore, on solid grounds, inasmuch as Aristotle mentions them before those of the Babylonians, without, certainly, excluding their observations of the sun and moon, nor

[30] Aristot. de Cœlo, ii. 12.: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας λέγουσιν οἱ πάλαι τετηρηκότες ἐκ πλείστων ἐτῶν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι, παρ' ὧν πολλὰς πίστεις ἔχομεν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ἀστέρων.

[31] Simplic. Commentar. 46. in lib. ii. Aristot. de Cœlo, p. 123.: Τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ, ἄστινας διηγεῖται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐννεακοσίων τριῶν μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Μακεδόνος σωζομένας. See Niebuhr, On the Benefits resulting to History from the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius.

consequently their eclipses. They may not, indeed, have been taken very scientifically, and the registers containing them were, probably long prior to the time of Ptolemy, mixed up with astrological absurdities, and swamped in the gulph of superstitious fable.

The contents of the following books (five and six)—the chorography of Egypt, and the delineation of the course of the Nile within the limits of the Egyptian territory—were certainly an important element of history. Plate XXII. in Lepsius's Records proves the high antiquity of their geometrical surveys. It represents a fragment—now in the Turin Museum—of an accurate ground-plan of the Valley of Tombs (Biban El Moluk) at Thebes, with the tomb of King Seti (Sethos) of the 19th dynasty; and, from the style of the inscription, it must have been executed at an early period.

That the principal object of these books was a general survey of Egypt, is clear from the titles of the seventh and three following—"Description or inventory of each temple, of its landed property (the estates of the priests), of its weights, measures, and other utensils"—the size and shape of which were doubtless accurately detailed. The monuments here also prove the high antiquity of this branch of economy. The Egyptian cubit of later times was the measure used in the Great Pyramid, consequently in the fourth dynasty. But the regulations made by the great Sesostris of the Old Empire were in reality the basis on which the registration of landed property, and the estates belonging to the priests, was founded. Here again then we find a succession of proofs that these institutions were built on ancient and genuine historical foundations.

### 4. *The Ten Ceremonial Books of the Stolistes.*

This fourth class was devoted principally or entirely to religious worship, and contained, likewise in ten

Books, "the ordinances as to the First-fruits, and the sacrificial stamp." The above are obviously technical expressions in common use among the Priests. These books were entrusted to the *Stolistes*. The name, Stolistes, had reference originally to the office of dressing and ornamenting the statues of the Gods, an office which conferred the right of admission to the innermost shrine[32], and indicates in a more general sense the person who had the arrangement of festivals and processions. Clemens quotes among the contents of the separate books, regulations concerning "sacrifice, first fruits, hymns, prayers, festive processions, and the like." Funerals and ceremonies in honour of the dead were probably treated of in this class; for no mention is made of them elsewhere.

Here, again, the light of the monuments, aided by passages of the classics, supplies proof of the great antiquity of those Egyptian institutions, which, in later times, claimed to rest on the authority of the Sacred Books. But (what is more important as bearing on our present inquiry) the high antiquity of the books themselves is thereby established, and their contents impressed with the character of genuine historical tradition. Down to the times of Manetho and Plutarch, and certainly to the fall of Paganism in Egypt, the sacrificial stamp remained a speaking proof of the original sin-offering in Egypt also having been human sacrifice — which is indeed implied in the primary idea of sacrifice. It represented a man on his knees, with his hands tied behind him, and the sacrificial knife pointed at his throat. Manetho's literal description of the Stamp will be found in a subsequent part of this work. Wilkinson discovered one in Egypt that answered exactly to that description, and has given a copy of it in the fifth volume of his "Manners and Customs of the Egyptians,"

[32] Inscription of Rosetta, l. 6. in Lepsius, Plate 19. See Letronne's remark on the passage, Fragm. Historicor. Gr., Appendix, p. 14.

p. 352.[33] Now, as we shall see in the second book, the practice of human sacrifices was abolished in the Old Empire at the end of the seventh century after Menes. This is the only explanation we have, but it is a sufficient one, of a circumstance which led even Wilkinson to question the truth of the well-ascertained fact, that the Egyptian monuments, in so far as known to us, offer no representation of human sacrifice, although we there find every other kind of sacrifice and offering frequently and distinctly exhibited. The ordinance of the Sacred Books, therefore, as the foundation of a custom maintained up to the latest times, must be of at least as ancient date as the abolition of that barbarous rite. For, unless the practice of marking the victim had been prescribed by law at that time, it never could have been introduced afterwards, when the reality in which it originated was forgotten or held in abhorrence. But the ordinance concerning the Stamp may have been older than the abolition, and have been retained, although the practice which gave rise to it was abandoned. This portion of the Sacred Writings then must have been composed at latest in the first centuries of the empire of Menes. The common title of books of this fourth class also proves the high antiquity of the ordinance.

### 5. *The Ten Books of the Prophets.*

The last class of these 36 Sacred Books were the Sacerdotal Books in the proper sense. Hence it was, that they bore the general name of Hieratic writings, and were intrusted to the Prophets, the first Order of Priests, who in consequence took precedence immediately after the High Priests of the great Temples.[34] These books again were ten in number. According to Clemens they

[33] Plut. de Is. et Os., c. 11. p. 363. Compare Manetho and Porphyry in the Appendix of Authorities.

[34] Inscription of Rosetta, and Letronne's remarks.

treated of "the Laws, the Deities, and the entire education of the Priests." This class therefore contained instructions as to the apportionment of the taxes, one of the privileges of the Priests, the authority for which was found in the books of the third Class, in respect at least to the Land-Tax, the Priest-Tax, or Free-Gifts. It is remarkable that long after the fall of the Egyptian Constitution, even up to this very day, the Copts retained, and still retain the office of collectors and controllers of taxes. In the general education of the Priests the regulation of their mode of life certainly held an important place. Chæremon's account of it preserved by Porphyry [35], is without doubt derived from those books, with which the former, who was a Sacred Scribe, must have been familiar. It describes rather what it ought to have been, than what it actually was, in the first centuries of our æra. That representation reminds us again very strongly of Manu, and several passages in the Vedas.

By far the most important subdivision of this class of books was doubtless that which treated of their Mythology, and the laws connected with religious rites. For the term, law, is to be understood of these, and not of the purely civil jurisprudence. The laws of the Priests however, as we know, were not of an exclusively ecclesiastical character; but many, if not all the Constitutional laws, were very closely connected with the rites and duties of the Priesthood, who formed the really privileged class of the Egyptian nation. As the Rosetta stone testifies, the solemn recognition, coronation, and consecration of the Sovereign was, even in the time of the Ptolemies, the privilege of the Priests, into whose Caste it was requisite he should be admitted, previously to his election, if he were not a Priest already, as was usually the case. Heeren also has shown

[35] Porphyr. de Abstin. ii. 6. 8. See below upon Chæremon.

from a passage in Synesius[36], that the original form of the old constitution must have been a really elective Monarchy. The Crown became hereditary with Menes, and the right of succession was extended during the Second Dynasty, in the third century of the Empire, even to the female line. From henceforward the Priests exercised no privilege of election, except when the Royal Race became extinct; and ultimately, after the formation of a despotic Monarchy, no more than the semblance and form of an election was preserved. It was not till after the Priests had elected a Sovereign on the Libyan Mountain near Thebes, and the Gods had been consulted, that the King went in procession to the Temple of Ammon, to be solemnly inaugurated. These various regulations could be embodied nowhere but in the Books of the Prophets—another strong proof of the great privileges possessed by the Priests in these primeval Egyptian Comitia.

That the oldest laws were ascribed to Hermes[37], implies however nothing more than that the first germ of the Civil law sprung from the Sacred Books, and that it was based in part upon the religious tenets which they contained — not that the Egyptian Code formed part of these Books. In the same way the Code of Manu is

[36] Heeren, Ideen, vol. ii. Egypt, p. 335. The passage he quotes from Synesius, Opp. p. 94., is from the beginning of the work on Providence, which he also called Λόγος Αἰγύπτιος. The Priests stood next to the candidates for the throne, then came a circle of warriors, and last of all the People. The Priests declared the name of the candidate, and had themselves great privileges in the mode of voting. Every soldier's vote counted for one, a prophet's for a hundred; a priest's of subordinate rank for twenty (κωμαστής, equivalent to *epulo*, according to Petavius's accurate work on Synesius, p. 73., κομαστήρια); a servant's of the temple (ζάχορος) for ten. All this reminds us very much of Manu. The form of contest between Osiris and Typhon for the crown, which Synesius selected, is a romance.

[37] Diod. i. 94.; Ælian. V.H. xii. 4.; compare xiv. 34.; Diog. Laërt. Proem. §§ 10, 11, according to Manetho and Hecatæus. We give the whole description afterwards under Manetho.

based upon the Vedas, and appeals to their doctrines, whenever its civil institutions, as in regard to the Rights of Persons, and particularly those of inheritance, were connected with religious doctrines or duties. The voluminous discussions of the Indian expositors and commentators on Manu and the Law of inheritance, consist for the most part in a more extended application to every possible case of succession, of certain of his general enactments, which again originate in some expressions of the Vedas. It is well known that Mahometan jurisprudence is founded to a still greater extent on sentences of the Koran, and is still more dependent upon, and limited by them. The civil laws of the Egyptians, according to a valuable passage of Diodorus, to be quoted in its proper place, were arranged in eight books. In these was recorded the name of each King, by whose judgment in any particular case a particular point of law had been finally established, or who was the author of any general enactment. On this occasion the same Diodorus gives a list of the most celebrated legislators in their chronological order. The oldest is Mnevis, probably the third successor of Menes, who received from Hermes his written laws, the first the Egyptians possessed. Bocchoris, the unfortunate reformer of the 8th century before our æra, who lost his throne and life in the war with the Ethiopians, is the first legislator of the New Empire. The oldest of those fundamental laws may have been contained in the Sacred Books of the Prophets, and also have been introduced into the Civil Code. This code, therefore, was not unlike the Digests of Justinian, and perhaps in form had still more resemblance to Colebrooke's Indian Pandects on the rights of inheritance, without however being, like them, confined to one branch of Jurisprudence. Such a work must have contributed doubtless materially to fix the historical chronology of the Kings, and in part also of the history of Egypt.

### 6. *The Place and Rank of the Sacred Books in Universal History.*

If we now glance at the Sacred Books themselves in their connection with history, their position as regards Universal history—the only point of view which can here engage our attention—is obvious. Incomparably more historical than the Sacred Books of the Hindoos, and far less so than those of the Jews, they appear in this respect to offer a close parallel to the Zend-books, though not without important points of difference. The Sacred Books of Irân have evidently the advantage of possessing a broader historical basis of tradition, as compared with those of the narrow valley of the Nile—half Oasis, half Island—and of a people whose connection with their primitive Asiatic stock was completely severed, and whose minds were wholly absorbed in provincial and conventional forms of thought or life. But the Egyptians on the other hand had the advantage of possessing their national history, in a much less mutilated form. In their books the Egyptians also stand forth pre-eminently a people of reminiscences and of monuments. Their Sacred Writings evinced considerably more historical cultivation than we can suppose the ancient Persians had, judging at least from what we know of the Zend-books. Had those writings been preserved, we should hardly indeed be able to restore the Chronology by their means, but they would serve at least in many ways to test its value in so far as otherwise brought to light. In this way their actual contents might serve to impart fulness and substance to the dry lists of Kings, as well as more accurately to determine and correct the Greek traditions. Here and there the shadow of some great Individuality would arise, instead of a mere illustrious name, or a Legend sunk into fiction, and the echo of

which was caught up by curious and inquisitive Greeks. That these Sacred Books however did not contain any history of the Egyptian nation, is no less certain than that the Old Testament does contain that of the Jews. The idea of a people did not exist — still less that of a People of God, the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth. History was born in that night when Moses, with the Law of God — moral and spiritual — in his heart, led the people of Israel out of Egypt. Its vitality declined, when under the Judges the feeling of National Unity relapsed into that of Bedouin Arabs and Shepherd Races. It revived once more, with the grand historical figures of Samuel, of David, and of Solomon, founders of the Jewish State. On the extinction of the United Kingdom of the 12 Tribes, the popular mind became directed more to religious subjects; and thus the true historical style could never attain its complete cultivation among this People. But in the same period the Muse of History found her favourite nation in the Greeks, and raised up in Herodotus, the master of research, the originator of the strictly historical connected narrative of the immediate Past.

If then the Sacred Books of the Egyptians contained no single section of pure history, we cannot wonder that we hear of no historical work of that people before Manetho, that is, before they came in contact with the genius of Hellas. Those books contained all that the Egyptians possessed of science or historical lore. Coordinate with them were the imperfect, but authentic Lists of the Kings. The statement therefore of Diodorus that the Lists of the Kings occupied a portion of the Sacred Books, is inaccurate. What the Egyptians possessed were descriptions of their Kings in continuous succession — not a complete work, such as the Sacred Books must have been, at least since the time of the Psammetici. The expression of Herodotus is more

exact — he calls the Lists of Kings, a book of the Priests, but not a Sacred Book.

As the Egyptians possessed no work on history among their Sacred Books, so neither had they any connected chronology like that of the Years of Nabonassar, the Olympiads, or the Building of Rome—and for the same reason. The nation sought and found here also a religious frame in which to express the continuity of its historical existence. — This was the Divine year, a Cycle of 1461 natural years, by which the entire arrangement of the year of the Priests, and the Cycle of the Sacred festivals was regulated. It was more important to them to know in what year of the celestial Cycle they lived, than in what year of the Empire of Menes. For the sake of regulating that Cycle, they traced out and marked down the numbers of its years that had elapsed —just as in the Julian and Gregorian year, the Cycle of four years implies a connected notation. This Cyclic notation, the method and importance of which will be shown in the fourth book, was made exclusively by the Priests for the Temple, and was kept a profound secret. The ordinary annual calendar gave the year of the reigning Sovereign. But the Temple calendar, regulated by the Sothiac cycle, may also be presumed to have combined with its astronomical dates some similar register of civil events. The historical lists of Kings must therefore have been compiled by learned Priests from the Sacred registers, or have been tested and corrected by them. The institution of the Priests stifled history just as the Celestial Cycle of years stifled their terrestrial computation. Both however were favourable to Chronology, and the maintenance of Annual registers.

The practical result of our inquiry into the Sacred Books may be summed up nearly as follows. The genuine Sacred Books were totally unlike the lying

Books of Hermes, invented by Syrians and Egyptians of the Neo-Platonic school. They contained no history, but much that was historical. They gave no Chronology, but constituted its basis and touchstone. If they are ancient, and extend beyond the period of the Hyksos to the Empire of Menes, the foundation of Egyptian Chronology and History is not entirely lost for the modern investigator.

The Egyptian annals and Lists of Kings claim then the highest respect. The question, however, still remains, whether we possess any notices of them prior to Manetho, and what is the value of those notices.

Before entering upon this question, our attention is called to another relative to the Sacred Books. Has any part of them been transmitted to us? and can their contents be made accessible by the science of Hieroglyphics?

### IV. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD — A PORTION OF THE SACRED BOOKS STILL EXTANT.

THE French expedition to Egypt brought to light an important hieroglyphical Papyrus, originally found in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. It was first mentioned by Cadet (1805)—afterwards in the great work upon Egypt compiled under the auspices of Napoleon. The pictured ornaments showed that it treated of ceremonies in honour of the Dead, and the transmigration of Souls. Champollion found a similar Papyrus in the Museum of Turin, in a much more complete state, and about double the size. It was written, like the former, not in Hieratic characters, but in Hieroglyphics, the monumental character of the Sacred language. Fully appreciating the importance of this Record, he immediately submitted it to close examination, and divided it into three sections. Lepsius recognised in it the most im-

portant basis for deciphering the Egyptian character and language. He divided it, according to the data supplied by the MS. itself, into 165 sections; and soon perceived that all the rolls of Papyri in the various European collections devoted to the same subject, contained more or less of these sections. Champollion assumed its contents to be of a Liturgical nature, and accordingly named it 'the Ritual.' Lepsius preferred the title of 'Book of the Dead,' as it nowhere contained any Funeral Service in the proper sense. On the contrary, the Deceased himself is the person who officiates. His soul, on its long journey through the celestial gates, is giving utterance to Prayers, Invocations, and Confessions, which are here recorded. The first 15 Chapters form a connected, distinct, separate whole, with the general superscription "Here begin the Sections of the Glorification in the Light of Osiris." This part is illustrated by a picture of the solemn procession of the Corpse, behind which the Deceased appears, offering up prayers to the Sun-God. The 1st Chapter, which is found on several Sarkophagi, contains invocations addressed to Osiris, the Lord of the Lower World. In the 9th, Osiris is opening to the Deceased, as his son, the paths of Heaven and Earth. In the following the Osirian is justified, and ushered into the realms of light. According to Lepsius this first Section contains the substance of the whole—what follows is but an amplification of the various acts or adventures of the Soul, and some of the Sections are frequently repeated word for word. But even in the most ancient portion of its contents, he perceives traces of its having been the compilation of different periods. The 2nd and 3rd Chapters are obviously supplements. The 15th stands in a similar relation to the 14th. Even the 13th and 14th are additions, and the 12th seems to have been originally the conclusion of the work. The

19th and 20th appear to be in like manner repetitions of the 18th.

A similar Book (and marked with the same name) is found at the end of the Papyrus (chap. 125.), entitled "The Book of Deliverance in the Hall of the twofold Justice." This title indicates, according to Lepsius, Justice distributor of reward and punishment. The contents are the Divine judgment on the Deceased. Forty-two Gods (the number composing the earthly tribunal of the Dead) occupy the Judgment-seat. Osiris, as their President, bears on his breast the small Tablet of Chief Judge, containing, as we see on the monuments, a figure of Justice (Ma). This deity, adorned with the ostrich feather, receives him on his arrival. Before him are seen the Scales of Divine Judgment. In one is placed the Statue of divine justice, in the other, the heart of the deceased, who stands in person by the balance containing his heart, while Anubis watches the other scale. Horus examines the plummet indicating which way the beam preponderates. Thoth, the Justifier, the Lord of the Divine Word, records the sentence. Before each of the 42 Judges a separate justification of the deceased takes place. Several of the succeeding Books contain Hymns (chaps. 129. 134. 139.). Lepsius considers the whole Papyrus to be of the date of the 18th or 19th Dynasty, consequently of the 15th or 16th Century before our æra. The above description is borrowed from the preface to his edition of that Record published immediately before his departure for Egypt.

From this epitome of the first Egyptian work ever committed to type, we now turn to the object of our own Section. The view taken by Lepsius of the connection between this work and the Sacred Books is expressed in the following terms[38]: "This book furnishes the only example

[38] Preface, p. 16.

of a great Egyptian literary work, transmitted from the old Pharaonic times—a compilation, indeed, made at various times and probably in various parts of Egypt, but one, the original plan of which unquestionably belongs to the remotest age, and which doubtless, like the other Sacred Books, was ascribed to Hermes or Thoth. This figurative authorship is no invention of later times, for in the text of the work itself mention repeatedly occurs of '*the Book*,' as well as of the 'Books of Thoth' (chaps. 68, 6. 94, 1, 2.), and in the vignette to chapter 94., the Deceased himself is offering to Thoth the Hermetic Book to which these allusions apply."

Referring to our previous analysis of the Sacred Books, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the "Book of the Dead" to be one of the Ten of the fourth class. The indications it contains of more ancient and more recent elements throw light on the origin of the Egyptian Canon, or Collection of Sacred Books. Here, as in the Hebrew Canon, ancient and modern traditions of a similar nature, or different versions of the same, were compiled and arranged up to a certain period—when the Canon was closed. This assumption does not prevent our perceiving that many of the shorter Funereal Papyri are later abridgments—though we can hardly venture to infer from thence, that the contents of this one represent precisely the most primitive elements. It is probable that both old and new were blended together in the Canon of the Sacred Books, as it existed in the New Empire. From this Canon they borrowed sometimes more, sometimes less, with a preference probably of such parts as were of most recent origin.

Here then, again, we must go back to the Old Empire in order to trace the gradual formation of the Sacred Books. Of this we have one more remarkable proof to

adduce. In Chapter 64 we find the name of "Menkeres, the justified," (deceased)[39] — the holy, much honoured Mykerinus of the 4th Dynasty — a Ruler long ago condemned to the shadowy realms of Mythology, but whom we shall exhibit in the full light of the historic period of Egypt, and whose coffin any one may touch with his own hands in the British Museum. In some of the Funereal Papyri we find, instead of his Ring, that of a King Teti, who was either one of the two Kings, Athothis, the immediate successor of Menes, or an earlier Mythological King of the primeval time. This brings us to an inquiry, the result of which affords additional proof that the Book of the Dead was one of the Sacred Books.

We have already remarked that in the Turin Papyrus, and generally indeed in other Manuscripts of this work, the character used is the pure monumental hieroglyphic. This peculiarity is in itself significant — for, as we shall see in the sequel, in all the other extant remains of Egyptian literature the Hieratic character is employed. Clemens of Alexandria, however, in his celebrated passage on the varieties of Egyptian writing, to be illustrated in its proper place, has the following remark: — "When the Egyptians record the praises of their Kings in theological legends, they write in Anaglyphs." This description has hitherto appeared unintelligible. We have not the least doubt that the term 'Anaglyphs' denotes the monumental character, as applied to books, in contradistinction to the Hieratic, in which they were ordinarily written. For the former alone, as being both *inscribed* and *Sacred*, was called Hieroglyphical, that is, the character of the Sacred inscriptions.

From Diodorus and other writers we have ample

[39] Preface, p. 12.

notices of these mythical encomiums on their ancient Kings. Among them, without doubt, Osiris occurred[40], as well as Busiris, and others of the Order of Gods and Heroes. The historical notices of the human period (though likewise in part legendary) form, consequently, a contrast to these, both in their form and their contents. Certain Kings, however, even of this latter period, were celebrated in the songs of the Priests. Some of these songs we still possess, and they are all written in the Hieratic characters.

It is probable that the remarks of Clemens as to the character in which those traditions concerning these Kings of the divine Order were written, applied equally to all the Sacred Books, of which, as we have seen, these traditions formed a part. They were all written in the Picture character of the Monuments, to distinguish them from ordinary writings. Now, as the doctrines or ordinances relative to the state of the soul after death could not have been omitted in the Sacred Books — (Clemens, in fact, points out clearly enough their position in the fourth class) — the prayers and invocations contained in the "Book of the Dead," may be assumed to have been taken from one of those ten Books. This also satisfactorily accounts for the Book of the Dead having been, as a general rule, written entirely in Hieroglyphics. Now this book is connected with the name of a primitive historical King — a connection in the true spirit of Egyptian historical tradition. We shall again refer to its contents in our fifth Book.

[40] Suidas on Ἱερογραμματεύς. Εὐήνης Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύς, δίκαιος πάνυ. In his time lived a pious Hierogrammatist, who was a prophet and magician, ὃν ᾄδουσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι ὡς θεοφιλῆ. Suidas calls him by a name which is evidently a corruption, Iachim. But the whole is borrowed from the legendarium of Osiris = Thoth. Εὐήνης is a translation of one of the titles of Osiris.

### V. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE EXISTING CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS AND HISTORICAL RECORDS.

WE have already remarked that the ancient King mentioned in the Book of the Dead belonged to the 4th Dynasty. The section in which he occurs, must necessarily be of a later, possibly of a much later date than his own lifetime. But we possess authentic *contemporary monuments* not only of him, but of the Pharaohs his ancestors, in nearly uninterrupted succession, during the previous two centuries and a half, back almost to the beginning of the 3rd Dynasty, and all written in the same character as that Papyrus exhibits. No nation of the earth has shown so much zeal and ingenuity, so much method and regularity, in recording the details of private life, as the Egyptians. Every year, month, and even day, of their life, under this or that King, was specially noted down. No country in the world offered greater natural facilities for indulging such a propensity than Egypt, with its limestone and granite, its dry climate, and the protection afforded by its deserts against the overpowering force of nature in southern zones. Such a country was adapted not only for securing its monuments against dilapidation, both above and below ground for thousands of years, but even for preserving them as perfect as the day they were erected. In the North rain and frost corrode, in the South the luxuriant vegetation cracks or obliterates the monuments of time. China has no architecture to bid defiance to thousands of years — Babylon had but bricks — in India the rocks can barely resist the wanton power of nature. Egypt is the monumental land of the earth, as the Egyptians are the monumental people of history. Their contemporary records, therefore, are at once the earliest and most certain source of all Egyptian research. Among these,

especial value attaches to the tablets of stone — or sepulchral Stëlæ — with the dates of the King's reign under whom they were erected. The most important hitherto known are those of the 12th Dynasty, the last but one of the Old Empire, the so-called race of the Osortasidæ. Through the judgment displayed by Lepsius in their selection, the Museum of Berlin had become, even before his departure for Egypt, if not the richest in these monuments, at least equal to those of Turin and Leyden. All these Stelæ have certain common forms of preamble. Dr. Hincks of Dublin has shown in an ingenious treatise, how each epoch of the monument is marked by its distinctive peculiarities of style and written character.[41] The authentic contemporaneous notation of these dates, by years, months, and days of the different reigns, may be traced four centuries further back up to the 3rd Dynasty. We shall show in the last Section of this Book the importance of these primitive notices to Universal History. The sequel of our researches will prove that such contemporary monuments are not altogether wanting, as has been generally assumed, even during the period between the downfal of the Old, and the restoration of the New Empire — that is, during the Middle Empire, the so-called time of the Hyksos.

But, lastly, we possess among these monuments, besides several of smaller compass, two great series of kings or royal personages, the one of the 14th, the other of the 16th Century. Such documents cannot, indeed, compensate for the want of written History. Even Chronology, its external framework, cannot be elicited from them. But, with the remains we possess of genuine tradition, we may still hope, by connecting the Lists and historical Commentaries with the con-

[41] Rev. E. Hincks on the Egyptian Stelæ. Dublin, 1842. 4to

temporary Monuments, to rectify, if not completely to restore, the order of the times.

These Lists and Commentaries are usually ascribed to Manetho, an historian of the third century, B. C. But the study of Hieroglyphics has brought to light, besides those Royal series or monumental lists, several written documents relative to remote periods of history, and even a Catalogue of Kings. The preceding introductory observations will enable us the better to understand and appreciate these important documents.

First of all we have the so-called historical Papyri. The most celebrated is that of Sallier. Champollion, by whom it was first examined, discovered in it a narrative of the expeditions and campaigns of the great Rameses, written not long after that conqueror's death. Several extracts, containing the names of the conquered nations — among whom are the Ir-hen — were published by Salvolini with other historical matter, transcribed, as it subsequently appeared, from papers stolen by him from his master. This Papyrus, with others on cognate subjects — the praises, for example, of Sesostris of the 12th Dynasty — were in 1839 purchased, on the recommendation of Lepsius, for the British Museum, and form one of the gems of that rich collection. The zealous curators of that institution have already published these Records in the most correct and critical form[42], so that the public have now full access to their contents.

Similar Papyrus-rolls have since been acquired for the Berlin Museum, likewise at Lepsius's suggestion, through the timely attention of the King. They all offer precisely the same palæographical character common to other records of the best epochs of the New

[42] Select Papyri in the Hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum. Fol. London, 1841, 1842.

Empire, the 18th and 19th Dynasties. Their text is in Hieratic letters of the most elegant form, peculiar to the learned books, and, by consequence, in the Sacred, or Old Egyptian dialect. Owing to the backward state of the philological branch of Hieroglyphic study, our knowledge of this dialect is unfortunately not yet sufficiently advanced to admit of their translation. Such a result can only be attained by a variety of researches, systematically and methodically followed up. There seems to be no doubt, however, that they contained the praises of the more distinguished Kings, and in a poetical form. Hence, as formerly observed, we have here still no History in the proper sense. This is no proof, however, that those songs of the Priests in praise of their Kings were of a mythical nature. They celebrated historical, and perhaps reigning, sovereigns, and may have narrated events and exploits yet fresh in the recollection. They were the work of the most historical and most monarchical of nations, for there is still in existence the amulet of a contemporary private citizen, commemorating the conquests of one of these Kings, the father of the Great Rameses.

Here, it is true, we find no chronology any more than upon the Stelæ. There exists, however, an authentic chronological document of the same period, which, with the two series of Kings, will form the subject of our next inquiry.

The series of Kings here referred to are palace-registers from the two most ancient metropolitan cities of Egypt—Thebes and Abydos. The chronological document is a Papyrus of the Ramessid epoch, containing a register of the previous dynasties. The three mutually illustrate and restore each other in the most satisfactory manner. In the two former the dates are wanting; of the latter, fragments alone remain, where numerous names are also effaced. These

three documents occupy the first pages of that "Selection from the most important Records of Egyptian Antiquity," compiled by Lepsius shortly before he set out for Egypt, under the munificent auspices of Frederick William IV.[43] We must refer our readers to that work for a complete account of these monuments. Our present object is limited to a critical analysis and application of the more important heads of historical evidence which they supply. Their philological illustration is reserved for the work promised by Lepsius, as a second part or supplement to his Plates, on his return from Egypt.

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## B.

### THE CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE LATER EMPIRE.

#### I. THE TABLET OF TUTHMOSIS, OR SERIES OF KINGS OF KARNAK.*

(*Lepsius's Records*, Plate I.)

THIS invaluable monument was discovered by Burton in a chamber at the south-east angle of the Temple-Palace of Thebes, erected by Tuthmosis III. The ruin is now commonly called Karnak after the name of the village. The Tablet was in a tolerable state of preservation, and was given to the public by its discoverer in his "Excerpta Hieroglyphica" (1824), a work that has since become very scarce. Wilkinson again sought for

[43] The complete title is: A Selection of the most important Records of Egyptian Antiquity, illustrated by Dr. R. Lepsius; in part now first published — the remainder corrected from the Monuments. Leipzig. Wigand, 1842. 23 pl. large folio.

* Removed by M. Prisse, and presented by him to the Royal Library at Paris, in one of the halls of which it is now placed.

it, and was fortunate enough to find it still uninjured. In his "Materia Hieroglyphica," printed at Cairo in 1828, (and which is equally scarce) he gave the series of Kings in a more complete and accurate shape. Rosellini first described the chamber itself in 1832.[44] But his description still left many important points unsettled, as he only inserted in his work the Kings now in existence. Lepsius, with the aid of data furnished by the French architect L'Hôte—since unfortunately dead—and Dr. Mill of Cambridge, was enabled to supply the explanation of the monument, and to restore it to the more satisfactory form in which it appears in his work. Here again Wilkinson's transcript turns out to be the most accurate.

Let us imagine a tolerably spacious chamber perfectly square, with one door, not very large, in the centre of one of the sides. On entering, four rows of figures in calcareous sandstone, representing Kings in a sitting posture, one over the other, are seen upon the walls. The Kings are seated on thrones, the backs of which at a central point, exactly opposite to the door, touch one another. So that in each of the four rows one half of the figures have their faces turned to the left, the other half to the right. The rows in each subdivision contain eight figures with one or two exceptions, where the number is but seven; the first three figures of each subdivision are on the wall opposite the entrance, which has consequently in all six in each (entire) row—the other five (or four) are on the side wall contiguous to it on the right and left. In front at the end of each side wall, opposite to the sitting Kings, stands—twice repeated—above and below—the figure, in larger proportions, of Tuthmosis III., the renowned fifth ruler of the 18th Dynasty, in the act of offering sacrifice. Each figure is precisely equal in height to two of the four rows, so that one of them is

[44] Monumenti Storici, i. 132. &c.

opposite to the two upper, the other to the two lower rows. Before him stand the tables of sacrifice with offerings, occupying sometimes more, sometimes fewer panels of the rows of Kings. The result is that the rows contain on the left 31 (8+8+7+8), on the right 30 (8+8+7+7). A reference to the table at the end of this chapter will render this description more intelligible.

Over the head of each King is his Royal Ring, with the customary imperial titles. Each is holding out his right hand, to receive the offerings. Tuthmosis himself has in one hand the sign of life (the so-called key of the Nile), with the other he offers to the sitting Kings the gifts which lie scattered before him on the table. All doubt as to the personages to whom the offerings are made is removed by an inscription appended to the right of the figure, in the following terms:

> " the Royal offerings
> " to the Kings of the Upper and Lower country (Egypt)."

Here then we have 61 Kings, with their names, in two series, prior to the contemporaries of Moses! To what period do they belong? Of the — well-known — first Kings of the 18th Dynasty, the immediate predecessors of Tuthmosis, not one single Ring is found, and the Tablet itself shows that they cannot have been lost. For those four Rings must have been the first or last of one of the two successive rows, and there are nowhere so many wanting at either of the two ends, although altogether about twenty are wholly or partially effaced. This circumstance must have involved the fathers of Egyptology in still greater perplexity, for their connected research closed with that Dynasty. Wilkinson leaves it undecided whether we are to consider them Ethiopian or Egyptian Kings. Champollion, before his expedition to Egypt, amid so many other avocations,

had neglected this Tablet altogether. But from his posthumous papers we learn that he classed those Kings, who occupy the lower row to the left, as Thebans, and belonging to the 16th or 17th Dynasty, as being clearly prior to the 18th. In short he considered them the celebrated Osortasidæ. Rosellini, whom the succession of Rings prevented from here recognising that Dynasty, shrewdly remarked, that the row on the left of the visitor on entering must be the older, because it would be to the right of a person sitting in the chamber. These, he thinks, may be Kings from the 11th Dynasty downwards. The most remarkable circumstance however in the speculations of these various authors relating to this series seems to be, that in spite of the impossibility of explaining it, not one of them has doubted its genuine character. All took for granted that the Kings, here represented, are historical, not supposititious rulers. Even the French and Italian scholars had no hesitation in asserting that they are Egyptian, and must in some mode or other have formed a series. The motives which led them to this opinion were a highly honourable sentiment of respect for historical truth and for the principles of their own school of criticism. How could Tuthmosis (it occurred to them) in the most blooming period of Egyptian science and power, have represented foreign Kings as Egyptian, spurious Kings as historical, or a number of persons thrown together accidentally, as a regular historical series? Why should the series of Kings of Karnak be explained in an essentially different manner from those of Abydos, whose well-known Kings all stand in their historical order, just as do those of the smaller series in the Ramesseum and elsewhere? Their knowledge of the monuments must also have confirmed these critics in such more accurate views. For though none of them had made a complete collection, as Lepsius afterwards

did, of all the Royal Rings hitherto copied and published in Europe, still less had submitted them to critical collation with each other—yet they knew well, especially in the second epoch of Champollion's research, beginning with his arrival in Egypt, that other names, besides those of the so-called Osortasidæ, are found on contemporary monuments.

Unfortunately no one followed up this course. In England alone investigations were made into this the most remarkable of all chronological monuments, which has been the enigma of historical criticism. But the duty of a historian compels us to say that the scope of these investigations, although conducted by learned and estimable scholars, Mr. Cullimore in London, and Dr. Hincks in Dublin, seems to have been, rather, to get rid of a perplexing document, by moving the previous question, than to extract information, or to seek the means of deciphering it. Mr. Cullimore admits indeed that the monument must be historical, but endeavours to show the probability of one portion of the series representing cotemporary rulers or even Viceroys — and while he connects this indefinite idea with a very arbitrary arrangement of names in Eratosthenes and Manetho, thinks he can succeed in restoring the Tablet as well as that of Abydos.[45] Dr. Hincks struck out a shorter road. He denies all historical

[45] J. Cullimore, Chronologia Hieroglyphica, read at the Royal Society of Literature in 1830, and printed in 1834 as an Appendix to the second part of the second volume of their Transactions — the Plates are at the end of this part. In consequence of a paper by the Rev. G. Tomlinson, now Bishop of Gibraltar and Malta, on the Sarkophagus of king Nentef, which was read to that Society in 1835, the author attempted a justification of his restoration, entitled "Of the Upper or Collateral Series of Princes of the Hieroglyphic Tablets of Karnak and Abydos." Trans. of the R. S. L. iii. 1. p. 131., &c., printed in 1837. See Dr. Hincks's Treatise on the Egyptian Stele, or Tablet (1842), quoted above.

authority to the monument, because the order of Rings in the Osortasid Dynasty is not the correct one. But he himself perceived on closer scrutiny of the monuments, that this point had been settled rather hastily, and even had his misgivings that they belong to the 13th Dynasty, and consequently to the Old Empire. But instead of following out this idea by further investigation, he cuts away the road under his own feet, by discarding the Tablet which he did not understand, and by declaring the five series of Kings in Manetho, which are represented between the 12th and the so-called 18th Dynasty, to be spurious, or, what is still bolder, contemporary with the 12th.

The plan which we propose in attempting to sound and test the value of this document is briefly as follows. Nothing but a complete study of the monuments, conjoined with a critical treatment, and application of the Lists, can, as appears to us, by possibility lead to its explanation. But the Lists as well as monuments give, instead of fewer, actually more Royal Rings between Menes and the 18th Dynasty, than these formidable sixty-one oblige us to adopt. The more natural question therefore seems to be, not whether these represent a series of Kings, but whether they give them complete and if not, what is the plan pursued? For the object of Tuthmosis may have been to represent the entire series of his predecessors on the throne, or rather those alone who were more or less connected with him by blood, he being a Diospolitan King and a Prince of the 18th Dynasty. In either case he may have omitted some Kings — perhaps whole Dynasties or parts of them. If he were guided by near relationship, and direct lineal descent, he may have filled up the series with Princes of the Royal Family, instead of the elder brothers or cousins only. This indeed seems clearly to be the case. For in the second row on the left side,

the first two Rings, entitled Kings, are succeeded by six others, which, as far they are preserved, are not represented as Kings, but as Princes. The one whom they succeed however is King Pepi-Apappus-Phiops, the chief of the 6th Dynasty, as noticed for the sake of better distinction in our Table. It must therefore be considered probable, that those Princes represent a younger branch of that family. Following the succession of Rings suggested by the natural order of the Hieroglyphics, their ancestor Pepi is found in his proper place, before those whom we assume for the moment to be the younger branch. But the numbers which are attached to them show a deviation in both the lower lines from the natural arrangement by continuous numbers. My own conviction was from the first, in common with that of Lepsius, that the titles of the so-called Osortasidæ formed part of this series — and that — long before we became aware at Paris in 1838 (through the kindness of Champollion Figeac, who communicated to us the contents of his brother's posthumous papers) that he too had been led to the same conclusion. But the discovery, first made by Lepsius, in consequence of his restoration of the Turin Papyrus, that those so-called Osortasidæ represented the 12th Dynasty of Manetho, which begins with Amenemes I., solved the enigma. It now appeared that the two chiefs of this Royal race, commonly called Amenemhe I. and Osortasen I., both stand directly in front of Tuthmosis, the King who is offering sacrifice, the former in the 3rd, the latter in the 4th row. The other Kings of this family are ranged behind Amenemhe I. as their chief. The fact of the first of the race being in this prominent position indicates an intentional distinction, which is fully explained by the monuments. It is sufficient here to establish that the Rulers of the 12th Dynasty are represented in this way; and tha

there is nothing unintelligible in that representation — nothing that ought to mislead us as to the principle of this historical arrangement.

I have been fully convinced ever since my first restoration (in 1834) of the three Egyptian Empires, the middle one of which embraces the time of the Hyksos, that the 12th Dynasty of Manetho was the last complete one of the Old Empire, and that the throne of the Memphitic Pharaohs, according to the connection which that restoration enabled me to establish between Manetho and Eratosthenes, passed with the 4th King of the 13th Dynasty over to the Shepherd-Kings. From this it became probable that the Osortasidæ are the youngest of this series. Lepsius therefore concluded, that the Pharaohs of the time of the Hyksos are represented on the other, that is, the right side of the Tablet, many of the Rings of which likewise correspond with those in his collection of monuments.

These views and discoveries form the basis of that restoration of the whole Tablet, which I made in the beginning of the year 1840, and which will be explained in the 2nd and 3rd Book. It represents exclusively my own historical researches and their results. In the 4th Book I shall give a synopsis of the whole Tablet, as thus completely restored. It was only necessary here to establish the data from which my researches have proceeded. If in so doing I have taken anything for granted which is to be proved hereafter, it is with no other object than that of enabling my readers to form a clear general idea of the bearings of the question.

Mention has frequently been made of "Royal Rings," and "Royal Titles." Of these, and of their gradual development a detailed description will be given in the beginning of the second Book, by way of introduction to our commentary on the Rings of the Old Empire. That

portion of the text has been preferred for this purpose, it being my intention in the last Section but one of this first Book, to place my readers in a position to read for themselves the Hieroglyphic signs to which the description refers.

It will therefore be sufficient to remind them that the Royal Rings of the Tablet of Karnak represent the so-called surnames, or, according to Lepsius, the Throne-names of the Pharaohs. They invariably begin, from the sixth Dynasty downwards, with the sun's disk (ra). From this time forth the Proper, or Family name, as Rameses, Tuthmes, Psammetichus, is likewise regularly found on the monuments. These are the names by which the Pharaohs are distinguished in the Lists, and usually by the Historians. It is clear therefore that the monuments supply the connecting link between the Royal Tablet and the Lists. On those of the earliest period one Royal Ring only is found—but from and after the 6th Dynasty the larger monuments invariably add by the side of that Royal Ring, the Family Ring containing the historical name, identical with that of the Lists.

In conclusion we offer the interpretation of the names contained in these Rings according to the system established by Lepsius, for transcribing the Egyptian letters into the Latin alphabet. The form here used is not the Coptic but the old Egyptian, which is likewise that of the Sacred language. Where, as far as we know, the vowel of the syllable is never expressed, an *e* is used as the indefinite vocal sign, like the Hebrew Sheva. The hyphen (-) marks the beginning of a new word—the point indicates that the letter parted off does not belong to the root itself, but expresses an inflexion either prefixed or suffixed.

# THE SERIES OF KINGS OF KARNAK.*

| THE FIRST ROW (TO THE LEFT OF THE ENTRANCE). | | | | | | | | | THE SECOND ROW (TO THE RIGHT OF THE ENTRANCE). | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tuthmes III. *standing.* | 8 *destroyed* [Nefruka-ra *L.*] | 7 S. nefru | 6 Sahura | 5 An | 4 Ases | 3 *destroyed* | 2 *destroyed* | 1 Rahem S. mente.ti | 1 .... ke | 2 S. hetenra | 3 Ras.anchhet | 4 Rahem Chute.ti | 5 *destroyed* [Rahem s.shateti *L.*] | 6 Rashashash | 7 Rashanefru | 8 *destroyed* [Rashake *L.*] | Tuthmes III. *standing.* |
| | 16 *destroyed* | 15 Nentef (*with Horus as Prince*) | 14 Nen(tef) (*with Horus as Prince*) | 13 Men... (*with Horus as Prince*) | 12 Nentef (erpa, *Prince*) | 11 *destroyed* [Teta] (*Prisse*) | 10 Pepi (*Merira*) VI, 1 | 9 Meren-ra | 9 Rashaanch | 10 Rashahep.t | 11 Ras.nefru | 12 Ra.... | 13 Ras.sesurte.ti | 14 Ramerike.û | 15 Ramerihem | 16 *destroyed* | |
| Tuthmes III. *standing.* | (*Offerings*) | 23(25) Ras.hep.t (het) XII, 1. | 22(27) Ra nubke.û XII, 3. | 21(28) *destroyed* XII, 4. | 20(29) *destroyed* XII, 5. | 19(30) Rama.tu XII, 6. | 18(31) Rasebek (nefru) XII, 7. | 17 Nentef | 17 Rahem Hetsha.u | 18 *destroyed* | 19 *destroyed* | 20 Rachute.ti | 21 Ramerihep.t | 22 S.uah en-ra | 23 Rahemuahsha.u | *Offerings.* | Tuthmes III. *standing.* |
| | 31(26) Raterke XII, 2. | 30(24) S.ken-en-ra | 29(23) Nacht en-ra | 28(22) Seser-en-ra | 27(21) Ranubter | 26(20) Ranebtu | 25(19) Ra-s. nefruke | 24(18) Ra... | 24 *destroyed* | 25 *destroyed* | 26 *destroyed* | 27 Rata f... (? *L.*) | 28 S.het... en-ra | 29 Ras.nefru | 30 Ra ..... | | |

* The sign "hem," which occurs in some of the royal names of this tablet, Mr. Birch reads "cherp," the first (of that name).

### II. THE TABLET OF RAMESSES, OR SERIES OF KINGS OF ABYDOS.

(*Lepsius's Records*, Plate II.)

IF the two series of Kings above examined have hitherto been turned to but little account for the purpose of historical inquiry, the monument of the Great Ramesses, the series of Kings of Abydos, of about 150 years later date, has on the other hand been adopted since the epoch of its discovery as the most authentic basis of Hieroglyphical research, and the surest test of every attempt to restore the 18th and 19th Dynasties. It is remarkable that this discovery, for which we are indebted to Mr. W. Bankes, took place in 1818 — on the very eve of that of the Hieroglyphic alphabet. By the same gentleman the tablet was transcribed and a lithograph of its contents distributed among his friends; which was also published in 1825 as the title-page of Mr. Salt's essay. Unfortunately the first drawing of the monument, that of Caillaud, which Champollion made the basis of his researches into the 18th and 19th Dynasties in 1822, was inaccurate. Still it is very important, as it confirms upon the whole that of Bankes, and presents the monument in a more complete shape than that in which it has ever existed since that period. Burton, Felix, and Wilkinson however soon made correct fac-similes of it, which are now the more invaluable, as the monument itself has subsequently been still further mutilated, especially by a portion of it having been cut off by the Greek, Papandriopulo, in the service of the French Consul-General Mimaut. Mimaut despatched the Tablet to Paris, where the Trustees of the British Museum bought it at public auction in 1837 for 500*l*. It now adorns that collection, an appropriate companion of the Rosetta stone. For as the latter forms the basis of the discovery of the Hieroglyphics, so the former, after the series of Kings of Karnak, is the oldest authentic chronological record in the world. Rosellini made Wilkinson's drawing the basis

of his commentaries, with a remark upon the inaccuracy of Caillaud's.[46] By Lepsius the Tablet of Abydos was finally published, for the first time, in complete perfection after the original. By this fac-simile the whole representation is at length made really intelligible, and not only has the termination of each side been ascertained, but also the supposition of a whole row of Kings having been lost from the top, fully disproved. Lepsius most fortunately found a clue for completing the lateral inscription opposite the King's throne, which was much mutilated, and for interpreting the superscription which was entirely lost, as also the Hieroglyphics which connect the separate rows of Kings, on a monument, copied by Burton from the Ramesseum.[47] Lepsius's copy therefore is of decisive importance both for explaining the Tablet, and for restoring the entire Egyptian Chronology.*

The series of Kings of Abydos is sculptured in fine limestone on the wall of a chamber, now destroyed, within the Temple-palace built or restored by Rameses in that primeval royal city. The lower part, comprising the legs, of a Deity swathed in bandages is seated on a throne, holding with both hands a Kukufa sceptre. Lepsius has restored this as Osiris, who may be here considered as the principal Lord of the West, and the Pluto of the Hades of the deceased Kings. He is looking towards a double row of Royal Rings, 26 in number, of so many Egyptian Kings, who are represented seated under their Rings, swathed like Osiris, and wearing alternately the upper and lower portion of the Pschent, the sign of Lordship of Upper and Lower Egypt. Lepsius has restored the horizontal line of hieroglyphics, which was placed over their Rings as follows: *A libation to the Lords of the West, by the offerings of* (i. e. offered by) *their son the King Rameses, in his abode.*" (This

[46] Mon. Stor. i. 149. &c. Compare iii. A. 13., &c.

[47] Burton, Exc. Hierog., plate 56. Compare 57.

* In the following explanation of the Tablet I have availed myself of Mr. Birch's suggestions.

inscription is directly connected with the vertical lines or columns underneath it, containing the names of the Kings.) The libation is offered "to" (indicated by the zigzag line of water) each King successively "through" or "from the offerings" (i. e. a dual offering because there are two names in each vertical line) "of King Rameses." Now, judging from the two Tablets at Karnak, where the same King is offering to the Deities "Phtha" and "Ra in all their names," and where the Divinities are on the left, and the King with his offerings on the right of the picture, the King Rameses must have been on the right of this Tablet when it was complete. The two perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics on the left, as restored by Lepsius from an analogous inscription, contain the speech of the Kings. They say: (*The speech of the Lords* [L.]) *of the West to their son the creator and avenger, the Lord of the World, the Sun who conquers in truth, we ourselves elevate our arms to receive thy offerings and all other good and pure things in thy palace, we are renewed and perpetuated in the paintings of thy house, we beg to approach at thy side with thee, to rule it like the Solar gate of the heaven, where is the Sun for ever*(?). Although therefore the votive inscription is entirely wanting above, and only the lowermost part of the two hieroglyphic columns before the King is preserved, both inscriptions nevertheless can be restored with such general accuracy, by means of the precisely similar one above referred to, as fully to establish the fact that the Tablet terminates with the upper of these two rows of Royal Rings. It must appear strange no doubt, that the array of persons who are doing homage to the Great King, in the two nearest compartments of the second row, begins with his own Rings. But the very same representations occur in the Temple sculptures, and especially in those of this identical King Ramesses. The earthly Sovereign is distinct from him who is one day to be enthroned under "the Lords of the Lower World," and therefore is sacrificing to him,

as a God, just as he might have done, in the Persian Mythology, to his Ized, or, in the Etrusco-Roman, to his Genius. The King receives from him in return thanks and the divine blessing. A twofold representation of royalty both as an earthly and as a glorified king, seems also to occur on the sculptures of Persepolis.[49] Darius and Xerxes appear in the former capacity — Cyrus, the founder of the Empire, as Ized. Here however one and the same King is delineated in both characters.

Four and twenty Rings of this row still remain, so that in the two we have altogether 50. It was remarked in very early times that these Throne-Rings, or surnames, represented the ancestors of the Great Ramesses in historical order, ranging back from his immediate, to his more distant, predecessors. The family names corresponding with each of the surnames or Throne-names immediately preceding, and by which the Rings are usually known in History, were sought for and found in numerous monuments familiar to the European public, as well as in the Royal Rings transmitted from Egypt. For, as has been already remarked in speaking of the Tablet of Karnak, both names are as a general rule found together. It was subsequently observed that the next eleven Rings, which precede those of Ramesses, reached as far back as Ahmes-Amos, the chief of the 18th, or, as others have preferred calling him, the last of the 17th Dynasty. These preceded several Rings of the so-called Osortasidæ— but the last nine in that row, that is, the most ancient, are entirely wanting. In the upper row, the oldest thirteen are likewise destroyed — but the other half of the series is more or less preserved. These names were unknown; but as the arrangement of them was identical with that of those which are known, we can have no hesitation in considering them as historical. Were these, and those which are wanting, all

[49] Ritter, Asia, viii. p. 78.

Kings, and, if so, of which Dynasties? Were their ancestors of the blood royal, and if so, of what race? In other words — does the Tablet represent a pedigree, or a series of reigning Kings, and is the series, in the one or the other case, continuous, or (which we cannot doubt after our previous conclusions) does it comprise merely a selection of Kings or Princes, although in chronological order? All these are questions, which have hitherto scarcely been so much as asked, still less has it ever been attempted to answer them, on the basis of a critical examination of the Monuments and Lists. No restoration of the Tablet was attempted, properly speaking, beyond the Rings of the so-called Osortasidæ. These too were supposed to be the immediate predecessors of the 18th Dynasty, and were called usually the 17th, sometimes also the 18th Dynasty; in both cases arbitrarily, and, as we have already seen, beyond a doubt erroneously. The immediate result however deduced by Lepsius from his discovery that those Osortasidæ composed the whole of the 12th Dynasty, was the fact, that the Dynasties between the 12th and 18th are here omitted altogether. But this, according to the system of our restoration, means nothing more than that the Kings of the Hyksos period, represented on the Tablet of Karnak, find no place in that of Abydos.

The subjoined synopsis gives a clear idea of this monument, to which we shall have so frequent occasion to refer in the following Books. We have annexed to the Kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasties the corresponding family names by which they are familiarly known, as tending to place in a more conspicuous light the importance of the Tablet. They indicate at the same time the limits of the researches hitherto undertaken. The Rings of the so-called Osortasidæ have also been marked according to their position in the 12th Dynasty, as a basis for collation with the Tablet of Tuthmōsis.

THE TABLET

| 26 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S.nefru-ke-Annu | Nefru ke Pepi Sneb | (Ra) Nefru-ke ... | (Ra) Nefru-ke-Rerel | (Ra) en-ke | S.nefru ke | Hor-Mer-en | Ra-Nefru-ke-Chentu | Ra-Tet-ke Ma | Ra-Nefru-ke Nebbi |
| 52 | 51 | 50 | 49 | 48 | 47 | 46 | 45 | 44 | 43 |
| Mia-mun Ra-mes-su | Ra-Seser-ma satep-en-ra | Ra-ma-men | Ra-mes-su | Ra-ser-teru Satep-en-ra | Ra-neb-ma | Ra-men-teru | Ra-na-teru | Ra-men-ter | Ra-na-en-ter Sha-nefru-teru |
| *Ramesses* II. (*the Great*) | (*Seti-Mene-phthah*) | *Ra-messes* I. | (*Ho-rus*) | (*Ame-nophis* III. | (*Tuth-mosis* IV.) | (*Ame-nophis* II.) | (*Tuth-mosis* III.) | (*Tuth-mosis* II.) | |
| XIX. 3. | XIX. 2. | XIX. 1. | XVIII. 9. | XVIII. 8. | XVIII. 7. | XVIII. 6. | XVIII. 5. | XVIII. 4. | |

The two Name-Rings of Ra-Seser-ma

### III. THE ROYAL PAPYRUS.

(*Lepsius's Records*, Pl. III—VI.)

The French Consul-General Drovetti, celebrated since the days of Napoleon for his love of Egyptian art, brought to Europe a roll of Papyrus, which, with the rest of that splendid collection despised by the Bourbons, fell to the lot of the Turin Museum. It lay there neglected as a mere mass of illegible fragments until discovered by Champollion in 1824, who inserted a notice of it in a scientific Journal.[50] He saw at once that this Papyrus contained a List of royal Egyptian Dynasties,

[50] Bulletin Universel, Nov. 6. 1824.

OF ABYDOS.

| | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (Ra-) Nefru-ke | (Ra-) Men-ke | (Ra) Neter.. ke | ...f | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| | 42 | 41 | 40 | 39 | 38 | 37 | 36 | 35 | 34 | 33 | 32 | 31 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 |
| | Ra-na-ter-ke | Ra-ser-ke | Ra-neb-rôs | Ra-ma-tu | Ra-en-ma | Ra Sha-ke . û | Ra Sha-ter | Ra-Nub-ke . û | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| | | | | XII. 7. | XII. 6. | XII. 5. | XII. 4. | XII. 3. | | | | | | | | |
| | (*Tuth-mosis* I.) | (*Ame-nophis* 1.) | (*Amôs*) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | XVIII. 3. | XVIII. 2. | XVIII. 1. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Satep-en-ra Miamun-Ramessu.

and undertook to arrange the principal fragments, passing over those of smaller dimensions. Seyffarth in 1826 found this MS. to be 6 feet long by 14 inches in height, and arranged in 12 columns, each of which contains from 26 to 30 lines, and almost as many names of Kings. There were vestiges of more than 200 Kings, and from the number of unconnected fragments there must have been at least 250. On the back were calculations in which the name of Ramses occasionally occurs. This circumstance would seem to establish the 19th Dynasty, or the first epoch of the New Empire, as the date of the compilation. Several other considerations tend also to this conclusion. No single name of the 18th or 19th, much less of any later Dynasty, occurs in the List. The Hiera-

tic character however is so precisely the same as that of the other MSS., which, from their superscription or subscription, clearly belong to that epoch, that we cannot do otherwise than adopt it, even upon palæographical grounds — grounds which are at least as good as those familiarly applied to Greek and Latin MSS.

To Seyffarth belongs the signal merit (and we have a double pleasure in admitting it, considering as we do his other attempts in the department of Egyptian research to be completely abortive) of having spared no pains in restoring the invaluable MS. in a durable manner, and in reconstructing with scrupulous fidelity, or at least in securing the smaller pieces which Champollion had thrown aside.

This fact was communicated by the curators of that collection to Lepsius when engaged in studying those treasures in 1835. He took an accurate and complete copy of the whole. Unfortunately however, some portions of it, which Champollion had both seen and copied, and which Salvolini published after his death, were no longer to be found. In the year 1838 he obtained an insight into the labours of Champollion at Paris, by the kindness of his brother, and a communication of Seyffarth's arrangement of the fragments, through Mr. Samuel Birch of the British Museum. He found that both those scholars had in reality made the same arrangement, in 12 pieces. When in the year 1840, Lepsius's discovery of the 12th Dynasty of Manetho in that Papyrus rendered it important to have an exact copy of that one line of the fragment in which there was a different reading in Salvolini and Champollion — he undertook a second journey to Turin expressly for the purpose of dissipating even the shadow of a doubt as to the actual state of the Record. His present publication of the fragments is therefore as scrupulous and correct a copy as has ever yet appeared of any monument of antiquity. We shall not here anticipate either the

detailed explanation of its contents, which he himself has promised on his return from Egypt, nor the results of our own investigations; we shall be contented for the present to place before our readers the general bearings of these results on the progress and prospects of Egyptian historical research.

The List began (in the first volume of the fragments) with the Dynasties of the Gods. Six names are preserved — Seb (Chronus), Osiris, Seth (Typhon), Horus, Thoth, and Ma (Truth) — by the side of the 7th, in whose name Salvolini fancied he discovered the Hawk, Lepsius found the number 400 appended. According to him, 3140 years are ascribed to Ma, and to Thoth probably 3226. By the side of one of the Dynasties of Gods, or, as is more probable, at the conclusion of those of the Heroes or Manes (the provincial Dynasties prior to Menes), stands, according to Salvolini, the subjoined notice:

"Sum total: 23 reigns, 5613 years, .... months, 28 days."

This shows clearly the arrangement of the Egyptian Royal Lists. They were divided into Dynasties — by the side of each King the length of his reign was registered, and each Dynasty closed with the summing up of the Kings, and of their years of reign. The commencement of a new Dynasty, or a division in the same Dynasty, is indicated by red characters.

In the second column the names of Menes and Athotis are preceded by computations, which unfortunately we are unable to interpret. Thus in line 9 behind Horus we read, "13,420 years," and then follows:

"Kings up to Horus, 23,200 years" (the decimals may have dropped out). Next to this come two mutilated data, where however the name of Menes can yet be recognised (lines 11, 12.) — the 13th row still exhibits that of Athotis, the son and successor of Menes, according to the Lists.

Lepsius has arranged the remaining Rings of mortal Kings in three great masses, in the following manner:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *First:* for the Old Empire: | | |
| (*a*) before the 6th Dynasty (terminating with 3 Kings of the 5th) - - - | 34 Kings, in | 10 frag. |
| (*b*) from the 6th up to the 12th, closing with the latter - | 20 Kings, in | 6 frag. |
| Making in all for the Old Empire | 54 Kings, in | 16 frag. |
| *Secondly:* for the Middle Empire (Hyksos period) - - - - | 65 Kings, in | 6 frag. |
| Altogether therefore, before the restoration of the Empire | 119 Kings, in | 22 frag. |

The details will be reserved for their proper place, as far as they are as yet capable of historical treatment. It will here be sufficient to premise, that several of the 10 fragments, ascribed by Lepsius to the first five Dynasties, ought, in our opinion, to belong to the series of Provincial Kings before Menes. Of the number of these last we find some details in Manetho, but of their names we know literally nothing, except from some notices of Diodorus, which have hitherto been misunderstood. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted upon any critical ground that the 6 fragments with the 65 Kings belong to the Middle Empire. Not only can we show from the monuments that none of the names of those Kings belong to the Old or New Empire, but even that a considerable number of them occur on contemporaneous monuments of the Middle Empire. The Egyptians therefore (as our previous investigation showed to be probable) really possessed in the beginning of the New Empire registers of the Royal Families of its Middle period. The mere state of mutilation, deplorable as it is, in which the fragments of these ancient registers have reached us, could never be a sufficient

excuse with any sound critic, for evading the attempt to analyse and restore the original succession of the individual names which they contain. The researches of Lepsius have done away with all apology for such precipitation, such want of critical industry or honesty. Whoever has been in the habit of scrutinising Papyri is aware that the fibres of that material supply still nicer criteria for the detection of any false or uncertain arrangement of the fragments, than the characters with which it is inscribed. The Directors of the Museum at Turin afforded Lepsius an opportunity of submitting the labours of Seyffarth to a rigid test of this kind, and the result of this investigation is now before the world. A transcript made by Lepsius of the existing Rings of the Papyrus, from the Hieratic into the Monumental character, will, it is hoped, shortly be published in the complete collection and interpretation, which he has promised us, of all the Royal Rings hitherto discovered [51], and will enable the historical student more fully to understand and appreciate its value.

One circumstance, however, deserves more particular mention in this place. We may venture to assume from the investigation of the monuments of the Old Empire, that, in it, joint reigns occur, and especially in the 12th Dynasty, one of those preserved in the Papyrus. But neither here, nor elsewhere in this record, are several kings specified as reigning contemporaneously. Such co-regents consequently may be assumed to have been either entirely omitted, perhaps with the exception of the elder one, or the one whose reign was of longest duration; or their names, where at least of the same family, may have been all introduced in the usual dynastic succession, one after the other. If

[51] Announced by the editor of the "Todtenbuch" under the title of "The Book of the Egyptian Kings, a Chronological Catalogue of all the names of the Egyptian Kings in genealogical connection, from the Dynasty of the Gods and Menes down to Caracalla, &c. quarto."

the latter hypothesis were preferred, we should have, in this oldest record of Egyptian Chronology, a method directly opposed to the system of a Chronological Canon. We may call it the Dynastic, its aim being to register every sovereign, whether contemporaneous or successive. In this case, as many years of reign will have been assigned to each of the co-regents, as he really had a share in the government. Admitting this to be correct, the sum total of the reigns recorded in such or such a Dynasty will still be considerably greater than the duration of the Dynasty; that is, than the time intervening between the beginning of the first, and the end of the last reign.

In conclusion, we would remark that the Rings transferred from the Papyrus to our Tables of Kings, have, where necessary, been marked with the letter *p*, those which are taken from the Royal Rings of Karnak or Abydos, with *k* or *a*. Those without any mark at all are such as are known from other miscellaneous, chiefly contemporaneous, monuments.

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## C.

### MANETHO THE SEBENNYTE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

#### I. MANETHO'S PERSONAL CHARACTER.

(See *Appendix of Authorities*, Part I.)

"O Egypt! Egypt!" (it is said in one of the Hermetic books — the dialogue between Hermes Trismegistus and Æsculapius) "fables alone will be thy future history — wholly incredible to later generations ..... and nought but the letter of thy stone-engraved monuments will survive."

Manetho, the most distinguished historian, sage, and scholar of Egypt, has shared the fate of his country. The

man, whom all our ancient authorities mention with respect—the historian, endowed, as the sober Ælian says[52], with consummate wisdom, is become almost a Mythological personage, with whom we have ceased to connect any clear and definite idea of personality. His works, with the exception of a few fragments, have been swept away by the destructive hand of time, while his fair fame has been obscured by the frauds of later writers, usurping his name in order to give respectability to their own dreams—and by the indifference of modern commentators. Many even imagine they are exercising sound criticism, by placing him, as a liar and impostor, in the same category with those who have appropriated his name. The Egyptologers themselves, while convinced by the Monuments of the historical truth of his Royal annals (for their "stone-engraved" word speaks too clearly in his favour), have hitherto denied him the poor amends for their injustice, of a serious attempt to restore those annals to order—a task, indeed, for the full accomplishment of which the means were as yet scarcely at hand. They have dearly paid the penalty of this negligence in their own works. The greater part of their historical errors and perplexities arise from the fact of their having begun to restore Egyptian Chronology and History, without any previous clear idea of the origin and value of our present Lists, and their connection with Manetho's historical work.

There is nothing more disheartening to the historian, nothing more unprofitable to the inquirer, than to be thrown back upon authorities, of whose historical personality no definite idea can be formed. It is only where such a personal identity is clearly perceptible as to time, national feeling, education, and habits, that we can understand and appreciate his reports. We should then be able—as it would also be our duty—to

[52] Ælian, H. A. x. 16. We find all the passages upon Manetho tolerably complete, but as usual without critical method (in Fabr. Bibl. Gr. ii. 33.).

distinguish between what was within, and what beyond his power to record.

Now we believe that such an identity can be proved in the case of the Sebennyte. It certainly can only be brought home in its fullest extent to the mind, which he himself has led by the hand through the periods, monuments, and traditions of which he treats. We shall, therefore, again revert to this important matter of his Personality in the Fourth Book. We consider ourselves, however, already competent to point out to the reader the light in which his portrait should be contemplated. We shall, we trust, be able to put an end for the future to all possibility of confusion, on the part of any candid inquiries between the genuine and spurious Manetho. The settlement of this question at the outset is indispensable to the progress of all critical research in the field of Egyptian historical antiquity.

Manetho is known to the ancients as a priest of Sebennytus[53], living in high estimation at the court of the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, surnamed Soter. When that King, in consequence of a vision, caused a colossal image to be brought from Sinope to Egypt, Timothy the Interpreter, and Manetho the Sebennyte were commissioned, as we learn from Plutarch, to examine it. Their decision, that the God whom it represented was Serapis, the Osiris of the Lower World, or Pluto, induced the King to decree a temple and appropriate rites to that deity.[54] It is probable that Manetho also lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus II., since the authors of the "Apotelesmata" and the Book of Sothis (or the Dogstar), who usurped his name—if they be not one and the same person—dedicated their forgery to that King. The title of High Priest of Heliopolis, ascribed to the genuine Manetho, is probably fictitious, and equally

[53] Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 9. p. 354. W.: Μανεθὼς ὁ Σεβεννίτης (read Σεβεννύτης, from Semenut).

[54] Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 28. p. 362, and Wyttenbach on this passage.

erroneous the statement in Suidas[55], that he was, according to some, a Diospolitan. The same lexicographer ascribes to him the "Apotelesmata," in hexameter verse, the same, therefore, still extant. Here he appears already as a mythological personage. The sage and scholar could be a native of no other spot than the sacred Thebes, and must have lived and studied in that priestly city of ancient renown. It is self-evident that he belonged to the priestly caste. It is not impossible that he was High Priest of Egypt; but this rests on no authority but a variety of reading in Suidas[56], and the pretensions of the Pseudo-Manetho of the Dogstar.

His Egyptian name was clearly Manethōth, that is, Ma'-n'-thôth, "he who was given by Thoth." This would, in Old Egyptian, be pronounced Thothma, and when translated into Greek corresponds to the name Hermódotus or Hermodōrus. The form Manethoth is still found in some passages of the extracts from the Lists, especially in the superscriptions.[57] He is elsewhere called in these extracts Manethō—which may be considered the most correct mode of writing it in Greek. Manethōs again approaches to the Egyptian form. Manethōn is a complete Grecism.

The Egyptian scholar evidently owes his high reputation to the merit of being the first who distinguished himself as a writer and critic upon religion and philosophy, as well as chronology and history; using the Greek language, but drawing his materials from native sources, especially the Sacred Books. That he was "skilled in Greek letters" we learn from Josephus, who had no great feeling in his favour — and the extracts given by that author from his writings display a good historical style.

[55] Μαναίθως (read Μανέθως).

[56] Μαναίθως: τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀρχιερεύς (the other MSS. have ἱερεὺς Αἰγύπτου.

[57] See the Appendix of Authorities, A. III. and notes.

## II. MANETHŌ THE SCRIBE.

In the first chapter of this Section we have seen how closely history and doctrine were connected in the Sacred Writings of the Egyptians — that not only all the religious institutions of the country were embodied in their contents, but that they also formed a standard text-book of the Mythical Tradition of the primeval time, as well as of the real historical period. It is well known what a charm the study of Egyptian science and antiquity possessed for the great minds of Greece, and what efforts they made, especially after the time of Herodotus, to penetrate through the fantastic forms of their Gods and animal worship, to those mysteries and ceremonies, in which they discerned a higher philosophy, and one more congenial to their own. Egypt was to them the Sphinx, whose intellectual human countenance looked down upon them with an inquiring and perplexing gaze, and stimulated their efforts to solve the enigma of its animal body. Egypt was to them the primeval world — the given point, foreign yet akin to them, by which they were made conscious of their own existence in Universal History. They were dimly conscious that by it might be lifted up the veil, which their own want of written tradition, and their all-powerful sense of the Beautiful, moulding every object according to its own ideal type, had thrown over the origin of their race and its religion. But Egypt remained a seven-fold sealed book to them. The errors of Herodotus they perceived, but found it difficult to correct. Plato is the strongest proof of this. Whether he ever was in Egypt is doubtful — and the evidence on the affirmative side amounts to little more than such inference as may be derived from his knowledge of Egyptian lore, and the pleasure he takes in alluding to the country and its affairs. Certain it is, however, that he exerted himself to solve even its chronological problem,

with which he had less sympathy than with its doctrines and ideas. But he never advances beyond very general, and clearly inaccurate, data. Even Aristotle, the professional scholar and historical critic, confined himself, as we shall see, to a vague statement concerning the age of Sesostris, the original author of the division into castes.

It is certain, also, that before the æra of the Ptolemies, no native work was accessible to the Greeks, either on the Doctrine, the Chronology, or the History of Egypt. Manetho undertook to supply the deficiency in regard to each of these branches, and thereby formed an epoch in the research of the Greeks, and of the Egyptians themselves. We shall first endeavour to establish his claims to this merit, in respect to his theological and philosophical works.

"Manetho, the Egyptian," says Eusebius[58], "not only reduced the whole Egyptian history into a Greek form, but also their entire system of Theology, in his treatise entitled 'The Sacred Book,' as well as in other works." Theodoret, in the second quarter of the 5th century, describes him as the author of a mythological work, or works, concerning Isis and Osiris, Apis and Sarapis, and the other Egyptian Deities."[59]

Suidas ascribes to him "physiological and astronomical works;" the latter of which he distinguishes from the "Apotelesmata," although he considers these also as Manetho's. The last circumstance is certainly suspicious. Yet Suidas, also, had access to genuine sources. Thus he quotes Manetho's book on the "Pre-

[58] Euseb. Præp. Ev. Procem. ad lib. ii.: *Πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς πλάτος τῆς Ἑλλήνων μετείληφε φωνῆς, ἰδίως τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεολογίας Μανεθὼς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔν τε ᾗ ἔγραψεν ἱερᾷ βίβλῳ, καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν.*

[59] Theodoret, Serm. ii. de Therapeut. (p. 753. vol. iv. ed. Schw.): *Μανεθὼς δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐμυθολόγησε.*

paration of the Sacred Incense" (Kyphi), the genuine character of which, as we shall see in the sequel, admits of no doubt. And we know of no spurious work on Physiology or Astronomy, except the "Apotelesmata," by the impostors who usurped his name. With regard to his physiological labours, however, we have other—probably better means of information.

Diogenes Laertius, in the preface to his work, gives a description, unfortunately a very meagre one, of the Egyptian doctrine concerning the Gods and Justice (moral precepts and civil institutions) according to Manetho and the younger Hecatæus of Abdera, the friend of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[60] As he had doubtless read and made extracts from Manetho, we may safely consider every thing in the shape of matter of fact quoted by him, as derived from that author. The title of the work—which Diogenes, it is probable, only knew through Hecatæus—was "A Compendium of Natural Philosophy."[61] The description given of it by Diogenes is as follows:—"The beginning (the first principle of things) is matter[62]; from it the four elements afterwards separated themselves, and animals were formed. The Deities are the Sun and Moon—the former is named Osiris, the latter, Isis. Their emblems are the Beetle, the Dragon (doubtless the Basilisk), the Hawk, and others. Statues and holy places are prepared for them, but the true form of God is unknown. The world had a beginning and is perishable—it is in the shape of a ball. The stars are fire, and earthly things are under their influence. The moon is eclipsed when it crosses the shadow of the earth. The soul endures and passes into other bodies. The rain is caused by a change in the atmosphere. Hecatæus and Aristagoras mention other physiological doctrines. They had laws also for

[60] Diog. Laert. Procem. §§ 10, 11.

[61] Τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή.

[62] Ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶναι ὕλην.

Justice, which they ascribed to Hermes (Thoth). They paid divine honours to useful animals. They claim the invention of Geometry, Astrology and Arithmetic."

Although this meagre enumeration may not betray any profound conceptions of Egyptian wisdom, and Egyptian antiquities, but rather a homely, practical outline of the system—still, that very circumstance serves to mark more strongly the total contrast between the genuine Manetho, as known to the ancients, the priestly counsellor of the first Ptolemy, and the fantastic, dreamy, trifling impostor, with whom we shall hereafter become acquainted as the spurious Manetho.

We have still, however, to consider one most important authority relative to the contents of the theological and philosophical writings of Manetho: namely, Plutarch's valuable treatise on Isis and Osiris. Nothing can be better authenticated by the style, ideas, and evidence, than the genuine character of this work, composed by its author at Delphi, and dedicated to the High Priestess of that Temple, Kleia, who was likewise known from other authorities to have been his friend. Still it has not altogether escaped sceptical attack, owing to the very circumstance of its exhibiting so large an amount of Egyptian learning—a fact which cannot indeed be questioned. A critical survey of the purely Egyptian element of this system can indeed leave no reasonable doubt of its being mainly derived from the theological works of Manetho. This is proved, in some instances, by citation from those works on the part of other writers. In some again, Plutarch himself appeals to him by name. A critical review, therefore, of the connection between the two authors will also tend to throw a valuable light on the history of each.

Plutarch quotes Manetho the Sebennyte, in express terms—but (according to his usual practice) without reference to any particular work—for the derivation of the Egyptian name, Zeus, Ammon—or rather Amun, as

he correctly writes it. Manetho, he tells us, interprets the word as signifying the Hidden God.[63] Iamblichus gives the same interpretation — in every point of view a very rational and probable one — but without naming his authority.[64]

Ælian on the other hand specifically quotes Manetho in explanation of the reason why swine's flesh was forbidden to the Egyptian Priests. He states it to be, that whoever tastes sows' milk is attacked with scurvy and leprosy[65]: — another very rational interpretation. Plutarch[66] quotes this circumstance likewise, as a reason why the Egyptians considered the hog an unholy (unclean) animal. Manetho, therefore, must be his authority, although not mentioned by him on this occasion. The reason may be, that he also gives another and a mystic reason for the prohibition — not derived from Manetho — namely, that at the New Moon the hog indulges his animal propensities.

At the close of his work he explains with remarkable fulness of detail, and a liveliness of manner reflecting a deep interest on his subject, how the Kyphi, the sacred incense of the Egyptians, was prepared and mixed during the reading of the passage in the Sacred Books which referred to it. We have already observed that Suidas was acquainted with a special work of Manetho on the Kyphi. Plutarch expressly quotes his authority

[63] Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 9. p. 354. *Τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν* AMOYN, *ὃ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἄμμωνα λέγομεν, Μανεθὼς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἴεται, καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς.*

[64] Iamblichus de Mysteriis, viii. 3. p. 159.

[65] Ælian, H. A. x. 16.: *Ἀκούω δὲ καὶ Μανεθῶνα* (printed Μαναιθωνα) *τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, σοφίας εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα ἄνδρα, εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γάλακτος νείου γευσάμενος ἀλφῶν ὑποπίμπλαται καὶ λέπρας.*

[66] Plut. l. i. c. 8. p. 353. *Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ὗν ἀνίερον ζῶον ἡγοῦνται· ὡς μάλιστα γὰρ ὀχεύεσθαι δοκεῖ τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης, καὶ τῶν τὸ γάλα πινόντων ἐξανθεῖ τὰ σώματα λέπραν καὶ ψωρικὰς τραχύτητας.* Compare Procl. ad Hesiodum, *Ἡμερ.* v. 767.: *τὴν δὲ σῦν ἀνίερον Αἰγυπτιοί φασιν, ὅτι μίξεσι χαίρει κρυπτομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλιοῦ τῆς Σελήνης.* See Wyttenbach upon this passage.

by name on two points of the greatest importance in the religious history of Egypt. One relates to the Egyptian names of Typhon, especially the most prominent and best authenticated — namely Seth.[67] Another, Bebon, was, he remarks, generally held to belong not properly to Typhon, but to one of his attendants. He learned also from Manetho, that as the magnet is called the bones of Horus, so iron is called by the Egyptians "the bones of Typhon."[68]

We have already called attention to the fact that the abolition of human sacrifices marks a memorable epoch in the religious history of Egypt, and that it took place under the Old Empire. Manetho related, says Plutarch, that in Eilethyia (the city of the mother of Isis) the sacrifice of the so-called Typhoneans was performed during the dog-days[69]—human sacrifices namely, when the ashes of the victims were scattered to the winds. This account is derived doubtless from Manetho's work on "Archæology and Devotion." Porphyry quotes this same work to the following effect[70]: "Amos abolished the practice of human sacrifices in Heliopolis.

[67] Compare Plut. l. i. c. 49. p. 371. with c. 62. p. 376., from which we see that all the Egyptian names of Typhon are taken from Manetho: which in fact might have been expected.

[68] Plut. l. i. c. 62. p. 376. In all these passages the reading Μανέθως is preferable to the two others Μάνεθος and Μανέθων.

[69] Plut. l. i. c. 73. p. 380.: Ἐν Εἰληθυίας (already corrected by Marsham and Wyttenbach instead of Ἰδιθυιας, which has no meaning at all) πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν, ὡς Μανέθως ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνίους καλοῦντες καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἠφάνιζον καὶ διέσπειρον. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἑδρᾶτο φανερῶς, καὶ καθ' ἕνα καίρον ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις (a practice at variance with that of the sacrifice of the sacred animals, who in times of pestilence or other misfortune when prayers were unavailing, were led into a secret place, first fed, and then offered either as a sin-offering or for vengeance).

[70] Porphyr. de Abst. p. 199. R.: Κατέλυσεν ἐν Ἡλιοῦ πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἄμωσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανεθὼς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀρχαϊσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας. Ἐθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἥρᾳ· καὶ ἐδοκιμάζοντο καθάπερ οἱ ζητούμενοι καθαροὶ μόσχοι καὶ συσφραγιζόμενοι· ἐθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν κηρινοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἄμωσις τοὺς ἴσους ἀποτίθεσθαι.

They were formerly performed to Hera (the mother of Isis). The victims were examined, and a seal was affixed to them, just as the calves 'without blemish' are now examined and sealed. Three were sacrificed daily. Amos ordered the same number of wax figures to be offered in their stead." Thus it is explained why none of the extracts from Manetho's historical work mention this custom, which was nevertheless well known to the ecclesiastical writers, and especially to Eusebius, the author of one of those extracts.[71] Manetho had described it in one of his works on "Ancient Theology." It is also important in a critical estimate of the *facts* transmitted by Porphyry relative to Egyptian customs — (not his own philosophical interpretation and speculation) — for us to be aware that he knew and quoted the text of Manetho. Can it then be accidental that every thing which has been quoted from the theological works of Manetho by classical or ecclesiastical writers up to the time of Theodosius, indicates a man of sound reason and sobriety, and of extraordinary learning in the antiquities of his nation? That the dreamy and necromantic works which have been attributed to him by later writers were entirely unknown to them? And would this same man, by altering the Lists of Kings, which we have now authentic proof he had before him, have stamped himself as a deceiver or an empiric? Or shall we make him responsible for the mistakes of epitomists and copyists, and the forgeries of later impostors?

### III. MANETHO THE HISTORIAN, AND HIS WORK.

We possess a better knowledge of this branch of his learned labours than of the former. We have several passages in Josephus, translated literally from his cele-

[71] Euseb. Præp. Evan. iv. 16. Compare Theodoret, Serm. vii., de Therapeut. p. 895. vol. iv. ed. Schweig.

brated historical work, the title of which was "Three books of Egyptian History." It was in a narrative form, written in good Greek, and derived, according to his own statement, from the Egyptian records. Popular legends and ballads too he did not disregard, but in such cases, as Josephus himself admits, he did not conceal the sources of his information. We know likewise from the same testimony, that he refuted and corrected the statements of Herodotus in many particulars. When however some late writers[72] quote a special work of Manetho against Herodotus, it may be questioned whether more can here be understood than an extract from his text—prepared perhaps for their own purposes by critical commentators on the Greek historian.

It will be matter of less difficulty, with the assistance of the Turin Papyrus, to render the plan of his work intelligible. It was without doubt strictly Egyptian. The first volume contained the series of ante-historical Dynasties, prior to the thirty of the Egyptian Empire, commencing with the Dynasties of the Gods, and ending with those of mortal Kings. Then followed the first eleven historical Dynasties. The second volume began with the 12th and ended with the 19th. The third comprised the last eleven. This division is not exactly that of the three Empires, for the Old Empire closed with the third King of the 13th Dynasty, and the New began with the 18th. Yet it is impossible to overlook, in the arrangement of Manetho, the character of a genuine, historical, and artistic plan. As a purely historical division of the thirty Dynasties, that above hinted at—into three books of ten Dynasties each—might seem, on external grounds, the most natural. The reason why Manetho preferred a different method is not difficult to perceive. The last brilliant epoch of

[72] Eustath. ad Il. λ'. p. 857.: Μανέθων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον. Etym. M. Λεοντοκόμος· Μανέθων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον.

the Old Empire was the 12th Dynasty. The King, in whom the historian recognised the Hero of the Sesostrid Legends, belonged to it. The third King of the 13th Dynasty, as has been intimated, lost Memphis and his throne by the irruption of the shepherds. Then succeeded a period of national degradation, extending over a long series of ages. Royal Egyptian Houses continued indeed to reign at Thebes and Xois, but tributary and powerless. A long and arduous struggle ensued after this period of humiliation and oppression; but the Holy City of the Empire was not reconquered, and the Empire restored, till the 18th Dynasty. One of its later Kings entirely freed the frontiers from the occupation of the Hyksos. From the 19th Dynasty sprang finally Sesostris-Ramesses, the Hero of the New Empire, who avenged the shame of Egypt on Asia. As Manetho began his second book with the 12th Dynasty, its narrative opened with the glorious exploits of his Sesostris, and closed with those of the King he calls the great Ramesside. The third book opened with the 20th Dynasty, the commencement of which is a comparatively flourishing epoch, and closed with the 30th, the last King of which, the younger Nectanebo, is the last indigenous ruler of Egypt. Syncellus, in his important passage on Manetho's historical work[73], states in precise terms that this was really its conclusion. This alone would be sufficient proof of the spuriousness of the 31st Dynasty, which still retains a place in our epitome, and contains the last three Persian Kings — Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomannus. But the number, thirty, is evinced by various other arguments to be the genuine one of Manetho.

We shall now take a close survey of the details of his historical system.

[73] Chronog, p. 52. Appendix of Authorities, A. I.

### IV. MANETHO'S PRIMEVAL CHRONOLOGY.[74]

WE are indebted to Eusebius, the Armenian, for the only certain knowledge we possess of this introductory portion of the first book. His corresponding extract of Syncellus is derived from the Pseudo-Manetho's work on the Dog-star.

Manetho, according to Eusebius, computed the whole period at 24,900 years. It was divided under three general heads—the dominion of Gods, Heroes and Manes.

1. The Dominion of Gods was divided into seven sections, at the head of each of which was a different deity. The order is Vulcan, Helios, Agathodæmon (i. e. Phtah, Ra, and Num, the Chnumis or Kneph of the Greeks and Romans). Then the four still preserved in the Papyrus —Chronus, Osiris, Typhon, Horus (i. e. Seb, Usiri, Seth, Hor). We can thus restore with certainty the first three reigns of the Papyrus.

2. The Dominion of Demi-Gods. Eusebius calls the last of the rulers who succeeded the Great Gods—but whom he omits more nearly to specify—Bytis. According to Iamblichus, Bitys (or Bitis, which is clearly the same name) was a prophet of Ammon, the King, i. e. Hyk, Ammon's peculiar title. He interpreted the religious books of Hermes.[75] Here we have a being compounded of the Demi-God, the Hero, and the Prophet. Hermes-Thoth, decidedly an Egyptian God, was also the interpreter of the Divine Word, and the minister and assistant of Ammon. We might therefore be entitled to consider Bitys as the last of the Heroes, were it not for two subsequent notices of the heroic age. It may hence be assumed that Manetho made the Inferior Deities succeed the seven Great Gods. This is clearly the case, not only in the Pseudo-Manetho, where they

[74] Appendix of Authorities, A. II

[75] Iambl. de Myster. viii. 5. ix. 7. See Zoega de Obeliscis, p. 49.

are called Demi-Gods, but also in the Papyrus. We shall call them Inferior Deities. In the sequel Eusebius comprises the whole period ending with Bitys, under the dominion of the Gods, and says that according to Manetho it lasted 13,900 years. There are consequently still 11,000 years remaining. This number, in fact, results with tolerable exactness from the following calculation—

| | |
|---|---|
| Heroes - - - - | 1255 years |
| Other Kings - - - | 1817 |
| 30 Memphite Kings - - | 1790 |
| 10 Thinite - - - | 350 |
| Rule of Manes and Heroes - | 5813 |
| Sum total - - - | 11,025 |

No essential error therefore is to be found in the individual numbers. Still it is quite evident that the last number is not in its right place. The expression "Reign of Manes and Heroes" is inaccurate, for the Heroes immediately succeed the Gods. Eusebius, after mentioning Bitys, introduces the former with these words: "After the Gods, the Heroes ruled 1255 years." And this must necessarily be the proper order; for the term, Manes, implies Mortals. It is difficult in fact to discover the old Egyptian idea conveyed by the expression, Heroes. Heroes, in the strict sense of the word, that is to say, Sons of Gods, born of mortal mothers, were, as we learn from Herodotus, confirmed by the Egyptian Monuments, entirely unknown to this people. The expression is used therefore in the sense of Demi-Gods. This same expression occurs in the extracts of the historical period, in the opening of which it is said that the reign of Menes succeeded that of the "Manes and Demi-Gods." The Manes seem to have represented such Kings of the primeval time, as were strictly speaking classed as mortal, but who nevertheless were held in

peculiar respect from being the ancestors of individual tribes, as the Pittris were of the Indians for example. In the ancient Registers they are especially characterised by the expression *Matû*, the Justified, the Perfect. This indeed is a common title of deceased persons; yet to some of the Kings of the historical period it is evidently assigned as a mark of distinction. The case may be the same with the Manes. They may at least be considered as Kings of the oldest historical legends, belonging however not to the history of Gods, but of Mortals—the Kings of the primeval times.

The Demi-Gods or Heroes were probably also again divided into two classes—the period of the former lasted 1255 years. Eusebius united the period of the latter to the dominion of the Manes, probably in the way of supplement, having found them necessary to make up the eleven centuries. Those Manes then form the transition to historical Kings, but were not Kings of the Empire of Egypt, for the ancestor of these last was Menes, who united the Upper and Lower Country. They may rather be classed as provincial Princes prior to the union, which raised Memphis to the rank of second city in the Empire, next to the primeval sacred Thebes, and eclipsed Abydos. Menes himself was of the Thinite race, and the Thinites are really the last in our series. Before (or conjointly with them) there were of course Kings of Lower Egypt, and these are here described as Memphites, according to the later mode of expression; inaccurately, however, for Menes was the founder of the city of Memphis. Thus, as the former Thinites were the ancestors of Menes, so were the latter probably the ancestors of the oldest Memphite Kings of the Empire, who, on the extinction of the Thinite race in the male line, at the close of the second century of the history of the Empire, ascended the Throne of Egypt. But in Eusebius "other Kings," who are said to have reigned 1817 years, precede both those

Dynasties of primeval Memphite and Thinite Kings. These were, likewise, it may be assumed, provincial Kings of the primeval history — probably Thebans.

The following therefore may be considered as the substance of Manetho's system —

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Dominion of Gods in two divisions, the first of which ended with Horus, the second with Bitys | | | 13,900 years. |
| 2. Dominion of Heroes in two divisions | | | 1,255 |
| 3. Heroes and Kings of the primeval Race — transition from divine to human history | | | 5,813 |
| 4. Purely human history — provincial Princes: | | | |
| *a.* Kings without particular notices (of Thebes ?) | 1817 | | |
| *b.* Thirty Memphites (Lower Egypt) | 1790 | | 3,957 |
| *c.* Ten Thinites | 350 | | |
| | | Sum total | 24,925 years. |

Neither the numbers for the dominion of Gods, nor the sum of their periods, or of those of the Manes and Heroes, nor the sums of the whole, make up an astronomical cycle. As regards the historical period, it remains a question whether its three divisions were really consecutive, or whether the last was wholly or partially contemporary with the first. Manetho computed them in the former way. It may be assumed a settled point in history, that Egyptian tradition, prior to Menes, admitted one Dynasty of Kings in Lower Egypt, and one at least, perhaps two, in Upper Egypt, during a period of from two to four thousand years. The race of Menes succeeds these Dynasties. They are perfectly distinct from the mythological Kings, whose history is connected rather with that of the Gods.

Egypt appears on the stage of history from the very beginning as an Empire formed out of the Upper and Lower Country. The country itself is generally called "the two Countries." The title of their Kings down to the latest period ran thus — Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Hebrew name of Egypt, Mizraim, *i. e.* the two Misr, contains a similar allusion.

There is but one ground on which it could become a matter of doubt how far those dates of primeval Egyptian history may have been preserved in their genuine form — how far they may not have been tampered with by Judaizing Christians. Eusebius proposes an expedient for reducing this sum of nearly 25,000 years to 2206, by reckoning each year as a month — in order to bring them within the period, which, according to the Septuagint, intervened between the Creation and the Flood (2242 years). But we shall see that the Byzantine writers taxed him with a total misapprehension of the deeper import of the ancient traditions; nor can he indeed be considered as altogether serious in his proposed reduction; otherwise he would not have allowed such dates as 350 years for one race of ten Thinite Kings to maintain their ground. For after he had so reduced the number of years, the whole ten Kings, who formed one Dynasty, would not have reigned altogether thirty years, that is, not half the time of the reign of Menes, their own descendant.

But even admitting (contrary to all critical probability) any such theory to have entered as an element into Manetho's Chronology — still the following points remain historically certain — that as regards the human period, the old Egyptian tradition recognised historical royal families, and individual sovereigns prior to Menes. They were separated from the divine founders of the nation by the sacred princes of the primeval times, who were said to have reigned several thousand years. No family name however is assigned to their more ancient

sovereigns — they may therefore have been elective monarchs, chosen by the Priests — a form still maintained, as remarked in our first chapter, in later historical times. But as regards the purely Mythological Dynasties, there is no reason to believe that Manetho reduced the period of the Gods, still less the whole period prior to Menes, to Sothiac cycles, of 1461 years each, or to any other class of Egyptian astronomical periods.

### V. THE THIRTY DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

We now proceed to a review of the Thirty Dynasties of Manetho, which formed the real scope and substance of his history. For nothing warrants our assuming that his actual narrative commenced prior to Menes. That narrative is no longer extant, with the exception of a few extracts in Josephus; his Lists however we still possess. We know from the Papyrus that this synoptical form of exposition was the old Egyptian method. The Lists handed down to us by Africanus and Eusebius give but the names of the Kings in each Dynasty, and not always these — with a notice of their years of reign without months and days. In Josephus however we find the old Egyptian computation by years and months — and a notice containing even the days is still preserved in these extracts. Traces are also found of still further details, such as the affinity of the Kings with their predecessors, and even their physical constitution. All this shows that Manetho, according to the custom of his country, appended to his historical text Lists constructed after the Grecian fashion, in a narrative and critical form, or incorporated them in sections with his history. The Chronographers were contented to epitomize these Lists. They added to them however here and there historical remarks culled from the body of the work. These Lists now occupy but a few pages;

and it is difficult to understand how they could ever have been confounded with Manetho's own work in three volumes.

Our history of the Jewish and Christian school of Egyptian research will show that these Lists really were accurately epitomized and correctly transmitted, though frequently corrupted by copyists, and in some places by interpolations, partly through misunderstanding, partly with wilful intent. Conclusive proof of the fact, however, can only be the result of the historical investigation which will form the subject of the next two books.

The question we have here to consider is — do these Lists contain a continuous Chronology? and if not, have we access to any key to their chronological application? As preliminary to a right understanding of this important point, we shall here present our readers with a concise epitome of the thirty Dynasties. We shall cite none but the most celebrated names, omitting entirely the years of individual reign. The complete succession and critical commentary of the series will be reserved for the following volume. Our present object is to represent the genealogy and chronology of each Dynasty in as condensed a shape as possible. We shall first give the text of Eusebius according to the Armenian version, and then as cited by Syncellus. An Epilogus containing the sum total of the numbers in the first two volumes is appended as a general rule, by the epitomists — in the Armenian version for Eusebius — by Syncellus for both. But these sums do not tally with the actual dates. In the third volume, the sum total for Eusebius is wanting altogether: for Africanus, Syncellus gives but the sum of the years of reign. The number and succession of the Kings in this volume however is as completely, as it is correctly, preserved in the monuments, so that the missing sum total may safely be supplied from the existing numbers.

FIRST VOLUME OF MANETHO

| Dynasty. | Number of the Kings. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Africanus. | Eusebius. | Syncellus. Afr. | Eus. |
| I. Thinites | 8 | 8 | — | |
| II. Thinites | 9 | 9 | — | |
| III. Memphites | 9 | 8 | — | |
| IV. Memphites | 8 | 17 | — | |
| V. Elephantinæans | 9 | 31 | 8 | — |
| VI. Memphites | 6 | — | — | |
| VII. Memphites | 70 | 5 | — | |
| VIII. Memphites | 27 | 9 (19) | | 5 |
| IX. Heracleopolitans | 19 | 4 | — | |
| X. Heracleopolitans | 19 | 19 | — | |
| XI. Diospolitans | 16 | 16 | — | |
| Sum | 200 | 126 (136) | | |
| Epilogus | 192 | 192 | | |

(I—XI. DYNASTY).

| SUM TOTAL OF THE YEARS REIGNED. | | | | NAMES AND EVENTS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Africanus. | Eusebius. | Syncellus. Afr. | Eus. | |
| 263 | 228 (258) | 253 | 252 | (1) Menes: warlike expeditions.<br>(2) Athothis: palace at Memphis.<br>(4) Uenephes: Pyramids. |
| 302 | 297 | — | — | (2) Kaiechus: worship of the sacred Oxen, and the Goat of Mendis.<br>(3) Binothris: succession in the female line. |
| 214 | 197 (198) | — | 198 | (2) Sesorthus: stone used in building: improvement in the art of writing: medicine. |
| 284 | 448 | 274 | — | (2) Suphis: largest Pyramid.<br>(3) Suphis.<br>(4) Menkeres. |
| 218 | — | 248 | 100 | (3) Nephercheres.<br>(7—9) Menkeres, Tankeres, Onnus. |
| 203 | 203 | — | — | 2, 3. Phius — Methusuphis.<br>4, 5. Phiops (100 yrs.) — Menthesuphis.<br>6. Nitocris: sixth Pyramid. |
| 70 Days | 75 | — | 75 D. | Names wanting. |
| 146 | 100 | 142 | — | Names wanting. |
| 409 | 100 | — | — | Names wanting: except that of the first, the Tyrant Achthoes. |
| 185 | 185 | — | — | Names wanting. |
| 43 | 43 | | | Names wanting. |
| 2267 70 D.<br>2300 Y.<br>and 70 D. | 1876 (1907)<br>2300<br>(and 75 D. in Sync.) | | | |

SECOND VOLUME OF MANETHO

| Dynasty. | Number of the Kings. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Africanus. | Eusebius. | |
| | | Armen. | Syncellus. |
| XII. Diospolitans. | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| XIII. Diospolitans. | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| XIV. Xoites. | 76 | 76 | 76 |
| XV. Shepherd Kings. | 6 Shepherd Kings. | — Diospolitans. | — Diospolitans. |
| XVI. Other Shepherd Kings. | 32 | 5 Thebans. | 5 Thebans. |
| XVII. Other Shepherd Kings. | 43 ["and as many Thebans."] | 4 Shepherds. | 4 Shepherds. |
| XVIII. Diospolitans | 16 | 14 | 14 |
| XIX. Diospolitans. | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Sum - - | 246 | 171 | 171 |
| Epilogus - | 96 | 92 | 92 |

(XII—XIX. DYNASTY).

| Sum Total of the Years reigned. | | | Names and Events. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Africanus. | Eusebius. Arm. | Sync. | |
| 160 | 182 (245) | 182 (245) | 1. Amenemes.<br>2. Sesonchosis.<br>3. Amenemes II.<br>4. Sesostris, the great conqueror.<br>5. Lamares, built the Labyrinth. |
| 453 | 453 | 453 | Names wanting. |
| 184 | 484 | 184 (484) | Names wanting. |
| 284 | 250 | 250 | The Phœnicians took Memphis, and built a fortress in the Nome of Sethroitis.<br>1. Salatis. |
| 518 | 190 | 190 | Names wanting. |
| 151 | 103 | 103 | Names wanting. |
| 259+x (263) | 317 (348) | 325 (323) (348) | 1. Amōs (Moses).<br>3. Amenōphthis.<br>6. Misphramuthōsis.<br>7. Tuthmōsis.<br>8. Amenōphis.<br>9. Orus.<br>15. Ramesses.<br>16. Amenophath. |
| 204 (209) | 162 (194) | 194 | 1. Sethus.<br>2. Rapsaces.<br>3. Amenephthes.<br>4. Ramesses.<br>5. Ammenemmes.<br>6. Thuōris (Ilium). |
| 2213+x (2221) 2121 | 2241 (2267) 2121 | 2044 (2304) 1121 | |

THIRD VOLUME OF MANETHO

| Dynasty. | Africanus. | Number of the Kings: Eusebius. Armen. | Eusebius. Syncellus. |
|---|---|---|---|
| XX. Diospolitans | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| XXI. Tanites - | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| XXII. Bubastites | 9 | 3 | 3 |
| XXIII. Tanites - | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| XXIV. Saite - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| XXV. Ethiopians | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| XXVI. Saites - | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| XXVII. Persians - | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| XXVIII. Saite - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| XXIX. Mendesians | 4 | 5 (4) | 5 (4) |
| XXX. Sebennytes | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Sum - - | 61 | 55 (54) | 55 (54) |
| Epilogus - | — | — | — |

(XX—XXX. DYNASTY).

| SUM OF THE YEARS REIGNED. | | | NAMES AND EVENTS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Africanus. | Eusebius. Arm. | Sync. | |
| 135 | 172 | 178 | Names wanting. |
| 114 (130) | 130 | 130 | 1. Smendes. 2. Psusennes. 3. Nephercheres. 4. Amenōphthis. 5. Osochōr. 6. Pṣinaches. 7. Psusennes. |
| 116 (120) | 49 | 49 | 1. Sesonchosis. 2. Osorthōn. 6. Takelōthis. |
| 89 | 44 | 44 | 1. Petubastes. 2. Osorcho. 3. Psamnus. 4. Zēt. |
| 6 | 44 | 44 | Bokchoris burnt alive by Sabakōn. |
| 40 | 44 | 44 | 1. Sabakōn. 2. Sebichus. 3. Tarkus. |
| 150, 6 M. | 173 (165) (167) | 168 (163) | 3. Nechaō. 4. Psammetichus. 5. Nechao II. 7. Uaphris. 8. Amōsis. 9. Psammecherites. |
| 124, 4 M. | 120, 4 M. | 120, 4 M. | 1. Cambyses. 2. Darius. 3. Xerxes. 4. Artaxerxes. 8. Darius, the son of Xerxes. |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | Amyrtæus. |
| 20, 4 M. | 21, 4 M. | 21, 4 M. | 1. Nepherites. 2. Achōris. 3. Psamnuthis. 4. Nepherites. |
| 38 | 20 | 20 | 1. Nectanebo. 2. Teus. 3. Nectanebo II. |
| 839, 2 M. (859, 2 M.) 1050 (1041) | 823 (815) (817) 8 M. — | 824, 8 M. (819, 8 M.) — | |

## SYNOPSIS OF THE NUMBERS IN THE THREE VOLUMES OF MANETHO.

| Dynasty. | Number of the Kings. | | | Sum of the Years reigned. | | | Synopsis of the Contents. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Africanus. | Eusebius. Arm. | Eusebius. Sync. | Africanus. | Eusebius. Arm. | Eusebius. Sync. | |
| First Volume. I—XI. | 200 : Ep. 192 | 126 / 136 Ep. 192 | — | 2267 Ep. 2300 | 1876 / 1907 Ep. 2300 | — | Begins with Menes (I.) III. IV. VI. VII. VIII. Memphites. XI Diospolitans. |
| Second Volume. XII—XIX. | 246 : Ep. 96 | 171 : Ep. 92 | 92 | 2213 / 2221 Ep. 2121 | 2241 / 2267 Ep. 2121 | 2044 / 2304 Ep. 1121, read 2121 | Begins with the so-called Osortasidæ. XII. XIII. Diospolitans. XVIII. XIX. Diospolitans : in the latter Ramesses the Great. |
| Third Volume. XX—XXX. | 61 (Ep. 61) | 55 / 54 (Ep. 54) | 55 / 54 | 839 / 859 Ep. 1050 / 1041 | 824 Ep. 818 | 825 / 820 Ep. wanting | Begins with the Ramessides. Ends with Nectanebo the Younger. |
| Sum (Dyn. I—XXX.) | 507 : Ep. 288 | 352 / 361 : Ep. 338 | — | 5340 / 5347 : Ep. 5471 / 5462 | 4954 / 4922 : Ep. 5239 | — | |

We have this advantage in dealing with the dates in Eusebius, that they have been transmitted to us through two independent channels — the Armenian translation of the Chronicle, and the comparative table of the Manethonian Dynasties in Syncellus. The close correspondence in the substance of the two documents affords however a striking proof that Syncellus has done Eusebius no injustice, in stigmatising him not only as superficial, but as having intentionally falsified the Lists, in order to force them into harmony with his own synchronistic system. The most conclusive evidence of the justice of this impeachment will be derived from the monuments and the Greek authorities to be examined in our third Book. For the 24th, 25th, and 26th Dynasties Eusebius has in each case 44 years. This number rests on no authentic basis except in the case of the 25th Dynasty, from which it has obviously been transferred by oversight to the others. In the 22nd he gives three Kings with 49 years, instead of nine (all of which may be pointed out on the monuments) with 116 or 120 years. Here the reason is still more palpable. He found the names of but three Kings in Africanus, and overlooked the fact, that the others were enumerated although without names, according to the date of their succession, and were comprised in the sum total of the years of reigns. We are bound therefore to regard his labours with the greatest mistrust, and to pronounce it a most uncritical course to quote him, as is the custom of many, as a competent authority in spite of this delinquency, whenever it suits their purpose. Every page of the next two books corroborates the justice of this stigma. Regarding the whole number of Kings, and the sums total of their years of reign, the statements vary. The former fluctuate between 300, 350, and 500; while the sum of the whole period from Menes down to the ninth year prior to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great ranges between 4900 and 5400 years.

### VI. THE CHRONOLOGY FROM MENES TO ALEXANDER, ACCORDING TO MANETHO.

The above expression—sum total of the years of reign—was used advisedly. Does it however necessarily imply that all the Dynasties were consecutive? If the empire was divided, the Dynasties enthroned in different portions of its territory must have been entered in Lists of this nature in consecutive order. Here however, reverting to a remark made at the close of our commentary on the Turin Papyrus, we must further inquire—what right have we to assume that the sum of the reigns in one and the same Dynasty must necessarily coincide with the duration of that Dynasty? Suppose we had Lists of the Roman Emperors from Severus to Theodosius unaccompanied by historical illustrations—should we not be justified in making the sum of their reigns tally with the real time which elapsed between the two Emperors? And yet this would involve a very serious error. But who (it might be rejoined) would in such a case ever think of adding up the sums? No one certainly, who had a purely chronological object in view. Cannot we however imagine a system in which the years of reign of each individual member of a family who may have reigned, during a longer or shorter period either in succession, or conjointly with each other—may have been consecutively reckoned up—but where an historical key was also annexed, by which the true time the whole family reigned might be ascertained? Such a method indeed is the natural one, where the dynastic principle of arrangement, in the form of Lists, constitutes the basis of the system. Upon this principle it is by no means impossible that the collective number of years which a family reigned should be inserted from the first into the Lists of the Old Empire, by way of authenticating the individual years. It is however more probable that this mode of calculation was first made in

the New Empire for the two others. The key to the real chronology was perhaps originally preserved in chronological and historical works, which in the lower ages of the New Empire were either lost or forgotten. It is however certain that in Manetho's Lists, joint reigns are nowhere indicated; yet the monuments prove them to have been frequent in the Old Empire (for example in the 12th Dynasty).

It would certainly be somewhat surprising had Manetho given such a statement of the sums total of all the years of reign in the case of any family of the New Empire. As Lists of Kings of the two preceding periods were in existence at its commencement, it must also have possessed historical registers. Civilisation and literature were never again interrupted in Egypt from that time to the fall of the Roman Empire, and Manetho lived in the flourishing age of the Ptolemies. But what authority have we for supposing that the Lists of the New Empire in their present form and with their present sums, are the work of Manetho? May they not be a digest of extracts from the historical work, or, as the form of the Lists is clearly according to primitive Egyptian practice, may they not have been enlarged, by interpolating the names of Kings (friends or foes who reigned contemporarily) out of the same work, and their chronology have thus been corrupted? Some light will be thrown upon the question in our inquiry concerning the Christian schools of Manethonian criticism; its complete settlement however can only be obtained through a careful analysis of the monuments.

As regards the rule of succession in the New Empire, it may here be assumed, as demonstrated, that no two Dynasties, from the 18th to the 30th, were contemporary. This fact is admitted by all Egyptologers, an admission very creditable to their love of truth, when we consider how perplexing they must have found the great extension of the period of the New Empire which resulted

from it. That period we shall here but cursorily remark, comprised as nearly as possible 1300 years.

When, however the Egyptologers of the school of Champollion, following the steps of their master, infer from this, that there were no contemporary reigns whatever in Manetho; and consequently that the Dynasties of the Middle Empire must be considered as consecutive, such conclusion is at least premature. Any inference drawn from the state of the New Empire as to other previous periods with which it had no sort of analogy were obviously as illogical, as if, after the loss of our history, some future German investigator should argue from the Lists of Dynasties of German Princes of the 19th century in Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemburg, that the "pretended" former Dynasties of Suabian, Frank, and Saxon kings, "of the Mythological time," either never existed at all, or, if they did, must of necessity have been cotemporary. To this may be added that not one of them attempted, nor did any English critic, to arrange the chronology prior to the New Empire according to Manetho. But we prefer an appeal to himself. Syncellus has preserved for us his own statement as to the duration of the Empire, which he described in 30 Dynasties. This most remarkable passage, hitherto so strangely overlooked, runs as follows[76]—

"The period of the hundred and thirteen generations[77], described by Manetho in his three volumes, comprises a sum total of three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years."

This can only be borrowed from Manetho himself, for it no way agrees with the canon or computations of Syncellus. Neither can there have been any mistake in the transcript; for he reckons the 3555 years, from "about the 15th" (it should be the 9th) year before

[76] Syncell. Chronog. p. 52. D. See the Appendix of Authorities, A. I.

[77] Γενεαί.

Alexander, the year in which the younger Nectanebo died (mentioned by himself in this passage, as being the last King described by Manetho, the last Pharaoh of the Egyptian race)—(in Syncellus the 5147th year of the world)—up to the year of the world 1586 (it should be 1593). He then proceeds to base upon these data a calculation, to which we shall revert in our analysis of the Christian chronographers. As the 16th century of the world falls according to him, prior to the Flood, he calculates without hesitation how many of those 3555 years must be deducted "for the Time which was not," in order to obtain a dry foundation, for commencing his fabric of Egyptian Chronology, after the confusion of tongues with Mizraim, whom the Egyptians strangely enough called Menes. This silly calculation in itself no way concerns us. It acquires however the utmost importance, first, as a guarantee that the above chronological number is the result of no textual error. In the second place, it proves that number to have been neither invented by Syncellus, nor concocted in any other quarter, to favour some particular system by tampering with the text of Manetho: for it does not tally with any system of the Christian fathers or chronologers. We may venture to assert, that the numbers of Manetho have been transmitted to us quite as correctly as those of the Canon of Ptolemy.

It may therefore be held as established, that Manetho assigned to the Egyptian Empire, from Menes to the death of the younger Nectanebo, a period of

"Three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years."

Syncellus may have found this notice in a section of the Epitome of Africanus, the rest of which he did not copy—for we know Africanus only through him. Perhaps he found the statement in but one of the editions or transcripts of the Lists of Manetho, which he mentions as having collated. He may even have had Manetho's historical work, either a part or the whole of

it, before him, just as easily as he could the List of Kings of Eratosthenes, which his predecessors had neglected.

We have therefore on the same authority, in the sum total of all the Dynasties of Manetho, from 1500 to 2000 years more than Manetho himself assigned as the duration of the Egyptian history within the 30 Dynasties. Consequently the summing up of the Dynasties is not the work of Manetho.

This main point being settled, the question forces itself upon us, what Dynasties composed the historical series for the Chronology? Which of them were contemporaneous? Manetho must have stated this in his historical work. The answer to these questions, as already seen, may perhaps be found in the Turin Papyrus; and to the following effect — the duration of the Old and Middle Empires is 3555 years according to Manetho, *minus* the 1300 years (nearly), which he assigned to the New Empire (Dynasties 18—30) — in round numbers about 2250. But how is this number to be reconciled with those of the individual Dynasties? Moreover, are we sure that Manetho's dates, for the duration of the Empire from Menes to the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings from Memphis, was given on sufficient authority? The monuments may prove to us that the earlier Dynasties contained historical Kings — and it is admitted to be proved for the 4th Dynasty — but the monuments can neither give, nor make up for, the want of a Chronology when it no longer exists.

Is it possible to find this chronological key in the researches of the Alexandrian critics? They were the fathers of the Old Chronology — the Ptolemies were their patrons — the Egyptian archives were open to them. They had therefore great advantages over Manetho in both respects. The extent and superiority of their intellectual powers, their acquaintance with the chronological researches of other great nations, and

their extensive general learning, together with the previous works of such men as Manetho, must have more than compensated for their total or comparative ignorance of the language and ancient literature of Egypt. Alexandria itself must have been full of learned Egyptian Pundits or Sacred Scribes, and Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus were no Wilfords. They were even, comparatively, far more learned than the otherwise highly estimable Presidents of the Oriental Society, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke.

It is impossible that Grecian men of letters, some of them of the school of Aristotle, critics and commentators, whose ingenuity has never been surpassed, could be deceived or satisfied with the Egyptian method of computation.

But did they institute researches into the Old Egyptian Chronology, and are their labours preserved to us? On the latter point at least, considerable doubts may be entertained. For not only did Diodorus learn little or nothing from them, but modern investigators, far superior to the uncritical Sicilian, seem to have been so certain of not finding anything there, that they have never even sought for it. Perhaps however the fact may be the very reverse.

Before passing on to the Greeks, a few remarks must be devoted to the other Egyptian chronologers or historians mentioned by the ancients.

### VII. THE SUCCESSORS OF MANETHO — PTOLEMY, APION, CHÆREMON, HERAISKUS.

MANETHO'S excellence as an historian is reflected in the clearest light through the monuments which are now made accessible to us. But it is also traceable in the advancement of Egyptian archæology among the Alexandrians, to which he so mainly contributed; and will become still more apparent from the insignificance of

the investigators of those of his countrymen, who, following his example, composed such works on the Chronology of their nation.

The earliest of these writers, concerning whom we possess any information, is Ptolemy, a Priest of Mendis probably also of the times of the Ptolemies; having been quoted by Apion, the contemporary of Josephus. According to Tatian and Clemens[78] he wrote three Books on Chronology, in which he endeavoured to bring the history of the Kings of Egypt into harmony with the primitive Greek annals, and apparently even with the starting point of the Jewish annals. According to him Amos who captured Avaris reigned cotemporaneously with Inachus, and in his reign also Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt. This is all that we know concerning Ptolemy.

Apion, who appeals to him, is a personage of greater notoriety, both among Greeks and Romans. He lived in the 1st century of the Christian era, was a native of the Little Oasis, and consequently a Libyan (son of one Posidonius), but obtained his naturalisation at Alexandria, and took the name of Pleistonikes, "the most victorious." His vast powers of antiquarian trifling were as proverbial as his conceit. He wrote four books —possibly more—on Egyptian history, occupied chiefly, perhaps exclusively, with descriptions of its curiosities and wonders. His Grecian scholarship was of the same profound description. His great discovery concerning Homer, of which he boasted excessively, characterises better than any other trait the man, who, on account of his Hellenic erudition, begged the right of citizenship of many of the Grecian cities. "Homer wrote 24 books of the Iliad and as many of the Odyssey — but no other poems — at least not before the publication of the Iliad;

[78] See the Appendix of Authorities, A. VI. The individual passages in Fabr. Bibl. Gr.

for the first two letters of that work signify 48, by which the great poet intended to intimate what and how much he had really written." From hatred to the Jews, and perhaps personal jealousy of Josephus, he wrote a venomous treatise against both, apparently with especial reference to the Jewish war. But here he missed his mark. The Apology of Josephus is not only a striking refutation, but one of the ablest and most learned controversial writings of any age. Apion's ignorance of Jewish history, and his effrontery in stating notorious falsehoods, are almost incredible. The Exodus, according to this subtle critic, took place in the first year of the 7th Olympiad — contemporaneously therefore with the foundation of Carthage. He pointedly dwelt on this synchronism, as the basis, both of his tissue of other fables, and of his ridicule of the Jewish people. With regard to Moses, he had ascertained that he was born at Heliopolis; having been assured of the fact, as he himself states, by the older inhabitants of the city. Moses was a professional juggler. The chief machinery of his art were posts or pillars fixed in wooden canoes. These he set up in front of certain religious edifices constructed by himself, which, being open-roofed, admitted the rays of the sun in such a manner that the shadows of the pillars indicated its course. So much for his knowledge of Moses personally. Of the Exodus he related, that Moses concealed himself on Sinai forty days before the delivery of the law — that the Israelites, 110,000 strong, marched in six days to Judæa — and that, as by this rapid march they got boils — "sabbô" in Egyptian, which language they then spoke — they called the seventh day the Sabbath. The rogue himself evidently believed little or nothing of these extravagances, but he knew they would entertain his patrons, the Alexandrians, who were full of jealousy and hatred towards the rich and power-

ful Jews.[79] Nothing more therefore need be said of him than that he was a man versed in all the pettinesses of antiquarian pedantry, who endeavoured to spoil the trade of the Egyptian ciceroni of that day, and to deprive them of the profits accruing from their attendance on travellers of distinction — a vain bookworm, without judgment, talent, or character. Pliny, in treating of a colossal statue of Sarapis in the Labyrinth, quotes him as a dabbler in antiquities. Aulus Gellius also mentions him in similar terms, and stigmatises his insufferable boasting. The respect therefore with which he is treated by some of the early Fathers, Justin, and Julius Africanus, is more creditable to their Christian charity than their judgment. His only sensible observation recorded by Clemens, that the Hyksos were driven out of Avaris by Amos, was borrowed by him from Ptolemy Mendesius.[80] The Greeks may have given him the nick-name of Mochthos (drudgery — plague) in a double sense. With this clear apprehension of the real character of the man, there is no risk of our being either alarmed or misled by Pliny's assertion, that Apion, and men of his stamp, could discover nothing certain about the Pyramids. Men like Apion are only capable of leading astray.

Chæremon, from whose Egyptian history Josephus, in his work against Apion, gives a description of the Exodus[81], lived somewhat earlier. He is evidently the same person whom Porphyry twice quotes, as a distinguished writer on Egyptian Theology. That philosopher, in his letter to Anebo, some valuable fragments of which are preserved by Eusebius, appealed to Chæremon "the Hierogrammatist," to prove that the doctrine

[79] Jos. contra Apionem, ii. 2, 3.

[80] Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 5. A. Gellius, N. A. v. 14. Justin. ad Gentes. Tatianus, c. 59. (Compare Tertullian, Apolog. c. 19.) Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 21.

[81] Jos. c. Apion. i. 32.

of those magic arts, whose professors could terrify even the Gods, and move the firmament and stars by their imprecations, was really countenanced by the Egyptian sages.[82] In the same work also he gives a description after Chæremon of the whole Egyptian Mythology.[83] According to the extract in Eusebius Chæremon is said to have stated that the most ancient Egyptian Deities are the Planets, the constellations of the Zodiac and others, with the Decans and Horoscopi. Here we have an element of pure Egyptian Astrology, tinged perhaps with the Zodiacal system, borrowed from the Greeks, and with a Stoical colouring. For the Stoics corrupted the ancient Mythology, if not as radically as the Neo-Platonists, still with a total want of either poetical feeling, or historical sense. We need not, however, on that account adopt to the letter the Bishop of Cæsarea's statement, that Chæremon acknowledged no intellectual principles in the earlier Mythology. Porphyry, in his work on "Abstinence from Animal Food,"[84] quotes from "Chæremon the Stoic" a commentary on the office and habits of the priesthood, which bespeaks its own genuine character, as really embodying the doctrine of the Egyptian books. He here attaches the same importance to the authority of Chæremon, on account of his Hellenic learning, as he does in the letter to Anebo to that which belonged to him in his capacity of Hierogrammatist. He describes him as a lover of truth, a man of accuracy, and as much respected among the Stoic philosophers. He further quotes from him the remark that the Egyptian Priests ranked among their countrymen as philosophers, that is, stood in the same position as the philosophers did among the Greeks. We have here, therefore, an Egyptian educated at Alexandria, or an Alexandrian of

[82] Porphyr. ep. ad Anebo, ap Euseb. Præp. Evangel. v. 10.

[83] Ibid. iii. 4.

[84] Porphyr. de Abstin. ii. 6—8. See above on the Sacred Books: Books of the Prophets.

Greek origin, received into the Egyptian Priesthood. He may possibly be the same person who, in the time of Tiberius, attended the viceroy Ælius Gallus from Alexandria to Heliopolis, on his visit to the antiquities of that city. Strabo, who was in the suite of Gallus, says that Chæremon pretended to be versed in the deeper mysteries of the philosophical and astronomical sciences, for which the old Heliopolitan Priesthood was celebrated so late as the age of Plato and Eudoxus — but that he made himself ridiculous by his ignorance and quackery. The identity of the one and the other Chæremon is not, however, demonstrable. Suidas quotes a Chæremon, without further notice, as author of a Treatise on Hieroglyphics[85], probably the Hierogrammatist.

Whatever may have been the claims of this same Hierogrammatist to distinction as a theological antiquarian, the specimen given by Josephus of his historical research[86] conveys no very favourable impression of his proficiency in that department. The passage is highly characteristic as embodying a tradition, also recorded by Manetho. Chæremon, in his Egyptian history, gave an account of the lepers and cripples having emigrated from Egypt in the time of Amenōphis, under the guidance of a Priest of This. The fugitives were the Israelites, their leader Moses. The tradition in Manetho and Chæremon is evidently the same, with such variations and contradictions as are peculiar to legendary tales. But the important difference is this. Manetho related that tradition honestly, as nothing more than an unauthenticated popular legend — Chæremon as direct history. The closer scrutiny of the two accounts belongs to the third Book. It is sufficient here to call attention to the difference between the two writers, as

[85] Suidas, Ἱερογλυφικά. He mentions, besides, a Χαιρήμων Ἀλεξανδρεύς, as a philosopher in Alexandria, a teacher and predecessor of Dionysius — this Dionysius lived up to the time of Trajan.

[86] See Appendix of Authorities, B. III.

reflected in their different modes of recording the same story.

The fourth Egyptian, of whose chronological and historical research we glean some information from Manetho, belonged to another period and school — Heraiskus, a mystical saint of Alexandria, apparently about the commencement of the Neo-Platonic school in the third century.[87] The Neo-Platonists openly represented him as a man endowed with the gift of prophecy, the confidant of the Gods, and surrounded his person with miraculous attributes. According to them the wonderful man was born like a second Horus — with his finger in his mouth, from which it was actually obliged to be cut. But it had not the effect of improving his eloquence, even by the admission of his theosophic panegyrists. Nor was dialectical philosophy exactly his strong point: but he fabricated a primitive history of Egypt, which, according to Suidas, embraced a period of 30,000 years, or even somewhat more: perhaps the trifling number of 6525, in order to complete the great Cosmic year. His greatest strength consisted in his power of recognising whether an animal or an image was sacred or not. If it was not, he remained quite cool and quiet — but if sanctity dwelt in the ox or ram, or statue, the sanctifying Divinity affected him so violently, that after leaping about for a while he fell into an ecstasy. No wonder that after his death, while his funeral rites were being performed with all the pomp of Osiris, a light appeared to the Faithful. This is all we hear of Manetho's Egyptian successors within the province of history.

[87] Suidas, Ἡραΐσκος.

## CONCLUSION — RECAPITULATION.

The following therefore may be stated as the results of our previous inquiry, in part already demonstrated — partly reserved as points for future investigation.

I. The Egyptians possessed writing and books at the earliest period of which we have any monuments. Styli and inkstands are found on those of the 4th Dynasty, the oldest in the world.

II. The earliest writings of the Egyptians were contained in their Sacred Books.

III. In these Sacred Books — one of which we possess — were contained elements of the history of the Old Empire.

IV. The whole strictly historical tradition of the Egyptians hinged upon Lists of Kings, arranged according to the succession of reigning families.

V. Ballads in praise of their Kings were likewise in circulation, in the purely Historical, as well as in the Mythological period (lays of Osiris and Sesostris).

These five propositions are proved by the concurrent testimony of the monuments, and of Greek tradition.

VI. Egyptian history subdivides itself into three comprehensive periods — the Old Empire of Menes — the Middle Empire, during which Egypt was tributary to the Hyksos who reigned in Memphis — and the New Empire, from the 18th Dynasty, which expelled the Hyksos, downwards. This threefold division is established by the monuments — even by those of the 18th Dynasty alone — also by the authority of Manetho.

VII. From an early period of the New Empire — contemporary with the Exodus — have been preserved two monumental Tablets, and one written List containing copious registers of Kings belonging to the two previous empires — viz. the Tablet of Tuthmōsis, the Tablet of Ramesses, and the Turin Papyrus.

VIII. The Tablet of Tuthmōsis gives 30 Kings of the Middle and 31 of the Old Empire. The Tablet of Ramesses—the 18th Dynasty and 39 Kings of the Old Empire. The Royal Papyrus must have registered above 250 Kings — the Rings of 139 are more or less preserved.

IX. The series of Kings are partly a succession of actually reigning Pharaohs, partly royal genealogies of collaterals, who never mounted the throne — and who are distinguished as such.

X. The previous inquiry shows gaps and chasms in the above series of Kings.

XI. The succession in the Royal Papyrus is by Dynasties, beginning with those of the Gods, between whom and Menes intervenes an indeterminable number of mythological, or, if historical, merely local sovereigns.

XII. Co-regencies nowhere appear in the Papyrus—if there were such (and the monuments prove there were) it must be assumed that in that document the individual Kings of such conjoint reigns were registered in a successive order.

XIII. Manetho, who under the first Ptolemies opened up to the Greeks the treasures of Egyptian antiquity, civil and religious, is a purely historical personage, concerning whom the notices transmitted by Greek and Latin writers are noway contradictory. None of the later native historians can be compared with him.

XIV. His historical work comprised a period of 3555 years, from Menes to Alexander, and was of a nature altogether different from our Lists of Kings, although it is highly probable that, according to Egyptian custom, it contained such Lists from the 1st to the 30th Dynasty.

XV. It is doubtful whether the passages preserved by Josephus are quotations from the original work, probably they are taken from an epitome or extracts of the same; but it is certain that his Lists of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties come from such extracts,

XVI. Manetho's original authorities were not limited to the old Royal Lists and Sacred Books. He must also have had access to treatises on earlier periods of history in the form of annals, where popular legends and unauthenticated traditions found a place by the side of more strictly historical matters. Legends of this nature are introduced in his account of the Exodus, but he distinguished them from authentic history.

XVII. The sums of the reigns, in the individual Dynasties, make up considerably more than 3555 years. Consequently they were not all consecutive, but must some of them have been contemporary.

XVIII. It is besides very doubtful whether he meant the sum total of years for any one Dynasty to represent its actual duration, or only the aggregate of the separate sums for each reign contained in that Dynasty — whether the whole number of its Kings was consecutive, or comprised likewise co-regents.

XIX. However this may have been, Manetho must also have possessed and given in his lost work a Chronological *Canon* or *Key*.

XX. It can hardly be doubted that the critics of the Alexandrian Museum knew and availed themselves of his Canon.

It has been obviously beyond the scope of our previous inquiry to offer more than a preliminary or conditional proof of the greater number of chronological data above recapitulated. Their complete demonstration must be sought first of all in the comparison of Egyptian and Greek tradition, and in the history of Egyptian Chronology during the Christian ages. To this task the three following Sections will be devoted. The more conclusive details of evidence can only be supplied by a comparative criticism of all the traditions with each other and the monuments. This will be undertaken — for the Old Empire in the second — for the Middle and the New, in the third, Book.

In the mean time we trust that the results of our previous train of illustration will justify us in asserting that Egyptian historical research, even apart from the still extant contemporary monuments of the individual reigns, extending back to the fifth century after Menes, stands on a far surer basis than it has hitherto been customary to assume, even in regard to much later epochs. In spite of the fearful ravages of time and of man, and although systematic excavation and connected scientific research have barely yet commenced, we possess even now chronological records of a date anterior to any period from which MSS. are preserved, or in which indeed the art of writing can be shown to have existed in any other quarter. Further, we have contemporary monuments with the names of Kings, whose antiquity exceeds that of those written records, almost as much as they do that of the beginning of our chronology, namely about 1500 years. Lastly, we have every reason to suppose that a genuine historical tradition formed the groundwork of these chronological writings. We already see the chaos of Egyptian antiquity divided into three large masses. The only question that remains is, whether we can succeed in finding a key to a further purely chronological division of each of these masses, by means of the Lists of Kings and monuments? and whether we can extend the limits within which the individual Kings of the Egyptian monuments and the principal points in the primeval history of nations can be developed.

## SECTION II.

### THE RESEARCHES OF THE GREEKS INTO EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE MORE ANCIENT TRADITION — THAT OF HOMER AND THE LATER THON (THONIS) AND PROTEUS. — THE IONIAN SETTLERS IN EGYPT.

If the legends concerning Cecrops the Egyptian, and Ægyptus the son of Belus (father of Ninus), and brother of Danaus, be ancient, and allude to events really connected with the land of Egypt — still they are anterior to all chronology, and belong to the fabulous infancy of Hellas. We shall endeavour to show in the Fifth Book the probability of the former assumption being well founded, although neither Cecrops *biformis*, nor Ægyptus the son of Belus, were Egyptians. Those legends only present us with the back-ground of Greek tradition concerning Egypt. That tradition first distinctly appears in the text of Homer. The Poet of the Odyssey, in the fourth book, introduces Menelaus giving a description of his voyage with Helen to the Heaven-sprung river Ægyptus — of the divinations of the Sea-God Proteus, the Everchanging — and of the healing plants, which Polydamna gave to Helen. This Polydamna he calls the wife of Thon. Later writers, doubtless for their amusement, converted him into a King Thonis, of whom history knows as little as does the divine Homer. Diodorus and Strabo prove that Thonis was the ancient name of a commercial city near the mouth of the Nile, not far from Canopus. It was probably the same afterwards called Heracleum, and

situated at the entrance of the bay that lies to the north of Alexandria. The neighbouring country, in the time of the Greeks, was called the country of Menelaus.[88]

This legend, extended perhaps by the cyclic poets, and subsequently connected with, or merged in the myth of Helena-Selene, is the foundation of the fable, first introduced by Stesichorus, and further developed by Euripides, of the detention of Helen by King Proteus, and of the phantom which in her stead accompanied Paris to Troy.

This pleasing tale, as the Father of History relates (ii. 112. seq.), had taken root in Egypt itself prior to his own time, or about a century and a half after Stesichorus. The Priests related it nearly in the following terms: "The ravisher of Helen was driven by a storm into the bay of Canopus. His slaves, taking advantage of the privilege of asylum in the sanctuary of Hercules, declared themselves the slaves of the God, and accused their former master before Thonis, the guardian of that branch of the Nile. The latter instantly sent a message to Memphis, desiring instructions from King Proteus, as to whether the foreigner, who had betrayed his friend and guest, and seduced his wife, should be detained in the land of Egypt, and called to account, or be dismissed. Proteus ordered all the party to be sent to Memphis, examined Paris, convicted him on the evidence of his own slaves, admonished him severely on his scandalous conduct—and concluded with the following sentence—'Helen and the treasures I shall take charge of, till Menelaus comes to fetch them. The penalty of death, which you have deserved, I shall remit, because I have promised not to take the life of any stranger, who may happen to be cast on these shores—but only on condition of your leaving the

[88] Diod. l. c. 19. Strabo, xvii. c. 1.



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country within three days — otherwise you will be treated as an enemy.' There the matter rested."

Upon a complete review of the connection of Egyptian traditions, we cannot do otherwise than agree with the learned and ingenious Welcker[89], who sees in this story an Egyptian sacerdotal legend. Since the time of Psammetichus, Greek letters had obtained a settlement at Naucratis, and a vehicle for their extension in the professional interpreters. The Greeks would not fail to inquire in the old land of wonders after the friends and acquaintances of Menelaus, of whose historical reality they did not entertain a shadow of doubt. The Egyptians consulted their books, as the Brahmins did theirs, when the English inquired after the family of Noah. Like them they found there a satisfactory reply, and the interpreters made their profit by the discovery.

It is important in a chronological point of view that the correctness of the opinion here expressed as to the origin of those legends be established. To the Greeks as well as Egyptians, a common point of contact for the antiquities of the two countries was indispensable. Proteus, from being a Sea-God, became a King. Calculations, such as were customary before the time of Aristotle, and before the accurate determination of the Olympiads and of the date of the Trojan war by his school, fixed this epoch at the end of the 19th, or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty — and according as people decided in favour of one or the other, they made this or that Egyptian King, King Proteus. Amid the prevailing misapprehension of the spirit of the old tradition, or of the original genius of epic poetry, the following notable explanation of Homer's legend of Proteus, suggested itself to Diodorus, and men of his stamp, as a marvellous exercise of penetration: that King Ketes, namely, the Proteus of the Greeks, was

[89] The commentaries on this point have been collected and given at length by Bähr in his edition of Herodotus (at ii. 113.).

figured by the poet as metamorphosing himself into every variety of monstrous animal; because the Egyptian Kings wore on their heads curious ornaments, representing such animals, in order to impress their own subjects with greater awe, and to strike with amazement strangers and enemies.

Homer's notices of Egypt (xiv. 257. seqq. iv. 227.) show, that the ancient Ionians considered that country an organised empire, and that it was known to them as the region in which the art of medicine was discovered—just as we, following the Byzantines and Arabs, call the science of separating and mixing substances after the land of Chemi, that is, Egypt. We should have the less reason to be surprised at this, if a Hieratic Papyrus of the 13th century before our era really mentioned, as has been asserted, the "Iūn," that is, the Ionians.[90] But Mr. Birch has convinced me that the name in the Papyrus (now before the public) which has been read Iūn should rather be pronounced Ir-hen. I will merely, therefore, remark here, that the Hellenic races were known to the East, in the olden times, by the name of Ionians. For the "Iavan" of Scripture, when read according to the letters, is merely Iūn, and occurs in Joël—consequently, according to the ordinary computation in the 9th, according to my own conviction in the 10th, century B. C.

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## A.

### HERODOTUS.

#### I. HERODOTUS — IN HIS RELATION TO HIS IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS.

HERODOTUS was the first who possessed any historical knowledge of Egypt. The elder Hecatæus had visited

[90] Salvolini, Notices sur le Papyrus Sallier, already mentioned.

the country; but evidently without much addition to his stock of historical knowledge. Hippys of Rhegium, in the time of Xerxes, had called the Egyptians the most ancient of nations.[91] This view, on his part, as probably on that of Diodorus, bore reference doubtless to the quality of the atmosphere, which is particularly favourable to the generation of organic life. We do not hear however of his having instituted any chronological inquiries into Egyptian history. The narrative of Herodotus therefore forms the first epoch of Grecian research into the annals of that country. It made a deep impression upon his own contemporaries, as well as succeeding generations, to which the charm of his style in no slight degree contributed. During the flourishing ages of Greek liberty no one appeared who in the most distant manner approached him as an original critic. Theopompus incidentally mentions Sesostris. The narrative of Ephorus, according to Diodorus, only proved how little he knew of the country, while the philosophical school racked their brains, to account for the rising of the Nile.

The knowledge possessed by Herodotus of Egyptian primeval chronology—of the history of the Gods, and the origin of civilised life, is so defective, that the duty of pointing out the truths it actually contains must be reserved for the more detailed investigations of our 4th Book. His occasional narrations however of the older period, that is, before the Psammetici, will be examined in the 2nd and 3rd. The result of both these inquiries must tend to increase our admiration of the fidelity of his reports, defective as they necessarily were, especially in chronological order and consistency

[91] Schol. to Apollon. iv. 262. See Appendix of Authorities, B. II. As the words stand the statement is unintelligible; but all the passages connected with it are explained in Heyne's incomparable treatise, Commentatio prima de Fontibus Diodori (1782). Published in the Appendix to Dindorf's edition, tom. v. p. 59. seqq.

— in default of all comprehensive view of the general connection of events or epochs. Our present object is merely to offer a summary of his chronological system, and where possible, without anticipating our subsequent closer analysis, to point out the flaws which the origin and composition of its different parts betray.

### II. HERODOTUS'S VIEW OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT PRIOR TO THE PSAMMETICI.

*Egyptian Accounts.*

I. THE History of the earliest recorded Kings. From a book, passages of which were read to him by the Priests (ii. 99—101. comp. i. 4.).

(1.) Mēnēs, the first King, building of Memphis, embankment of the Nile.

(2—331.) 330 Kings, successors of Menes. Of these, 18 were Ethiopians:

1 Queen, a foreigner — all the rest were Egyptians. The last (the 331st King therefore) was:

Mœris, who built the Northern Propylæa of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis, and excavated the lake that bears his name. There are no great works recorded of the others. Comp. i. 7. "Mœris had not been dead 900 years at the epoch of my visit to Egypt."

II. Further notices of the more ancient history. After these Kings came:

(332) Sesostris, the great conqueror and lawgiver, (102—110.). He was succeeded by:

(333) Pherōn, his son, whom the God Nile struck with blindness during ten years — 2 obelisks.

(334) Proteus, a Memphite, succeeded him: he is the Proteus of the Greeks, the severe judge of Paris: he erected a splendid building on the south side of the Temple of Vulcan (111—120.).

(335) Rhampsinitus, the miser: played at dice with Ceres in the lower world (121—123.).
"With him ended the good old time."

III. Builders of Pyramids.

(336) Cheops, reigned 50 years — built the largest Pyramid — a godless tyrant (124—126.).

(337) Chephrēn, reigned 56 years — built the second Pyramid (127, 128.).

(338) Mykerinus, the son of Cheops, an upright judge and merciful ruler — third Pyramid (129—135.).

(339) Asychis, a wise lawgiver — built the noble Propylæa of the Temple of Vulcan, and a brick Pyramid, also justly celebrated (136.).

IV. Statements respecting the Dodecarchy and Psammetichus.

(340) Anysis, the blind man, from the city of Anysis. Being dethroned by

(341) Sabakon, he fled into the marshes, where he lay concealed during the 50 years' rule of the Ethiopians (137—140.). After him reigned

(342) Sethos, Priest of Vulcan. Expedition against Sennacherib (141.).

"Thus far reach the accounts of the Egyptians and the Priests. From the first King up to Sethos are 341 generations, and the same number of Kings and High Priests of the Temple of Vulcan: consequently (341 $\times \frac{100}{3}$ years, that is, 11366) 11140 years. It must be remembered on the other hand that Osiris, Typhon, and Horus reigned before these Kings, but Osiris is the Bacchus of the Greeks, the son of Semele, and consequently 1600 years older than myself: Hercules, the son of Alcmene, about 900: Pan, the son of Penelope (consequently later than the Trojan war) — about 800 years (144—146.)."

### III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF HERODOTUS, FROM THE ACCESSION OF PSAMMETICHUS DOWNWARDS.

I. The period of the Psammetici.

Dodecarchy.

| | |
|---|---|
| Psammetichus, son of Nechao, reigned | 54 years. |
| Necho, his son, | 16 |
| Psammis | 6 |
| Apries, his son, | 25 |
| Amasis | 44 |
| Psammenitus | 6 months. |

II. The period of the Persian dominion from the conquest of Cambyses, downwards.

It agrees most fully with the astronomical Canon of Ptolemy.

### IV. PRELIMINARY CRITICISM OF HIS CHRONOLOGY.

Let us imagine Herodotus to have had before him such a table as the foregoing, and that—on the basis of his native Greek genealogies—he had endeavoured to extract from it, for himself, a critical system of chronology, as a substitute for the Egyptian reckoning—should its myriads of years have appeared to him incredible. The natural or necessary result of such an attempt would be as follows—

I. The 341 Kings from Menes to Sethos, in 341 generations, are his own calculation. This number is obtained, as it is the design of our synopsis to show, by summing up the reigns enumerated by him, from that of Mœris (the 331st successor of Menes) downwards.

II. The Trojan war was somewhat more than 800 years prior to Herodotus. Pan therefore, the son of Penelope, is placed a little after that event, somewhere about the year 800. The Trojan war would consequently fall about 833, a generation earlier. Hence, reckoning a

generation exactly at a third of a century, Herodotus's List of Kings from Proteus, the contemporary of Menelaus, upwards, supplies the following chronological table—

| | |
|---|---|
| Proteus - - | 800 years before Herodotus. |
| Pherōn - - | 833 |
| Sesōstris - - | 866 |
| Mœris - - | 900 |

And thus the expression which has been so much cavilled at, "Mœris had not been dead 900 years when I visited Egypt"—admits of explanation, by a method first applied by Niebuhr to the Lydian chronology of Herodotus.[92] According to this table, Herodotus would doubtless have placed Rhampsinitus, the successor of Proteus, in 766, for he belongs also to the "good old time." But the following synopsis clearly shows, that a particular tradition commenced with Cheops, and that Herodotus was aware that he had dovetailed together two different systems.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rhampsinitus, the duration of his reign is uncertain, say, - - - | | 800 before Herodotus. |
| Cheops | 50 years | 750 |
| Chephren | 56 | 694 |
| Mykerinus | (uncertain) | 661 |
| Asychis - - | | 628 |
| Sabakon, the Ethiópian, | 50 years | 578 |
| Anysis consequently up to | (uncertain) | 545 |

Anysis survived the Ethiopian: and it may be a question whether or no Herodotus really allowed him in his table 33 separate additional years of reign. Certain it is, however, that no such sum can have

[92] Niebuhr, Kleine Schriften und Philolog. Schriften, p. 196. seqq.

formed an element of the present computation. The Kings of the Pyramids begin with Cheops and end with Asychis. Then comes the Ethiopian epoch. But the first accurately fixed and historically authenticated chronological data of Herodotus commence with Psammetichus, who ascended the throne about 670 B. C.—consequently about 220 years before the historian visited Egypt. But between this main pivot of his chronology, the beginning of the reign of Psammetichus and the last King of the above list, Anysis, we have only Sethus and the Dodecarchy—consequently not two generations—for Psammetichus, one of the Dodecarchs, reigned 54 years. With Herodotus, therefore, the two sections stand in no chronological connection. He found a gap, which he saw no means of filling up; he abstained, therefore, from any specific calculations; contented with merely giving the dates of individual reigns, in so far as he found them distinctly recorded.

Without venturing here to pass judgment upon his Chronology (as many have done, some precipitately rejecting, and others as precipitately commending it)—until the result of a more careful analysis shall have supplied data for an impartial verdict—the following facts may yet be laid down as established:

That the Chronology of Herodotus, in the proper sense of the word, begins with Psammetichus; that for the previous period he possessed no expedient, by which the discrepancy between the Egyptian computation and his own series of Dynasties could be reconciled; that these two systems differ by about ten thousand years, and that neither consequently can be considered as either certain or possible.

## B.

### THE SCHOOL OF ARISTOTLE. — THE ALEXANDRIANS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES.

#### I. ARISTOTLE, THEOPHRASTUS, DICÆARCHUS.

Egypt had evidently a great charm for the penetrating genius of Plato, as his Books on the Republic and Laws more especially evince. Chronological inquiries were out of his jurisdiction. Still they had not altogether escaped his attention. He seems to have believed in the 10,000 years of antiquity, claimed by the Egyptians for certain of their monuments; and assigns 8000 years to the city of Sais.[93] But Aristotle, who in his lost work on the Olympic victors[94], may be presumed to have established the true landmarks of Grecian Chronology, has — after a careful study no doubt of that of Egypt[95] — recorded his opinion, that Sesostris, one of its primeval Kings, lived long before Minos. The epoch here assigned him falls much earlier than the year 1400 B. C., that being the age of the Cretan King according to the Greeks, viz. 200 years before the Trojan war.

To this school of Aristotle, and particularly to Theophrastus, belongs the credit of having followed up this method of comparative chronology. We have seen above that Theophrastus quotes "Egyptian Annals." Porphyry mentions his having described the Egyptians as the most learned people, and the deepest antiquarians in the world. He had also, if we may credit the state-

[93] Plato, Legg. ii. 567. (already mentioned in the first Section) comp. with Timæus, p. 23.

[94] Diog. Laërt. v. 26. viii. 51.

[95] Arist. Polit. vii. 9.: ὁ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος.

ments of the same philosopher, made himself master of their religious tenets. He had probably himself digested a system of chronology — Dicæarchus certainly had. The latter, in his work entitled "the Life of Greece," a model of geographical and historical statistics, had treated of the remote history of Egypt. This we learn from a remarkable fragment in the Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius.[96] He here ascribed to a primeval King of the country, whom the MSS. call Sesonchōsis, the division of the people into castes, and a still earlier institution, the first origin of the breeding of horses, and of horsemanship, ascribed by others to the God Horus, that is, to the close of the most ancient mythological period. We shall see in the second Book that Sesonchōsis is but a slight orthographical error for Sesortōsis; a mistake which also occurs in Manetho. The date of this King was fixed by Dicæarchus in the following manner:

"From Sesortōsis to (King) Nilus - 2500 years.
From Nilus to the first Olympiad - 436

Consequently Sesortōsis reigned
prior to the first Olympiad - 2936 years."

It may here be proper to remark that there are no sufficient grounds for the assertion of Petavius and Marsham, that Timæus, the Sicilian historian of the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, has the merit of fixing the Olympiads. Polybius, who has been appealed to in favour of this view, merely describes that writer as having collated the victors in the Olympic games with the Ephori of Sparta, the Archons of Athens, and the Priestesses of Argos, and as having adopted the dates of the Olympiads as his guide in his history.[97]

The epoch of Nilus, therefore, here presents itself

[96] See the Appendix of Authorities, B. III.

[97] Marsham, Canon Chr. p. 487. seqq.; Ideler, Handbook of Chronology, i. 378. Timæus's history reached as far down as the 129th Olymp.—261 B. C.

as the first pivot in the Greco-Egyptian Chronology — 436 years before the Olympiads, therefore 1212 B.C. But this date, according to the Alexandrian chronographers, falls but eighteen years prior to the commencement of the Trojan war — the sack of Troy being in 1184 B.C. The Nilus of Dicæarchus, therefore, may safely be held to represent the contemporary of Menelaus. We shall see hereafter that the last King of the 19th Dynasty bore the Egyptian name of the Nile.

Whatever critical value may be attached to the authority of Dicæarchus, the fact is, that he placed one of the oldest historical Kings of Egypt 2500 years before the end of the 19th Dynasty, i. e. according to the above data, 3712 B.C. The commencement of Manetho's history coincides, as we have seen, with the year 3555 before the 9th year of Alexander, i. e. 3895 B.C. His oldest and most celebrated King, Sesortōsis, is the second or third of the 3d Dynasty. His place, according to the letter of the Lists, is between the years 280 and 300 after Menes, or about 3600 B.C. Our scholiast consequently transmits to us facts of genuine Egyptian tradition, anterior to Manetho. The work of Dicæarchus cannot be placed later than about 300 B.C., and is therefore probably anterior to Manetho's history. Besides, it is uncertain whether Dicæarchus considered Sesonchōsis the first historical King, as the letter of the passage quoted seems to imply, or merely as one of the earliest. In either case there is no material discrepancy between his and Manetho's genuine chronology for that period, still less can the coincidence be accidental, or admit of explanation from Hellenic sources.

### II. THE ALEXANDRIAN CRITICS. — THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER.

Manetho's work found the Greek public fully prepared for chronological studies. It was a necessary result of the union of Egyptian knowledge with Greek

genius and research, that the appearance of his work, as before observed, should prove a standard epoch, in regard at least to the historical literature of Egypt. We might have assumed, even apart from any distinct notices on the subject, that the scholars of the Museum devoted a large share of their learned labours to Egypt and its history. The Hellenic mind had early turned with respect and veneration towards a land replete with the wonders of a world that had intellectually perished. The Father of History and the divine Plato had found there a system of primitive faith and primitive customs, around which, as the sacred background of Hellenic civilisation, many of their own mysterious rites, as well as popular traditions, appeared to be concentrated. Aristotle himself had investigated the primeval history and constitution of Egypt, and by the power of his genius, and the extent and clearness of his views, had directed the combined resources of his own school, and of Hellenic talent at large, into the paths of truth and reality, both in historical and natural science. After the nation, through its own folly and the vices of its rulers, had been deprived of its highest earthly blessing — its liberty — the nobler spirits turned with a force and elasticity, of which the Greeks alone among the races of the Old World were capable, towards the region of science. Alexander, moreover, by his conquests, aroused them to a sense of their historical importance, which compensated in some degree for that of individual or personal dignity. The youthful Hero had enshrined Grecian genius in the very sanctuary of Ammon, and founded for it a new capital on the banks of the Canopus. In it — the heiress of Heliopolis, of Memphis, and of Thebes — Egyptian and Hellenic Wisdom now sat side by side. The Ptolemies were Pharaohs, and, like the rulers of old, built temples, with hieroglyphical dedications, in honour of Phre, of Phtah,

and of Ammon. While the Seleucidæ wasted their energies in the struggle with the other heirs of Alexander, and in sensual luxury, the first three Ptolemies, the son of Lagus, Philadelphus and Euergetes, were occupied, and upon the whole successfully, in preserving the blessing of peace to the glorious land which had fallen to their lot. Under such circumstances the investigation of Egyptian antiquity could hardly fail to be a favourite object with those scholars, who, for the first time in the history of Greek culture, found themselves in a position where the eyes of the world were upon them, and surrounded by a profusion of intellectual treasures. It were a gross misapprehension of the spirit of this Alexandrian period, or indeed of Greek literature at large, to characterise these men as mere literary quacks and quibbling pedants, because, in the time of the Romans, Alexandria, like Athens, swarmed with those "Græculi," who knew every thing except what was worth knowing, but were in reality as ignorant as they were frivolous. The intellectual energy of the Alexandrian Museum was the last spark in that of the Greek national character, and according to the universal laws of nature, on the decline of public spirit—civil and religious—could be but the forerunner of its complete dissolution. It was like a branch on a withered stem. The genius of the Eastern Greeks strove in vain to arrest the decay of national and religious feeling by blending mythological and theological subtilties with a narrow system of Platonic philosophy. The living basis was wanting—sincere faith and sound sense. It was Christianity that endowed Alexandria with intellectual life and activity—that constituted her the seat of the most learned and practical school of Christian doctrine, and by that means the metropolis of East African Christianity. But the great leaders and masters of the Museum in the first century and a half of the Ptolemies, were very different

from the later scions of the Greco-Alexandrian school. Next to the loss of the great masterpieces of Hellenic genius, there are few more bitter sources of regret to the modern student, than that the profound historical and critical labours of these remarkable men should—to a few trifling fragments—have utterly perished. And the evil is still further aggravated by the total incapacity of the Roman and Byzantine men of letters—amid all the industry lavished on other pitifully trifling pursuits—to turn them to any profitable account.

### III. HECATÆUS OF ABDERA.—LYNCEUS OF SAMOS.—AUTHORS CITED BY THE SCHOLIAST OF APOLLONIUS.—CASTOR.—ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR AND HIS AUTHORITIES.

THERE is no want of information concerning the Egyptian researches of the Alexandrian period, but the notices commonly cited refer not to the Museum, but to the speculations of the later Alexandrians, or the other Greeks, who visited the country as travellers. To this latter class belongs the younger Hecatæus of Abdera, the friend of the first Ptolemy—"one of the many" (says Diodorus, i. 46) who visited Thebes in that King's time, and composed works on Egypt." The specimens given of his labours, however, exhibit neither sound criticism nor accurate observation. This is true more especially of his famous description of the Ramesseum, or some other temple-palace of that period, which he calls the tomb of the primeval King, Osymandyas. Lynceus of Samos, brother of the historian, Duris, also treated of Egyptian matters in the time of Philadelphus, in a work quoted by Athenæus. Of its historical contents no notices have been preserved.

Many other writers upon Egypt are quoted by the learned Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, Pliny, and Athenæus; but of so unimportant a character that we

are ignorant even of the exact time in which they lived.[98]

Two chronographers of the age of Sylla, Castor and Alexander Polyhistor, possess higher claims to authority. Judging from the plan of his work, Egyptian research must have been familiar to the first, and the "Ægyptiaca" of the latter are expressly mentioned. Eusebius gives several extracts from them in his "Præparatio Evangelica," especially in the ninth book. Their import proves that he used and cited the earlier Greek and Greco-Jewish writers, such as Eupolemus (c. 17.), Melon (c. 19.), Demetrius (c. 21., comp. 29.), and Aristæus (c. 25.). Polyhistor, however, judging from these specimens, can boast of but little real criticism or accurate observation; of his own Egyptian speculations no remains are preserved.

But we have yet to mention one of the greatest names in the Alexandrian Museum as connected with its Egyptian studies—one inseparably identified with the most flourishing era of historical research in that city, and with the foundation of her philological school.

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## C.

### ERATOSTHENES AND APOLLODORUS.

#### I. NOTICES OF THEIR LISTS OF EGYPTIAN KINGS TRANSMITTED BY SYNCELLUS.

George Syncellus of Byzantium, in his introductory notice of Egyptian Chronology, has preserved an extract from a work of Eratosthenes, devoted to that subject, and which he introduces with the following prefatory remarks:[99]

98 Appendix of Authorities, B. III.

99 Sync. Chronog. p. 91. comp. p. 147. See the Appendix of Authorities under *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodorus*.

"Apollodorus, the chronographer, has described another Dynasty of Egyptian Kings, called Thebans; thirty-eight in number, and whose united reigns comprise 1076 years. This succession extends from the year of the world 2900 (or, according to Syncellus, the 124th year after the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the nations) to 3975. Eratosthenes (as stated by Apollodorus) compiled his notices of these Kings from Egyptian Monuments and Lists by order of the King, and arranged their names—each with its Greek translation—in the following order."

Here follows a List of Kings, beginning with Menes—every Egyptian name with its Greek translation annexed. The number of years for each reign is also subjoined. In the original names as well as the Greek version, numerous, more or less palpable, errors of the text are observable. This can excite but little surprise considering the remote epoch from whence they are derived, and how utterly unintelligible they were to the copyists—coupled with the circumstance that we possess but two MSS., to one alone of which any real value attaches. We are more fortunate in the notices of the years. For here Syncellus adds in each case the year of the world, in which, according to his chronology, a reign began and ended. It thus becomes easy to correct trifling errors, or fill up occasional gaps. Hence not only the number, succession, and, for the most part, the individual name, but also the whole period of *one thousand and seventy-six years in thirty-eight reigns*, may be assumed—beyond all reasonable doubt—as facts distinctly vouched for by Eratosthenes. The existing transcript contains incidental evidence of the original text, as well as the primitive records whence it was compiled, having comprised other interesting notices in addition to the names of Kings and dates of reigns.

The Byzantine having thus, after his own method, laid

before us this valuable document, subjoins at its close the following commentary:

"Here ends the succession of the *eight and thirty*, so-called Theban, Kings of Egypt, whose names Eratosthenes obtained from the Sacred Scribes at Thebes and translated from Egyptian into Greek. It began in the 2900th year of the world, 124 years after the confusion of tongues, and ended in this the 3975th. The same Apollodorus has handed down *three-and-fifty Kings, immediate successors of the foregoing.* We consider it superfluous, however, to transcribe their names, as being of no kind of use to us—nor, indeed, can much more be said of those which precede them."

Thus we have a list of Egyptian Kings drawn up by Eratosthenes and edited by Apollodorus the chronographer, beginning with Menes, and containing 38 reigns in 1076 years—the editor himself added to it another list of 53 Kings, in continuity of succession. Of the former there still survive the names of the individual Kings. In the latter, not even a notice of the entire period of years comprised in the aggregate reigns.

It seems obvious that the only inducement with Syncellus for recording these valuable facts, was the opportunity afforded of displaying his own learning, and his familiarity with the names of these celebrated Alexandrian critics. For nothing could be more really perplexing to him than these Lists. Had he placed the starting point in the series of Eratosthenes ever so early—and the utmost he could do was to make Menes contemporary with Mizraim (124 years after the confusion of tongues)—still the close of that series brought him down to the time of the Judges. What then was to become of the other 53 Kings who reigned before the 18th Dynasty? For, like Josephus and all the Christian chronographers, he placed Moses and the Exodus at the beginning of this Dynasty. It is to this

circumstance that we are indebted for the copious extracts from Manetho's historical work, of the names of the Kings of that Dynasty. Those transmitted by Apollodorus, on the other hand, were to him absolutely worse than useless, for they were not even the names of the first Kings of the New Empire, into which the series of Eratosthenes ran—so utterly contrary to all order and so uncanonically. We shall show how decisive such a reason must also have been for the Christian chronographers of that time, when we enter upon the criticism of that period. For the present we must turn from the transcriber to the original compilers of these remarkable Lists.

### II. ERATOSTHENES AND HIS RESEARCHES.

ERATOSTHENES, next to Aristotle, the most illustrious among Greek men of learning, and as far superior to him in the extent of his knowledge, as inferior in grasp of intellect, was an African by birth, from the Greek colony of Cyrene. Strabo calls him and Callimachus the pride of that city—"for," he adds, "if there ever was a man who combined skill in the art of poetry and grammar—common to him and to Callimachus—with philosophy and general learning, Eratosthenes was that man." He reduced to a system two sciences, both of which he found in their infancy, Geography and Chronology. His calculation of the size of the globe, when submitted to the stricter test of modern science, proved the most correct hitherto made. His adjustment of the leading points in Grecian history, on the basis of the Olympic era—upwards to the time of the Heraclidæ, and downwards to that of Alexander the Great—was and continued to be the groundwork of all the chronological researches of the old world. In geography he was the guide and authority of Strabo and Ptolemy—in chronology of

Apollodorus and the later calculators. He was the founder of historical criticism for the primitive ages of Greece. Lastly, he ventured to doubt the historical truth of the Homeric legends. "I will believe in it," said he, "when I have been shown the currier who made the wind-bags which Ulysses on his voyage homewards received from Æolus."

The extent and depth of his geographical researches, as known to us through Strabo, prove that his historical inquiries were not limited to the world of Hellas. But in this latter department he is more especially distinguished as the first and greatest critical investigator of Egyptian antiquity. His remark upon the tyrant Busiris, as recorded by Strabo, and the ridicule with which he treated the popular Greek legend concerning him and his human sacrifices, may here be cited as peculiarly characteristic: "By Jupiter," said he, "there never was such a tyrant as Busiris — not even a King of that name." [100] In two other passages of still greater importance in their critical bearing on Egyptian history, though hitherto little appreciated, he elucidates the historical connection between the native tribes of South Africa and Asia towards India, and the Egyptians. "The four principal races of South Africa," [101] he remarked, according to Strabo, "have not only a well-regulated monarchical constitution, but also stately temples and royal palaces; the beams in their houses are arranged like those of the Egyptians." In his description of the southern promontory of Arabia, at Babelmandeb, he says, "here must have stood the pillars of Sesostris inscribed with Hieroglyphics." This he follows up with a detail of the campaign of that conqueror in those parts, which we reserve for our illustration of his own era. [102]

100 Strabo, xvii. c. 1. (p. 802.).
101 Ibid. xvi. c. 4. (p. 767).
102 Ibid. (p. 767.).

Every notice therefore relative to Egypt, emanating from a man of such rare talent and extensive learning, is deserving of the highest respect. Besides which we must also reflect that for the history of Egypt, above that of all other countries, every attainable material was at his disposal. Born in the 126th Olympiad, about 276 B. C., in the early part, consequently, of the reign of Philadelphus, he succeeded, probably under Euergetes, to the honourable post of Director of the Alexandrian Library, which he filled up to the time of his death (in his 80th or 82nd year, in the 146th Olympiad).

The very researches to which our attention is here directed, were undertaken by command of the King, consequently with every advantage that Royal patronage could procure for the investigation from the Egyptian Priests. They were more especially devoted to the "so-called Theban Kings." This expression designates literally such as were of Theban origin. But the first of the series, Menes, was not of that race — he was the hereditary prince of This; on which account he and his successors were entitled Thinite, and as such are cited by Manetho. In the passage before us, however, the expression is, "so-called Theban Kings," the true sense of which will become more apparent by reference to the general contents of the List. But before directing our attention more closely to that point, it will be proper to inquire into the character and credit of the editor of the List, Apollodorus the Chronicler, or Chronographer, as he is styled by Syncellus.

### III. APOLLODORUS THE CHRONOGRAPHER.

WE have already assumed — and shall have little difficulty in establishing — that this was the celebrated Apollodorus of Athens, who, as is well known, continued the chronological researches of Eratosthenes, and whose

compendium of the popular mythology — (whether the original text or an epitome may be a question) — we still possess under the title of the "Bibliotheca." In the first place Syncellus repeatedly quotes the chronographer without any further designation, as authority for his data — with reference, for example, to the primitive history of the Chaldees [103]; also for the 1000 years of the early Kings of Sicyon [104] — nor has it ever been doubted that the celebrated Athenian is the person alluded to. He likewise quotes him for the early chronology of Sparta [105], and for the Kings of Pontus [106], nor can any other author lay claim to the surname of "Chronicler" — for his principal work was entitled the "Chronicle" in four Books.[107] It was dedicated to Philadelphus, the Attalide of Pergamus, and comprised a period of 1040 years from the Trojan war down to his own time. He was in fact the earliest professional chronologer. Hence Clemens of Alexandria also styles him "the Chronographer [108] Apollodorus," and Diodorus distinguishes him [109] as "Apollodorus who treats of the computation of time."

In regard to his connection with Eratosthenes we are distinctly assured by Strabo[110], and the fact is indeed self-evident, that he followed closely in the track of his distinguished predecessor. Heyne, in his excellent edition of the "Bibliotheca," has well pointed out the

[103] Chronog. p. 39. B. (Comp. 34. D. 36. D. 38. A. 40. A.).

[104] Ibid. p. 97.

[105] Chronog. p. 185. D. (Fabricius here erroneously assumes the 8th book to have been quoted. It is merely said that Apollodorus dates the laws of Lycurgus from the 8th year of Alkamenes).

[106] Chronog. p. 275. C.

[107] Τὰ χρονικά, or χρονικὴ σύνταξις. Comp. Aul. Gel. N. A. xvii. 4.

[108] Clemens, Strom. i. p. 381.

[109] Diod. Sic. xiii. 13.

[110] Strabo, vii. p 298. seqq. Bernhardy, Eratosth. p. 2.

relation in which they stand to each other, in their systematic views of primitive Greek chronology. A discrepancy there is — but so trifling as merely to show that each had made his own independent calculations. In a word, Eratosthenes was the founder of chronology and geography without being himself a professional chronographer or geographer — Apollodorus was both chronographer and grammarian by profession. He certainly was not qualified to have originated the former science; but he extended and methodised the principles laid down by his predecessor into a practical and popular form. He studied the grammatical art under Aristarchus, the great Alexandrian critic [111], himself a pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium, who was again a disciple of the school of Eratosthenes. Hence Apollodorus himself was classed as belonging to the same school.[112] This sufficiently explains his title to the honour awarded him as publisher and continuator of the invaluable work of Eratosthenes above noticed. Having been left incomplete, or originally destined for the sole use of the King, it had probably remained unpublished. Apollodorus took up the interrupted line of research; nor — whether as regards the functions of publisher or continuator — could a more excellent substitute for the original author be desired.

### IV. ERATOSTHENES' LIST OF THIRTY-EIGHT EGYPTIAN KINGS COMPARED WITH THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

THE above preliminary remarks on this document were imperatively required both by its own importance and in consideration of the neglect it has hitherto experienced at the hands of Egyptologers. We now proceed to exhibit the thirty-eight Eratosthenian names side by side with such of those contained in the parallel Lists of

111 Suidas on Ἀπολλόδωρος. 112 Suidas on Ἐρατοσθένης.

Manetho, as are either identical with them—or so nearly so—that to any one moderately versed in the system of Egyptian Royal nomenclature, the actual or possible correspondence between the two sets will be at once apparent. We shall, for the present, closely adhere to the text as it now stands. Our subsequent critical analysis of the original names and their Greek versions by aid of the monuments will not only confirm the accuracy of the parallel here offered, but elicit various additional points of correspondence.

By the side of each of the Kings of Manetho we note the Dynasty to which he belongs; the order and value of the annexed numbers will be more fully illustrated in the sequel.

| Eratosthenes' Theban Kings. | | Manetho's Kings, by Dynasties. | | Succession. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Name and Reign. | Dynasty. | Name and Reign. | |
| | Years | | Years. | |
| I. | Mênês, *Thinite* 62 | I, 1 | Mênês, *Thinite* 62 | 1 |
| II. | Athôthês, *Son* 59 | – 2 | Athôthis, *Son* 57 | 2 |
| III. | Athôthês II. - 32 | | | |
| IV. | Miabiês - 19 | – 6 | Miebidos (Miabaês) 26 | 6 |
| V. | Pemphôs - 18 | | | |
| VI. | Momcheiri, *Memphite* | | | |
| VII. | Stoichos Ares 6 | III, 3 | Tyreis - 29 | 11 |
| VIII. | Gosormiês 30 | – 2 | Sesorthos - 7 | 12 |
| IX. | Marês - - 26 | | | |
| X. | Anôyphis - 20 | – 5 | Sôyphis - 16 | 13 |
| XI. | Sirios - - 18 | | | |
| XII. | Chnubos-Gneuros - - 22 | | ... | |
| XIII. | Kayôsis - 13 | IV, 5 | Ratoisês - 25 | 22 |
| XIV. | Biyrês - - 10 | – 6 | Bicheris - 22 | 23 |
| XV. | Saôphis - 29 | – 1 | Sôris - - 29 | 18 |
| XVI. | Saôphis II. - 27 | – 3 | Sûphis - - 66 | 20 |
| XVII. | Moscherês - 31 | – 4 | Mencherês - 63 | 21 |
| XVIII. | Moscherês II. 33 | | | |
| XIX. | Pammês - 35 | – 8 | Thamphthis - 9 | 25 |
| XX. | Apappus - 100 | VI, 2 | Phios - - 100 (*Comp.* vi. 4. Phiops) | 29 |
| XXI. | *Name mutilated* 1 | – 5 | Menthesûphis 1 | 30 |
| XXII. | Nitôcris - 6 | – 6 | Nitôcris - 12 | 31 |
| XXIII. | Myrtæus - 22 | VII. | x *Kings* 70 D. | 32 |

| ERATOSTHENES' THEBAN KINGS. | | | MANETHO'S KINGS, BY DYNASTIES. | | | SUCCESSION. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Name and Reign. | | Dynasty. | Name and Reign. | | |
| | | Years. | | | Years. | |
| XXIV. | Uosimarês | 12 | VIII, 1 | *Beginning of the VIIIth Dynasty of 7 Kings.* | | 33 |
| XXV. | Sethinilus | 8 | – 2 | *The names and dates of the individual reigns are lost.* | *total* 142 (146) | 34 |
| XXVI. | Semphucratês | 18 | – 3 | | | 35 |
| XXVII. | Chuthêr | 7 | – 4 | - - | | 36 |
| XXVIII. | Mieïrês | 12 | – 5 | - - | | 37 |
| XXIX. | Tomaephtha | 11 | – 6 | - - | | 38 |
| XXX. | Soikunius | 60 | – 7 | *End of the VIIIth Dyn.* | | 39 |
| | (XXIII,—XXX. *in all* 128 *Yrs.*) | | | | | |
| XXXI. | Peteathyrês | 16 | XI. | x *Kings* | 43 | 40, 41, 42. |
| XXXII. | (St) ammenemês | 26 | XII, 1 | Ammenemês | 16 | 43 |
| XXXIII. | (St) ammenemês II. | 23 | – 3 | Ammenemês | 38 | 45 |
| XXXIV. | Sistôsis | 55 | – 4 | Sesôstris | 48 | 46 |
| XXXV. | Marês | 43 | – 5 | Lamares (Lampares) | 8 | 47 |
| XXXVI. | Siphthas | 5 | XIII, 1 | *Beginning of the XIIIth Dyn. which consists of* 60 *Theban Kings; the names and dates of reigns are lost.* | | (52) |
| XXXVII. | Phuorô | 19 | – 2 | | | (53) |
| XXXVIII. | Amuthartæus | 63 | – 3 | | | (54) |

*Total*, 38 *Kings in* 1076 *yrs.*

*Total*, 50 *Kings in* x *years, contained in the following Dynasties:*

| Dyn. | Eratost. | Lists. |
|---|---|---|
| I. *Thinites* | ( 5 *Kings.* ) | 7 *Kings.* |
| III. *Memphites* | ( 9 – ) | 9 – |
| IV. – | ( 5 – ) | 8 – |
| VI. – | ( 3 – ) | 6 – |
| VII. – | ( 1 – ) | x – |
| VIII. – | ( 7 – ) | 7 – |
| XI. *Thebans* | ( 1 – ) | x – |
| XII. – | ( 4 – ) | 8 – |
| XIII. (*beginning*) | ( 3 – ) | 3 – |
| | (38 – ) | 48+x+x. |

### V. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ERATOSTHENES AND MANETHO.

A COMPARISON of the individual names in the two Lists can leave no reasonable doubt that both are derived from the same fountain-head of tradition. The occasional discrepancy in the years of reign may be satisfactorily explained in various ways; the agreement in the names, on the other hand, when of so frequent occurrence in a list of thirty-eight Kings, cannot upon any principle of probability be otherwise explained than upon the basis of an actual identity of the Kings themselves in each series. This impression will be fully substantiated by two important facts: the corresponding names succeed each other — with a trifling dislocation in the 3d and 4th Dynasty — in the very same order — the List of Manetho however contains obviously more reigns than that of Eratosthenes. This need excite no surprise. We have been already prepared to find Manetho conforming to the same Egyptian method for the Old Empire, of which palpable traces were pointed out in the historical Papyrus of the 13th century — that namely of inserting in the List of reigns the name of every King of the same sovereign line — co-regents inclusive — in the form of one continuous order of succession. We may rest assured however, that the method adopted by Eratosthenes was here no way different from that followed by him in his other similar works — that namely of strict chronological order. Such, indeed, is evidently the character of his List — the 1076 years being filled up by 38 Kings, each of whom succeeds his predecessor as in a chronological canon. Manetho's List *must* consequently have contained more reigns than that of Eratosthenes. It is only in the 3rd and 8th Dynasties that we find precisely the same number of Kings — 9 and 7 — in each List. In the others

however, the excess is not so great, but that it may be reasonably explained by the admission, by Manetho, of joint reigns — or by reference to such mistakes of compilers or copyists, as may have led to occasional repetitions. In the 7th and 11th Dynasties the number of Kings, as the text now stands, have certainly a very marvellous appearance. To the 7th Dynasty, which lasted 70 days, are assigned 70 Kings; which is clearly nothing else but the number of the days over again. And although the Eusebian texts do here fluctuate between 75 days and 75 years, and give only 5 Kings — still the number 70 may itself be considered as established. If then we adopt either 70 or 75 years as the true reading — which is perhaps scarcely admissible — and retain the 5 Kings; that number, considered as the sum of the 5 reigns, will be no way irreconcilable with the 22 years of the consecutive chronology, during which, according to our table, those 5 Kings must have reigned. Similar is the case with the 11th Dynasty. Eratosthenes assigns it one King who reigned 16 years. In the Lists the duration of the Dynasty is 43 years. This may easily have been the case, if this single King in Eratosthenes had two coregents associated with him. Let us here further assume — our present object being a mere balance of external or comparative probabilities — that there may have been a real difference in the historical data of the two compilers — the difference will yet amount to but 27 years, which is certainly far from sufficient to set aside the hypothesis that the two Lists, though the result of independent researches, rest upon substantially the same tradition, and one too of a purely historical character.

In the only Dynasty of any length — the 8th — where our text of Manetho gives neither names nor dates, the discrepancy is likewise very trifling. The 7 Kings of Eratosthenes comprise 128 years, those of Manetho 142

or 146. In the 3rd Dynasty the difference is still less. Manetho assigns 214 years to its nine Kings; the nine corresponding Kings in Eratosthenes reign 224 years.

This uniformity therefore in the succession of the two Lists and their respective corresponding names and dates, may be held as conclusive evidence that they were formed upon the same basis, that of a common historical tradition. But there is another circumstance which warrants a still wider extension of this inference. The eight Dynasties in Manetho, which correspond with the series of Eratosthenes, extend from the 1st to the 12th, leaving however a residue of three names in Eratosthenes. These must therefore — upon the principle by which our parallel is guided — find their place in the succeeding Dynasty in Manetho, i. e. the 13th; although, owing to the entire loss of its names, we can have but negative proof of the fact. But which are the corresponding Dynasties? The first is that entitled "Thinite:" and Eratosthenes also calls Menes, its chief, a Thinite. Again he calls the sixth King "Memphite," and the first nine Memphite Kings of the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho correspond with him and eight Kings, his successors. All the succeeding Kings, whose names harmonise with the names and dates in Eratosthenes, are likewise Memphite, up to the eighth: the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth are Theban. But the Kings in the Lists of Eratosthenes bear the common name of Theban Kings. *In no Dynasty — with the exception of those characterised as Theban or Memphite — is a single Eratosthenian name to be found, in so far as the names of those Dynasties have been preserved; and even in those where the names are wanting, it is equally clear that none could have been contained.*

The Dynasties, neither entitled Memphite nor Theban, are the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| the 2nd | Thinite | 9 Kings with names: |
| the 5th | Elephantinæan | 9 Kings with names: |
| the 9th, the 10th | Heracleopolitan | 19 Kings without names: 19 Kings without names. |

The names of the eighteen Kings of the 2nd and 5th Dynasties bear not the least resemblance to the parallel names in Eratosthenes—the years of the reign as little. As regards the Kings of the 9th and 10th Dynasties, which intervene between the 7th and 8th Memphite, and the 11th Theban, a collation of the reigns in the two Lists gives the following results. Between the 6th and 12th Dynasties of Manetho we have only nine reigns in Eratosthenes (XXIII—XXXI.); these, as we have already seen, are sufficiently provided for in the 7th, 8th, and 11th Dynasties. How then can we expect within the narrow limits of this portion of the Eratosthenian List—comprising in the whole but thirty-eight reigns—to find place for thirty-eight Heracleopolitan princes? For the more complete corroboration of this view, we may here mention, by anticipation, that from No. XXXI. downwards the Kings of Eratosthenes are those of the 12th Dynasty. But the facts already adduced render it, to say the least, highly probable that the series of Eratosthenes passes at once from the direct line of This to the Memphite Kings, and continues in their race till it becomes extinct, and the Theban Kings take their place. Thebes and Memphis were the two metropolitan cities of Egypt. There the legitimate King was required to be inaugurated and crowned. In Memphis, indeed, the ceremony of the coronation maintained its ground till the time of the Ptolemies, as appears from the Rosetta Inscription. The Memphito-Theban therefore, or—for brevity sake—the Theban Kings, represent in the Old Empire, after the Thinite race became extinct in the male line, the Imperial Sovereigns of Egypt. Erato-

sthenes, in their distinct and continuous line of succession as drawn up by him, established a chronological canon for the most ancient period of Egyptian history. If these general results be not wholly without foundation, and should they be confirmed in their details by the contemporary monuments and historical tradition, they will supply a key for the restoration of Manetho, and for the right interpretation of the primitive historical tradition of Egypt. Our previous inquiry led us to assume that such a key must have existed in order to distinguish the true chronological procession from the sum total of the Dynasties. The duration assigned by Manetho to the Egyptian Empire down to the ninth year prior to the accession of Alexander, was 3555 years — but the number of reigns in his 30 Dynasties, if added together, would make more than 5000 years. The probability is, therefore, that he calculated as we do with Eratosthenes for our guide — that is to say, in fixing the duration of the Old Empire, as commencing with the 1st Dynasty, he took merely the sum total of the reigns of the Memphito-Theban Kings. But before entering upon further details, it may be proper here to present a general view of our previous historical deductions.

### VI. HISTORICAL DATA DERIVED FROM THE LISTS OF ERATOSTHENES AND APOLLODORUS.

ERATOSTHENES began his labours with Menes, that is, with the commencement of the first systematic general registers of Egyptian Kings and historical annals. How did he conclude them? Doubtless with some notable epoch — some important historical crisis — not some ordinary event, such as a change of Dynasty. But what could that great event have been, worthy of forming such a standard epoch, but the irruption of the Shepherd races, and the occupation of the imperial

throne by Shepherd rulers? That the whole history of Egypt turned upon this event is proved by the native monuments, and attested by Manetho. According to him it subdivides itself under three great and comprehensive heads—the history of the Old—the Middle—and the New Empire. By the New we understand the restoration of native independent sovereigns to the imperial throne of Memphis and Thebes. This restoration is universally admitted to have been concurrent with the accession of the 18th Dynasty.

But when did the Old Empire end? Evidently with the third King of the 13th Dynasty—as resulted from our analysis of the system of Eratosthenes. We have, therefore, even at the present stage of our inquiry, a very simple mode of accounting for the sixty Kings assigned by Manetho to this Dynasty: for up to the eighteenth—that is, up to what is universally allowed to be the commencement of the New Empire—there occurs no other Theban Dynasty (the Memphitic here entirely disappear). The 13th Dynasty, therefore, from its third King downwards, represents the series of tributary monarchs of the race of *imperial* sovereigns (upon our previous fundamental hypothesis of an imperial line), who held possession of Thebes during the time of the Hyksos. But this period is probably not calculated in the annals by reigns of tributary Kings, but by Dynasties of the Shepherds. Their occupation of the throne of Memphis was the commencement of the Middle Empire; their expulsion that of the New. During this period they were as much legitimate Kings in the estimation of the Egyptian annalist, as the Ethiopian and Persian Kings of the New Empire. In Manetho there are three Dynasties of Shepherd Kings—the 15th, 16th, and 17th. The 14th, which occurs between them and the Theban princes, consisted, as we have seen, of Xoite

Kings, and was, consequently, (like the Thebans) a tributary Dynasty in Lower Egypt. Manetho makes the number of Shepherd Kings 43. Their first two Dynasties contained respectively 6 and 32—the number 5 of this last Dynasty is lost; but the 151 years given as the aggregate of their reigns is no impossible estimate, inasmuch as those of the first race of these Kings which are well authenticated, average above 40, and those of the second nearly 20 years. The 60 Theban Kings, therefore, of the 13th Dynasty, of whom at least 57 belong to the New Empire, were no unreasonable number for nine centuries, according to the usual average of the reigns of Egyptian Kings. Besides, we have no proof either that joint reigns may not have been admitted in the Lists of the Middle Empire, or that these Theban Kings really reigned throughout the whole period. The same may be said of the 76 Kings of the 14th Xoite Dynasty, which, as already remarked, was, according to our hypothesis, *contemporaneous* with the Theban Dynasty, and whose accession must be placed somewhat later than that of the one preceding it, but somewhat earlier than that of the one which follows (the 1st Shepherd Dynasty)—judging from the position assigned it by Manetho between the two.

The results here detailed may therefore be concisely summed up as follows—

The Old Empire of Menes closed soon after the accession of the 13th Dynasty. The New Empire commenced with the 18th (Theban) Dynasty—or, to speak more definitely—the taking of Memphis was concurrent with the accession of the House of the Tuthmōses, although it was reserved for the third of that family, whose reign commenced 81 years after its accession, finally to expel the Hyksos out of the frontier fortress Avaris (Pelusium). The Dynasties, from the 18th to the 30th inclusive, extend over a period of about 1300 years, according to the Lists of Manetho;

—1325 according to his aggregate number, as above stated.

The Middle Empire therefore occupies the period from the 13th to the 17th Dynasties inclusive — and the measure of its duration is that of the Shepherd dominion. The Theban and Xoite Kings were contemporaneous with the shepherds and with each other. This period, according to the above, comprised about nine hundred years.

Now as the whole duration of the Egyptian Empire down to the 8th year before Alexander's accession is thirty-five centuries and a half, Manetho must have assigned about thirteen centuries to the Old Empire.

We subjoin a synopsis of the above numbers :—

| Dyn. | | | Years. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Thinites, | 8 Kings, | 263 | (253) |
| III. | Memphites, | 9 – | 214 | |
| IV. | — | 8 – | 274 | |
| VI. | — | 6 – | 203 | |
| VII. | — (x) | 5 – | — | 70 (75) days. |
| VIII. | — | 7 – | 142 | (146) |
| XI. | Diospolitans, | x – | 43 | |
| XII. | — | 8 – | 176 | |
| | Total number of years | | 1315 | 70 (75) days (1309). |
| | Add to this the last three reigns in Eratosthenes: | | 87 | |
| | | | 1402 | (1396) |

The sums total of the individual Dynasties consequently give about 100 years more than Manetho *can* possibly have assigned them in his (lost) chronological canon. This renders it probable that although the duration of the Old Empire may with him have exceeded (as is indeed obviously the case) the space allotted to it by the more critical researches of Eratosthenes, still the sums of his

individual Dynasties were never intended to represent his actual chronology of that empire. The discrepancy can only be explained by assuming the occasional occurrence of joint reigns. This then is the solution of one of the most important questions to which we formerly adverted as connected with the Lists of Manetho, but at a stage of our inquiry not sufficiently advanced to admit of its being satisfactorily answered. One thing is now placed beyond all doubt—that Manetho drew a distinction, in the Old as well as Middle Empire, between a consecutive series of Memphito-Theban Sovereigns of the Empire, and other Dynasties, concurrent with them, whether friends or foes, who never occupied the imperial throne of Memphis and Thebes. This supplies the true basis for the historical restoration of his Lists. We know that he assigned 3555 years to the whole Empire, of which 13 centuries in round numbers belonged to the Old, 9 to the Middle, and 13 to the New. The historical reality of Manetho's calculation must indeed be proved —the rude outline of the system must be more definitely filled up—but the key seems to be discovered—the plan of critical analysis marked out.

Eratosthenes must be our guide for the chronology of the Old Empire, so long as his data are in harmony with those derived from the monuments.

For the Middle Empire his place must be supplied by Apollodorus of Athens. Of the nature and value of this author's labours we have also the means of forming a competent estimate. If those of Eratosthenes embraced the Old Empire, Apollodorus must have commenced with the Middle period—for his 53 Kings follow immediately upon those of Eratosthenes. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt as to the extent of the period they occupied. Syncellus did not deign to transcribe their names, because they appeared to him utterly useless. The names of the 18th Dynasty consequently were *not*, as already

observed, among them, for he was not only well acquainted with those, but considered them of the greatest importance. He subjected this Dynasty to a very careful analysis, because the birth of Moses and the Exodus were connected with it. The labours of Apollodorus did not, therefore, extend to the New Empire. Such an hypothesis were indeed hardly in itself admissible—for Manetho assigns, at most, 57 Theban Kings of the 13th Dynasty to this period, and those of Apollodorus are also expressly called Thebans. Lastly, the correspondence between the number 53 in Apollodorus and 57 in Manetho were as close as could reasonably be expected or desired—even in the case of two races entirely different in origin or settlement—as an argument in favour of their identity of period.

Everything therefore combines to show the probability of our having discovered the true system of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, and with it a key to the right understanding of the Lists of Manetho. If our further researches upon this basis be corroborated by the monuments — and clear up in their turn the obscurities of Greek tradition — we may venture to hope that we have discovered the clue for restoring the whole chronology of Egypt.

Such a discovery will doubtless be the more acceptable at the present moment, when the written monuments of that country, after the lapse of thousands of years, have once more been made accessible to our researches - - if we reflect, that beyond the pale of the Alexandrian school it were vain to look for any solution of the enigma which the native Egyptians have transmitted to us.

## D.

### DIODORUS SICULUS.

#### I. DIODORUS. — HIS DYNASTIES AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANTE-HISTORICAL PERIOD.

THREE great epochs in the history of Egyptian chronological research have now been pointed out: those of Herodotus, Manetho, and of Eratosthenes. Our attention has also already been drawn to traces of a combination or blending of the genial Hellenic, the dry monumental Egyptian, and the critical Alexandrian elements of research in the later Greek literature. The path pursued by Eratosthenes was now neglected. The degenerate race, possessed by a spirit of subtle trifling, or of systematic perversion of truth, and dead to all sense of the dignity or gravity of historical pursuit, grasped at whatever happened to suit its purpose at the moment, confounding and too often falsifying both facts and authorities. Diodorus Siculus visited Egypt under the 13th Ptolemy, surnamed the Young Dionysus, in the 180th Olympiad, consequently about 58 years B. C.: his history, however, was written at a considerably later period. He was the first author as well as the last, who ventured to grapple with the whole subject of Egypt in its integrity, and that at the head of his general history of the ancient world. But unfortunately he brought to the task a mere acquaintance with books, without either sound judgment, critical spirit, or comprehensive views. He was more successful consequently in complicating and mystifying, than in sifting and illustrating the traditions with which he had to deal. He could not venture to set aside the narratives of Herodotus, now become so popular; he therefore incorporated them with other later commentaries on Egyptian chronology and history to which he

had access, chiefly garbled and mutilated versions of the systems of Manetho or Eratosthenes. The confusion which resulted has tended above all other circumstances to disparage Egyptian chronology in the eyes of critical investigators, by whom it has been considered as reflecting either an absolute want of historical character, or an irremediable state of derangement in the native traditions themselves. We shall, however, we trust, be able to show, that the fault is entirely that of Diodorus himself — of his bad guides — and his own precipitancy and want of judgment: and that criteria are not wanting for distinguishing and restoring the golden grains of genuine Egyptian tradition from among the chaff under which it has been smothered. With this object in view, it will be sufficient in the present introductory notice to point out the fissures in this piece of rhetorically patched and plastered Mosaic work, and to investigate in each particular subdivision the original from which its author had copied. We have every reason to assume that Diodorus had read neither Manetho nor Eratosthenes; but that those whom he selected as his guides, had drawn from one or other of those sources.

To this inference we are led at the outset by his mode of treating Egyptian tradition prior to Menes. Before the age of Men reigned Gods and Heroes (i. 42.). The earliest Kings having been deified bear for the most part the names of the seven most ancient deities. These are the Sun and Moon (primeval Osiris and Isis), the "Spirit" who is called the father of gods and men (probably Kneph), and the four elements — Vulcan, (Phtah), Fire — Ceres, the Earth — Oceanus, Water — Neith-Athena, the Air, "hence" called by the Greeks "the blue-eyed Goddess."

Among these deified personages, the first who reigned bore, according to some, the name of the Sun; according to others, he was called the Human Vulcan. The probable

story that Vulcan, on the occasion of a forest having been set on fire by lightning, invented that element, is in favour of the latter opinion.

Then came Chronus, the husband of Rhea. Their offspring were Zeus and Hera, whose five children — Isis, Oriris, Typhon, Apollo (Horus), and Aphrodite all mounted the throne.

Of them, Osiris, the husband of Isis, reigned first. These two were the benefactors of the human race, which they elevated from the condition of savages and cannibals to that of devout and civilised nations, who ate bread, drank wine and beer, and planted the olive. They built Thebes with its hundred gates, and in it the first temples to their worthy progenitors Zeus and Hera — gorgeous and costly works. Hermes-Thoth was the sacred scribe and counsellor of Osiris, who organised language and religious ceremonies, and invented writing. He was also the real inventor of the culture of the olive, and not Athena. In order to extend this divinely regulated life over the whole world, Osiris traversed the globe, leaving with Isis Hermes above-mentioned as counsellor, and a valorous kinsman called Hercules, as general. He made Busiris his lieutenant over Phœnicia and the adjoining sea-coasts — Antæus over Ethiopia and Libya. His two sons, Anubis and Makedon, attended him on his expedition, as did also Pan, who was worshipped in Chemmo, the city of Pan. In Ethiopia he was presented with a race of Satyrs with tails. He was a festive prince, fond of the song and the dance, and kept nine virgin well-trained singers and dancers, from whom the Greeks — it was obvious — derived their nine Muses. In India he built Nysa in honour of Nysa in Arabia, not far from Egypt, where, as the heir of Zeus, he had received an education conformable to his rank. In Thrace, where he met with Lycurgus, he left Maro behind, Makedon in Macedonia, and Triptolemus in Attica.

This worthy man was in the end treacherously killed by his brother Typhon, and his corpse shamefully maltreated. Typhon had 26 fellow-conspirators, to each of whom he gave a portion of the mutilated body.[113] But his wife collected, in so far as in her power, its scattered parts, and honoured her husband with splendid funeral rites. At the same time she decreed to him divine worship, for which purpose she assigned a third of the lands to the Priests — so that one honour was equivalent to the other.

Who can fail here to recognise the corruption to which the old tradition was subjected during the Macedonian dominion by the barefaced chicanery of Greco-Egyptian Pundits? The chronological data themselves suffice to prove that Diodorus's guide was of the time of the Ptolemies. From Osiris to Alexander, according to some, says he (i. 23.), were above 10,000 years — according to others, above 23,000 years. We have already seen that the latter is the genuine Egyptian number. Soon after (i. 26.) he adds — evidently in the way of supplement, derived from some other source — from Helios to Alexander they reckon 23,000 years — the most ancient deified Kings each reigned above 1,200 years, the more recent less than 300. The former may be explained as a calculation by years of a single month — the latter by years of four months — the duration of the three Egyptian seasons. Thus they are both reduced to the reasonable term of 100 years.[114] In these details may easily be recognised an adulteration of that genuine primeval tradition of the

[113] Manifestly a mythological representation of the oldest division of the empire of Egypt into 37 provinces — the same upon which the old Labyrinth was arranged — 10 for Upper, 10 for Lower Egypt, besides the Heptanomis.

[114] He then introduces the absurd statement which the Fathers have copied from him — that on this account the Greeks called the years ὧροι, namely from ὥρα, a season.

Egyptian annals, the first knowledge of which was communicated to the Greeks by Manetho.

The younger deities are the Heroes of Manetho's fabulous empire. In a subsequent passage — in the second section of his first Book (i. 44.) — the Gods and Heroes are stated to have reigned something less than 18,000 years. Obviously Egyptian tradition again, but according to a different version. There can have been no great discrepancy between this number and that of Manetho, for the latter gives 13,900 years for the rule of the Gods, 1255 for the Heroes (making together 15,155), and then 5813 for Heroes and Manes.

The oldest mortal Kings he describes (i. 43.) as elective, and honoured by the people as the benefactors of the human race.

### II. THE CHRONOLOGY OF DIODORUS, FROM MENES TO ALEXANDER.

Somewhat more value attaches to the chronological data of Diodorus relative to the historical Kings of Egypt. Up to the epoch of his visit, that country, he tells us (i. 44.), had been governed by human Kings during nearly 5,000 years. Of these 475 were indigenous. The foreign rulers he computes in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 Ethiopians — not however all in succession | 36 years. |
| The Persians, including the time of the revolts | 135 |
| The Macedonians | 276 |
| | 447 |

The statement as to the four Ethiopians finds its explanation in the 24th Dynasty. Deducting the above sum, there remain about 4450 years, for the native rulers of the historic period. Diodorus himself states in another

passage (i. 69.), that the whole duration of the monarchy exceeded 4,700 years, and that the greater number of sovereigns were native Egyptians. The two statements are clearly intended to be the same, but the latter is the more accurate. Subtracting here, as above, the period of foreign rule, according to the previous estimate, we have a surplus of nearly 43 centuries for that of the native monarchs.

The computation of his "nearly 5,000" years begins with "Mœris," or "Myris," which amounts to the same thing.[115] In a more accurate writer than Diodorus we might get over this name, by substituting that of Menes, with whom, as being the first mortal King, he, as well as Herodotus, begins, in the immediate sequel, the reigns of the Pharaohs. But in the case of a work so carelessly botched together as this history, any such desperate expedient were as little to the purpose, as an attempt critically to illustrate a palpable interpolation. The name may either be that of the real Mœris, who is afterwards introduced as one of the successors of Menes — or may represent a prince of the provincial race prior to Menes, of whom, however, we hear nothing in any other quarter.

Five of those 475 native rulers were females. This also is borrowed, not from Herodotus, but from Egyptian sources. From them and from the monuments at least three are known to us in the New, besides Nitocris in the Old Empire. "All these," says Diodorus, "are registered in the Annals of the Priests, with the particulars of their stature and personal appearance — their mental qualities, exploits, and works." This passage already referred to in a former section is confirmed, as we there remarked, by the primeval Royal Papyrus, and other records.

[115] One MS. indeed has the former reading; the other mode of spelling it occurs also in Strabo and Herodotus in some MSS.

### III. SYNOPSIS OF THE LISTS OF DIODORUS.

WE subjoin the entire series of Kings in Diodorus under such sections or epochs as his arrangement appears to suggest.

I. Menes, the first King (i. e. of *all* Egypt), the founder of their civilisation (c. 45.).
52 Successors of Menes during upwards of 1040 years.

Here also there is genuine but perverted tradition. For the 52 successors of Menes are clearly the Kings of the Old Empire in the Memphito-Theban Dynasties. That empire lasted, according to Eratosthenes, 1076 years, of which 62 fall to Menes, and consequently 1014 to his successors. Manetho, as we have seen, assigns about 50 Kings to those Dynasties, instead of the 38 of the Alexandrian critic, with a few centuries more. Here, therefore, we have plain vestiges of Alexandrian criticism.

II. Busiris and his Dynasty — 9 Kings (c. 46—49).
1. Busiris I., the Tyrant, and slayer of strangers.
2—8. His successors.
9. Busiris II. who built Thebes. [Diodorus here subjoins a description of the city, comprising that of the tomb of a King Osymandyas after the younger Hecatæus.]

The tradition embodied in this section is derived from the age prior to Menes — probably from Upper Egypt; the only historical fact mentioned being the building of Thebes. This work some authorities, referred to by Diodorus, ascribe to Isis; others, if we may trust Synesius, make the city still more ancient than that goddess.[116]

[116] Diod. i. 15. Wesseling quotes upon this passage Stephanus on Διόσπολις, and Schol. Il. *a*. 383. Synesius, i. Provid. p. 94. B., and ii. p. 117. C.

III. (1) Uchŏreus (c. 50): "eighth successor of *this* King" (of Osymandyas or Busiris the Second ?). Built Memphis, and dug the lake as a protection to it.—He also erected a royal residence, which however was not equal in splendour to the previous works. The God Nilus, as a bull, is said to have procreated from the daughter of this King

(2) Ægyptus: an upright and humane sovereign.

The foundation of Memphis, according to Manetho, belongs to the 1st Dynasty. But mention is here made of the building of a royal palace, which fell short of the *earlier* buildings. This warrants the assumption, that we have here a confused tradition concerning the first Memphite Dynasty, the third of Manetho, which began with the sixth King of Eratosthenes, and comprised nine rulers.

IV. Mœris (c. 52): 12 generations later. His works according to Herodotus.

The historical Mœris therefore, if we may trust the above notice, lived 12 generations after Ægyptus, the 2nd King of the 3rd Dynasty=7th of Eratosthenes. An interval of 12 generations would bring us to Apappus, 20th in the List of Eratosthenes, and chief of the sixth Manethonian Dynasty.

V. 1. Sesoōsis (c. 53—58.): 7 generations later: a King celebrated in song, and whose history is variously related. His expeditions, in part according to Herodotus: returned at the end of nine years, and employed his captives in building a temple to the principal deity of that city—protected the Delta by a wall 1500 stadia (186¼ miles) long, extending from Pelusium to Heliopolis, consequently to the north-east—reigned 33 (others say 30) years: was deprived of his eyesight and committed suicide. Two obelisks, each 120 cubits high (180 Egyptian feet), record his exploits.

2. Sesoōsis II. Son and successor. The story of his being struck blind and being cured, is word for word the same as that of Pheron in Herodotus (c. 59).

The above section is a medley — combining the narrative of Herodotus — (a part of which, as we have seen, belongs to the Old Empire) — concerning the Ramesside Sesoōsis (Sesothis) — with another tradition proper to the Old Empire : viz. the Sesostris-tradition. Sesostris belongs to the 12th Dynasty of Manetho, and corresponds with the 33rd or 34th King of Eratosthenes, consequently with the 13th or 14th subsequent to the Mœris of Diodorus.

VI. 1. Amasis — according to a reading discovered by Stephanus, Ammōsis [117] — was abandoned by his whole people on account of his tyranny, and lost his kingdom (c. 60.), to

2. Actisanes, the Ethiopian (c. 61.) — a humane ruler, who commuted the sentence of criminals capitally condemned, to amputation of their noses, and assigned them as a place of refuge the desert sea-coast, east of Pelusium (hence called *Rhinocolura*) (the land of mutilated noses). He was succeeded (and could therefore have formed no Dynasty) by a native King

3. Mendes: called by others Marros: no way distinguished as a warrior, but celebrated for the Labyrinth which he built, as his own burial-place.

To clear up the confusion in this succession would require a more detailed analysis than for the present we are able to devote to it. The building of the Labyrinth however brings us down to the end of the 12th Dynasty, and the 35th King of Eratosthenes. It may be remarked that according to Diodorus, only three reigns

[117] Steph. p. 41. comp. c. 60.

intervene between Sesoōsis = Sesostris, and Mendes = Mares, including the younger Ramesside, who is transplanted hither from the New Empire — exclusive of him, consequently, but two, as in Eratosthenes.

VII. 1. Ketes (c. 62.), the Proteus of the Greeks: obtained possession of the throne after an anarchy which lasted five generations. He was of an insignificant family, and was elected King. The fable of Proteus follows with its interpretation.

2. Remphis, his son, the miser, who hoarded up 400,000 talents.

3. Nileus, from whom the Nile took its name, having previously been called Ægyptus — one of seven Kings who succeeded Remphis — the other six were indolent sovereigns, who performed nothing worthy of note (c. 63.).

This is evidently a continuation of the history of the Ramessides (19th and 20th Dynasty), which in the foregoing Section was mixed up with a tradition from the Old Empire.

VIII. The builders of Pyramids. 1. Chemmis, a Memphite, succeeded the 7 Kings, and reigned 50 years — built the Great Pyramid. Both narrative and descriptive details are here for the most part after Herodotus.

2. Kephren (c. 64.), brother of Chemmis, reigned 56 years. Second Pyramid. [According to some, the successor of Chemmis, and the builder of the second Pyramid was not his brother, but his son Chabryēs or Chabryis. According to others, Chemmis and Kephren were not buried in their Pyramids, for fear of the people, who detested them, but in a meaner place of sepulture.]

3. Mykerinus or Mekerinus, the son of Chemmis, not of Kephren, as in some versions. He commenced the third Pyramid, but did not complete it. His

name is inscribed on one of its sides. These Kings are also said to have built three smaller Pyramids for their wives in the vicinity of their own.

IX. 1. Bocchoris, the sage and legislator, succeeded those Kings.
2. Sabakōn, after a long interval.

Here we have a fragment of a tradition relative to the 24th and 25th Dynasties, but so confused, that Sabakōn, who burned Bocchoris alive, is made to ascend the throne "long after him."

### IV. TWO SPECIAL INDEPENDENT LISTS: THE BUILDERS OF THE THREE GREAT PYRAMIDS, AND THE LEGISLATORS.

Royal lists, presenting a distinct historical continuity, but which find no place in the general chronology of Diodorus, are evidently of especial importance: They point to a tradition, for which Diodorus could not find room in his own systematic List, and which had probably been equally overlooked in the speculations of previous Greek writers consulted by him relative to the Dynasties and their order of succession.

*List of the Builders of the three great Pyramids.*

After having detailed the more familiar account of the Pyramid-Kings, from Cheops to Mykerinus, borrowed chiefly from Herodotus, Diodorus adds in a few words the following totally different tradition —

Armæus built the first of the three great Pyramids:
Amōsis, the second:
Maron, the third, which some (i. e. Herodotus) ascribed to Rhodopis.

This tradition is certainly worthy of attention, although it may not admit of explanation at the present stage of our inquiry.

*The Egyptian Legislators.*

This List stands quite insulated in a latter part of the first book (c. 94. seq.).

I. Mnevis (Μνεύης); an ancient King, after the dominion of Gods and Heroes—the first who gave written laws. These he professed to have received from Hermes, and succeeded in persuading the people to live according to them—the most magnanimous and popular of all Kings.

II. Sasychēs (Sasychis), a sovereign of distinguished talent—enlarged the code of his predecessor—regulated the forms of religious worship—invented Geometry and Astronomy, both theoretical and practical.

III. Sesoōsis, the great conqueror—legislated for the warrior-caste, and for military affairs in general.

IV. Bocchoris—his ordinances comprise all matters connected with the duties or privileges of the sovereign—also laws concerning treaties. Many of his judgments have been preserved. He was of a delicate constitution—and avaricious beyond any of his predecessors.

V. Amasis (Ammōsis), the friend and adviser of Polycrates: was not of royal blood, but elected King on account of his excellent qualities. His laws related to the governors, and general administration of the Nomes.

VI. Darius—honoured as a God even during his lifetime, on account of his wisdom, virtue, and respect for the sacred books and ordinances of the Egyptians—at his death was ranked among the most upright princes.

On the first three of these Kings no light has hitherto been thrown: they will all, however, be identified hereafter in the succession of the Old Empire. Bocchoris is registered by Manetho among the Kings of the 24th

Dynasty — Amos is familiar to us from Herodotus. The above succession is evidently chronological.

In the foregoing brief synopsis of the system of Diodorus, our object has been merely to vindicate our own subdivision of its heads, and in so far the credit of its author. For its more complete elucidation we must refer to the sequel of our researches. This much, however, will be admitted — that the view here adopted, as referred to our two standard text books, Eratosthenes and Manetho, brings its own confirmation along with it. Hitherto the statements of this author have passed with the critics for a mere tissue of fables or falsehoods, seasoned with a few scraps from the tradition of Herodotus — a verdict which has tended unfortunately to throw suspicion on the whole of Egyptian historical lore — as a no less corrupt mass than the speculations of the confused and uncritical Sicilian.

It has, we trust, been shown that not only the individual sections, as above exhibited, stand on an independent basis, and are in so far consistent in themselves, but also that the connection established between these sections, by such phrases as "after these Kings," or, "after twelve generations," are no mere arbitrary patchwork. With some transpositions, not difficult to account for, and from which even the narrative of Herodotus is not wholly exempt, the separate sections seem quite coherent in themselves, and in accordance with the course of the 30 Dynasties, and even with Eratosthenes. Menes, as with Herodotus, stands at the head of the series which is carried on through the whole of the Old Empire. The second section (the Dynasty of Busiris) ought naturally to have had the precedence. The Heroes of the Old and New Empire have been confounded; but Diodorus himself observes that the history of Sesoōsis=Sesostris is related in very different ways. Much more light may, however, be anticipated from a critical examination of the details.

## CONCLUSION. GREEK AND ROMAN RESEARCH.

OUR inquiry into the means adopted by the Egyptians for preserving their chronology and history has brought to light precious remains of those imperishable treasures of sculptured lore, in which this most essentially monumental race had, from the remotest period, recorded every step in the progress of their long career of bygone centuries. It has likewise exhibited to us faithful and carefully digested notices of those Kings, by the length of whose reigns the Egyptians regulated all their computations of time. Lastly, it has warranted the presumption of a still higher consciousness on their parts of the unity of time, as reflected in their great astronomical cycles. But as those monuments, even where intelligible, do not contain the word of living tradition, so are the Lists of Kings and series of years mere dry skeletons without life and vital coherence — names without events, dates without history, even without any such strict and intelligible chronology as the historian requires.

These defects were supplied by Greek critical research, which lent a ready and confiding ear to the tradition that still lived among the people, or at least the Priests, of the glory and happiness of the good old time — and of the long years of cruel suffering and national ignominy to which they had since been subjected. The Greek nation, henceforward, learnt to admire and reverence the dignity, the grandeur, and antiquity of Egyptian life and character ; they viewed it as a phenomenon of deepest interest in the history of our species — as unhellenic — and yet not barbarous — as a living memorial of their own dark ages of primeval existence. It was, however, the conquest of Alexander, and the foundation of Alexandria, that first opened up the

monumental and historical treasures of the Egyptians to the genius of the Greeks. What the school of Aristotle had prepared, and Manetho, under Greek auspices, but with Egyptian learning, had matured, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, and Apollodorus of Athens, especially the former, carried to perfection.

By their efforts the chronology of Egypt became the common property of mankind. For the Dynastic method, where contemporaneous and consecutive events are confounded in the same series — the historical was substituted. Instead of noting each individual reign, and consequently joint-reigns, where such occurred in succession, they aimed at and succeeded in establishing the true principles of chronological adjustment. In this way they furnished a key to Manetho, and at the same time a criticism of his researches — a boon the more greatly to be prized, owing to the loss of his historical work. True it is, that nothing remains of the labours of Apollodorus, but the number of Kings for the Middle Empire; and Eratosthenes's register of the earlier Pharaohs has reached us but in a meagre epitome. The authenticity, however, of both numbers and epitome is sufficiently well attested — that of the latter, indeed, is proved by incontrovertible evidence. The path both of present and future research into the antiquities of Egypt is thus clearly marked out. Were these authorities deceptive, the monuments, with their more than hundred Royal Rings, would proclaim their treachery. Instead of the names which the Lists require, they would exhibit others, which find no place in those documents. Lastly, the succession of monumental Kings, instead of tallying with those written chronicles, would but prove the early period at which historical truth was extinguished. If, then, both the monumental names and the tradition of the Greek historians coincide with these fragments as well as with Manetho, their chronological data must

be considered as completely verified. The strength of the proof in the first case gives the measure of the proof in the second. The whole criticism of Egyptian chronology and history is placed in this dilemma. If the monuments, therefore, can be interpreted by means of the names still extant and legible in our meagre extracts or epitomes of Manetho and Eratosthenes, the historical accuracy of the traditions, as preserved to us, may be considered as proved to the fullest extent.

We have, thus, for the Old Empire, 38 Kings and 1076 years: for the Middle Empire, 53 Kings and about 900 years, that being Manetho's estimate for the duration of the three Dynasties of Shepherd Kings. The remaining 1300 years for the New Empire will then be the more surely obtained from a comparative analysis of Manetho and the monuments; yet even here not without a careful sifting and clearance of ancient error and misunderstanding, and by a process of steady and patient investigation.

Such are the services which Greek critical research, to its immortal honour, rendered to the cause of Egyptian historical science during the three centuries and a half, from Herodotus to Apollodorus. Alexandria, indeed, soon after fell into decay from the degeneracy of its rulers, the pedantry of its men of learning, and the hollow, scholastic rhetoric, or the equally hollow mysticism and debasing superstition of its schools of philosophy. The germ of intellectual life, which had sprouted in her halls, was extinguished — or, rather, it might be said, was but smothered — shortly to be resuscitated by the voice of a genial religion; and thus — itself divinely renovated and inspired with heavenly truths and creative faculties, was to arouse Egypt — Africa — the world at large — to a new career of intellectual activity.— But even during that lamentable

period of corruption and death, a Sicilian Greek, with every drawback of limited faculties, and want of method or critical acumen, rendered, by the zeal and extent of his efforts, most valuable service to the cause of Egyptian and of universal history. We have already been enabled to arrange to a certain extent the confused tables of Diodorus, and have shown them to be not altogether unintelligible. Our further investigation, guided by the monuments, will more amply demonstrate what valuable remains of Egyptian, Hellenic, and Alexandrian research have been preserved to us, in that chaos of facts and legends, by the same propitious destiny that has rescued other more precious remnants of Egyptian lore from the shipwreck of ancient history.

With Diodorus all systematic inquiry into the history of Egypt ceases—not only on the part of the Greeks, but of the ancients in general. The relation in which the Romans stood to science or historical pursuit, as reflected in their treatment of Egyptian antiquity, is a mere general one—and is to be explained by reference to the equally general nature of their relations to humanity—or truth. They knew how to conquer the world, and how to govern it when conquered. They substituted Roman law and orderly systems of provincial government for courtly luxury, tyrannical aristocracies, or destructive democratic struggles. The principles of their civil organisation were carried out in the same direct undeviating lines, as their roads, through all the countries of the world; and, by their joint agency, the legion and the colony, the judge and the tax-gatherer, the language of Cicero, and still more that of Homer and Plato, were transplanted into the cities and Empires of the Barbarians. Lastly, their generals and lieutenants were men of cultivated minds, lovers of the fine arts, sometimes even scholars. How then does it happen that the Romans present so dis-

graceful a contrast to their vilified and oppressed Greek subjects, by their total apathy to the investigation of the languages, customs, and history of the Old World? Simply, it would seem, for this reason, because they neither acknowledged humanity in any other nation but their own, and because to them a love of knowledge or truth for its own sake was an empty, unintelligible phrase. They understood the character of no people but in its defects. they loved no other people, and were loved by none, because they neither approached them in a humane spirit — nor expected to be received in the same — and did good to others, merely because they found it to their own advantage. From a well-digested principle of self-interest, they were capable of rendering even essential services to whole nations, but from no benevolent motive. With Rome nations were not so much *persons* as *objects*, and to this they were feelingly alive. Mankind to the Roman statesman and practical philosopher — and the Romans never possessed any others — was a handmaid, with whom it was useless, nay, degrading to converse, unless she spoke either Greek or Latin. These were the only nations in whom they recognised the nobler element of human nature. But even in the Greeks they neither loved nor respected genuine humanity, a quality in which that race so far surpassed every other upon earth — even in their lowest stages of degeneracy. Grecian life had charms for them, inasmuch as it pandered to their intellectual and sensual appetites. The sonorous accents of the Grecian Muse, indeed, in the mouth of Roman imitators, gradually won the ear of the Roman assemblies. Power and wealth were the rewards of the rhetorical skill borrowed from the schools of Athens and Rhodes. From the 8th century downwards to converse in Greek was a mark of good breeding in the Roman fashionable circles. The interspersion of Greek phrases, with here and there a few classic lines of Homer or the Attic

dramatists, was indispensable to taste and elegance of epistolary style. Greek was also found most useful in travelling, even to the conquerors of the world. But for what purpose were all other nations created, except to furnish their lords with money and other means of gratification and enjoyment?

No genuine Roman, therefore, ever concerned himself with the history of other nations from any pure feeling of human sympathy—and as little from any zeal for the investigation of truth. Faithful and upright in his civil and domestic relations, the best of the Romans—as such—was indifferent to truth itself, as the proper scope and object of all human knowledge. The divine thirst for knowledge for its own sake, or for truth from a love of truth, never disturbed a Roman mind. The natural consequence is, that the more respectable scholars of Rome should appear ridiculously ignorant, or, at the best, insignificant, by the side of the Greeks on the field of scientific research; just as we can imagine her men of rank and wealth, however estimable at home, becoming arrogant and odious, when with their own native country they left behind them their respect for the laws, and were no longer restrained and influenced by the feeling of Roman citizenship and public opinion. With all their patriotism, they had no respect for their own species; and, in spite of all their good faith and public integrity, they did not love truth, nor, consequently, with all their talent and all their education, could they love science. Thus far Pilate is their type, and his question their motto. The Greeks were the first who could make the antiquities even of their own country intelligible and attractive to them. The researches even of Varro and Tacitus into the antiquities of foreign nations are tainted with that national obduracy which was the ruin of their country. Those of the latter author into Jewish and Egyptian history, in spite of the extensive reading which they

display, are as utterly worthless as his judgment of Christianity, now long since exploded by the light of Universal History; and his "Germany" is distinguished in every other respect but that of archæological penetration. It is precisely that Hellenic sentiment of humanity, which in the midst of all his weaknesses, fascinates us in Cicero, and imparts so incomparable a charm to his writings, as to render even those on philosophy entertaining. He was a believer in truth; and loved it for its own sake—he honoured mankind, and derived enjoyment from everything relating to man.

The Elder Pliny, on the other hand, must be judged by the genuine Roman standard. His 36th Book, in treating of mineral substances, contains a digression on the Obelisks, the Great Pyramid, and the Labyrinth—a remarkable treatise, which, we trust, has been given in a somewhat more intelligible form than hitherto in our "Appendix of Authorities." As we shall have frequent occasion to refer to it in the course of this inquiry, we here subjoin a few illustrations of its general character. Pliny had consulted a dozen Greek writers on the Pyramids alone, and all he learned from them was that nothing positive was known as to the construction of those monuments. He consoles himself, as usual, for this self-condemnatory result of his reading, with a cold sarcasm which he attempted to season with sentiment. It is a just retribution, he observes, that the names of those who erected such useless piles, merely to gratify their vanity, should be consigned to eternal oblivion. The names, however, of the Pyramid-Kings are, in all probability, not lost yet, although (with the exception of Herodotus) all the authorities quoted by Pliny—among whom, of course, neither Manetho nor even Eratosthenes are mentioned—have long ago been committed to the flames in Alexandria or Byzantium, by Romans and Latins, by Arabs and by Turks. Had

Pliny really been alive to the value of historical truth, he might have derived some little light even from the books which he has quoted. The Roman Admiral, too, must undoubtedly have had many Greek retainers in his princely establishment, whom he might have commissioned to institute further researches. But it was here a matter of no real moment with him to ascertain the historical fact, or, when ascertained, to relate it. "The main question of all," he remarks, in his speculations concerning the Pyramids, "is how they contrived to raise such immense masses of stone to such an enormous height." This question Herodotus had already treated with great good sense, and upon the whole satisfactorily answered. Pliny, however, merely quotes two preposterous conjectures of later writers. The first was, that the Nile had been raised by dams of salt and nitre, which were afterwards washed away by the water. So absurd was the story, that even Diodorus had ridiculed it as fabulous. Pliny's critical remark on it — that the Nile could hardly be raised high enough for such a purpose — is followed up by the other explanation, — emanating, doubtless, from some frivolous Greek sophist — "that the dam was made of bricks, which the people were afterwards allowed to carry off for the purpose of building their houses." Pliny certainly does not cite these opinions because they seemed to him the most probable, but, on the contrary, because of their absurdity. What did it matter to his Emperor, and his lordly and luxurious readers, how the Pyramids were built, which — beyond, perhaps, a certain complacent recollection of the trouble of clambering to their summit — were objects of no sort of interest? But the citation of some gross absurdity, and a bitter sneer at Greeks and men of science, as the inventors of such frivolities, would, it was hoped, possess a certain charm for their morbid and limited intellects. It was somewhat different in regard to practical matters. In

treating of the Obelisks, Pliny does not fail to collect accurate information as to the machines and contrivances employed in erecting and transporting them to Rome. But on the questions, who built them? when? for what purpose?—he barely touches, unless when they suggest some strange or laughable anecdote; just as, in speaking of the Labyrinth, he clings to the nonsensical story of some nameless Greeks, that it was a building dedicated to the Sun-God. Hence he further characterises that really practical and beneficial work of Mœris, the lake of Fayoom, in dry, contemptuous terms, as "a vast ditch of which the Egyptians make as much parade as if it were one of the wonders of the world." The proud Roman was thinking of the Cloaca Maxima, the draining of the Alban lake, and the numerous aqueducts both above and below his native soil. Why should the Egyptians make so mighty a matter of their lake Mœris, or the Greeks so diligently re-echo its praises? This summary mode of settling such questions, seasoned with the speculations of Greek Polyhistors and antiquaries, might still, it was hoped, find sympathising readers in Rome. A straining after marvellous facts and curious anecdotes, screwed up into the smallest possible compass of quaint sententious narrative, might pass for originality, and, perhaps, not stamp a man among his fellows as either a blockhead or a hypocrite, should he venture, himself a Cisalpine provincial, when describing the different species of stones, to dress up once more the old story of the lake of Mœris for the benefit of the public of Rome.

This is a faithful picture of Roman research into the antiquities and chronology of Egypt. To the false relation in which, as Romans, they stood to the human race, and to truth—with them inseparable from law—it is to be attributed, that, in spite of all their efforts after utility, in which they confounded the utilitarian with the useful, and in spite of all their power and civi-

lisation, they still remained, in the field of intellectual pursuits, useless to the world, and not only did nothing for research themselves, but never once as rulers exerted themselves to promote it. The evil fruits of this selfish obduracy, this narrow exclusiveness of Seven-hill existence, recoiled, as is the case with all wrong, on their own heads. They were lost from the moment when they first began to mistrust and to misunderstand the letter of their own institutions, civil and religious; and this was itself a necessary consequence of their intercourse with the Greeks. The scepticism, as well as superstition, of Rome is more contemptible than that of Greece, her immorality more flagrant and more pernicious.

Soon after the time of Diodorus, however, and in the days of Pliny himself, when the spirit of Greek historical research, whether as regards Egypt or the ancient world at large, had become extinct, new life was imparted to it by the inspiring sentiment of the unity of human nature, shed abroad by the Christian religion. In order to appreciate the influence of this new element upon the efforts of inquirers among Christian nations, our attention must first be directed to the tradition and chronology of the Bible, whence the materials for their labours are chiefly derived.

## SECTION III.

### EGYPTIAN TRADITION AMONG THE JEWS. — JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN RESEARCH INTO THE CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT.

### INTRODUCTION.

#### THE CONNECTION BETWEEN REVELATION AND CHRONOLOGY.

If the earliest extant remains of the tradition of the Jews relative to contemporaneous events, or of their researches into the history of the past, be dated from Moses and his times — a conclusion amply borne out by a critical study of the Old Testament — we shall find this second stream of Egyptian chronology beginning to flow simultaneously with our earliest distinct notices of systematic historical pursuit among the Egyptians themselves. It carries us through the whole Jewish history to the downfal of the empire, past many of the most important points of Egyptian chronology. But Jewish research does not end there; on the contrary, it is more especially active during the dominion of the Persians. Under the Ptolemies, it made rapid strides in Alexandria, not without evident traces of Egyptian influence, especially in every thing relating to that country. In Josephus it even outlives the downfal of the nation itself.

The apostle Paul is at once the originator and model of Christian research. In the East we discover the first epoch of strictly Christian Chronology. The extinction of Oriental research on its native soil long preceded that of Oriental empire. It revived again in the West with the 16th century, and advanced a century and a half

hand in hand with classical philology, down to the rise of Egyptology, which forms the last standard epoch in its progress.

It is true that, during the 2000 years which have elapsed since the canon of the Old Testament was closed, no new fact has been transmitted. There has been, however, no want of efforts to compare, to analyse, to arrange the tradition it supplies, and to reconcile it with itself, as well as with the parallel tradition of Egypt. The results of these efforts, in alternately promoting and obstructing the march of truth—reviving or obscuring the light of tradition—are points of the utmost general importance in their bearings, not only on our immediate objects of inquiry, but on the still higher interests of universal history. There is probably no subject upon which during these 2000 years so much talent and learning have been expended by the most intellectual nations of the earth, Greeks and Byzantines, Romans, Germans, and their kindred races, as upon the solution of the several chronological questions connected with Egyptian and Jewish history. Such inquiries, like the Crusades and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, have always one great and certain advantage, that of rescuing the mind by an honourable impulse from the narrow limits of the present, and from the fetters of national prejudice, and spurring it on to nobler objects of pursuit. Nor must we forget that to the progress of enlightened culture at every period of Christianity, and its effectual resistance to the opposing influence of barbarism, a far deeper and more comprehensive range of critical research is indispensable, than was required at any period of the ancient world. This necessity arises not only from the more advanced state of universal history, but more especially from the fact that the research of every Christian period must come to a previous understanding

with a tradition, which, in itself essentially historical, is also of standard importance in universal history. We must, therefore, endeavour, by comparing sacred with profane history on the one hand, and with the laws of reason on the other, to find a common basis for reconciling its principles of truth with the world and with science. It was this consideration which first opened up to Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustin, the philosophy of history, with more enlarged views of general chronology. Here also it must be kept steadily in view, as well as the beneficial results already derived or to be anticipated from it (the full value of which will best be appreciated by the contrast with other ages and countries where critical research was unknown), lest we should lose temper or heart in contemplating so much time and strength wasted upon problems which cannot be solved, or in attempts to prove palpably absurd hypotheses. Hypothesis, however, is the birthright of some ages, and one in which others are anxious to participate, in order not to miss the right path. The success of every historical, and especially every chronological investigation depends substantially upon the method pursued. But the value or worthlessness of the method will often depend upon the correctness or incorrectness, the comprehensive or limited nature of the hypothesis on which it proceeds. Whoever adopts as a principle that chronology is a matter of revelation, is precluded from giving effect to any doubt that may cross his path, as involving a virtual abandonment of his faith in revelation. He must be prepared, not only to deny the existence of contradictory statements, but to fill up chasms; however irreconcilable the former may appear by any aid of philology and history, however unfathomable the latter. He who, on the other hand, neither believes in an historical tradition as to the eternal existence of man, nor admits an historical and chronological element in revelation, will either contemptuously

dismiss the inquiry, or by prematurely rejecting its more difficult elements, fail to discover those threads of the research which lie beneath the unsightly and time-worn surface, and which yet may prove the thread of Ariadne.

All the results of Jewish or Christian research are based upon the writings of the Old Testament and their interpretation, and upon the connection between the chronological data they supply, and divine revelation. These are points therefore relative to which it is of vital importance both to the sound thinker, and the sound critic, to arrive at a clear understanding before embarking upon his inquiry. The ground taken up in this work cannot be mistaken. It is one of exclusively historical research, but entered upon with a deep feeling of the respect due to the general chronological statements of Scripture, which have been considered during so many centuries as forming the groundwork of religious faith, and are even at the present moment intimately connected with the Christian faith. It will therefore still remain our safest method, starting from the assumption that the centre of revelation is of an historical character, to admit as established the truth of all facts in the civil history of the Jews, however remotely they may be connected with revealed religious truths, until the contrary has been demonstrated. But historical science neither can nor will in any such case permit the exclusion or obstruction of critical research. For the particular view with which a critic may set out is in reality an accidental circumstance, indifferent to science, and in the literal sense of the word, a prejudice. The main point is not what course we adopt in order to attain a given object, but whether the object itself be attained. History, in its scientific form, has to deal not with the question of probability, but of evidence. A preconceived opinion must always be a mere assumption; and each has its dangers and advantages — the Jewish which clings to the letter, and the heathen which despises it. The

mischiefs of Jewish rationalism have been as severely felt as those of infidelity, up to the present day, in other sciences besides theology. It must never be forgotten that it was an historical assumption, a preconceived view, on the part of the interpreters of the Old Testament, which threw Galileo into a dungeon. History does not admit of the cogent proof of mathematics, precisely because her province is an infinitely higher one, that of mental and moral conviction. But on this very account she demands an entire freedom of thought and judgment. It is true that she may indeed, from her Archimedean fulcrum of philological criticism, cause occasional inconvenience to theology as well as philosophy. Still it is to her alone, in the long run, that we must look for protection from that greatest of all evils, a disbelief in truth itself — which is, as it were, a paralysis of conscience, and a derangement of the historical judgment.

In order to apply this liberty with success, it is necessary above all to guard against a confusion between tradition and criticism. Both are found in the Bible. Tradition is the testimony of an eye-witness, or at least of a well-informed contemporary of an event — Criticism, that of a scholar who tests the evidences of the past. In so far as facts are concerned the most enlightened research cannot go beyond tradition; no man can certify what he has not seen or experienced. The assumption that it entered into the scheme of Divine Providence, either to preserve for us a chronology of the Jews and their forefathers by real tradition, or to provide the later commentators with magic powers, in respect to the most exoteric element of history, may seem indispensable to some — and absurd to others. Historical inquiry has nothing whatever to do with such idle, preposterous, and often fallacious assumptions. Its business is to see whether any thing — and if so, what — has been transmitted to us. If it

fulfil this duty in a spirit of reverence as well as of liberty, sooner or later it will obtain the prize, which, if the history of the last 2000 years prove any thing at all, Providence has refused to both the other systems. Historical faith and historical science have the same object in view, but they start from opposite points. In the contemplation of human history, Faith begins, as the Sacred Books do, with the Divine origin of things, and, starting from the great facts of creation and the unity of the human race, considers the events handed down principally in their connection with that Divine origin. The stronger and the more pure this faith is, the more free and independent will be the position it occupies in regard to the question, really unimportant, if viewed from that position, concerning the external shell of the divine kernel. This question is, whether the external history, related in the Sacred Books, be externally complete, and capable of chronological arrangement. Science on the other hand ascends from the clear historical periods to the dark ages. Her task is to sail up the stream of universal history, and she fulfils it in the hope of being able to hold out the hand to Faith who sits at the source, and, on her part, sees Science patiently and joyfully plodding along her thorny path. For Faith alone appreciates the full importance of that path, because Faith alone perceives the goal. To her it is immaterial whether Science discover truth in a spirit of scepticism or of belief — and truth has been really found by both courses, but never by dishonesty or sloth.

Upon the principle here laid down, our inquiry into the chronology of the Bible, in its connection with Egyptian history and tradition, can select as a point of departure none but a strictly historical period. Here it finds many and very interesting points of contact, the latest of which is the synchronism of Zedekiah and Jeremiah with Pharaoh Hophra, the fourth King of the

26th Dynasty, and the earliest, that of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, with the chief of the 22nd Dynasty, Schesonk-Sesak. We may venture to state here by anticipation, although we are not aware that it has ever yet been proved, that all those Scripture data accord in the most satisfactory manner with the traditions and contemporary monuments of Egypt. In the third book the proof of this will be prepared, and in the fourth presented to our readers.

But from the time of Rehoboam and the dedication of Solomon's Temple upwards, the continuous narrative of Scripture ceases, and consequently here also ceases the — up to this point reasonable — harmony in the chronological system of the critics. Beyond the earlier of those epochs — the building of the Temple — we have two great periods to pass through, in which the Jewish and Egyptian chronology must be compared; and the pivots of these two periods are nothing less than the pivots of the history of Egypt, and perhaps of the world.

That nearest to us extends from the building of the Temple to the Exodus, or from Solomon to Moses.

The more remote is the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt, or from Moses to Joseph. No correct estimate of the value of Jewish chronological tradition relative to the age of the three Arch-Patriarchs, or the migration of Abraham from Mesopotamia into Canaan, can be expected apart from a previous analysis of the same traditional sources, on which we depend for the measurement of those two periods. When once we have attained this lofty vantage-ground, we may attempt to investigate the *Origines* of the Jewish people and of mankind, and extend our speculations to the question: whether or no a chronological character can be ascribed to the names and genealogies which connect Abraham, the father of Isaac and Jacob, with his ancestors in Chaldæa, and these again with the first race of

man after the Flood. On the result of this latter investigation will depend how far we may expect to find an historico-chronological element in these biblical accounts of human life during the antediluvian period.

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## A.

### BIBLICAL TRADITION AND RESEARCH INTO THE PERIOD FROM THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE TO THE MIGRATION INTO EGYPT, OR FROM SOLOMON TO JOSEPH.

#### I. THE LENGTH OF THE PERIOD FROM SOLOMON TO MOSES.

We have in Scripture two data as to the length of the first of these two periods — one, reckoning by the separate dates in the Pentateuch, the Books of Joshua and Judges; the other, a general statement in the Book of Kings. The former dates are transmitted harmoniously — although with occasional chasms — in the different texts; as to the latter, the Septuagint and Hebrew texts differ; while both are at variance with any sum total that can be formed out of the individual numbers of the other reckoning.

We shall first examine the specific dates, divided into sections, according to the general course of history during the period.

I. *The time of Moses.*

| | Yrs. Mths. |
|---|---|
| 1. The journey to Sinai, from thence to Kadesh Barnea: the mission of Caleb - - | 2+x |
| 2. The march from Kadesh Barnea to the gulf of Eleanitis and back — subsequent decampment, conquest, and occupation by the Israelites of the country to the east of Jordan — the death of Moses - - | 37+x |
| reckoned as | 40 yrs. |

II. *The time of Joshua.* He conquers the country on this side Jordan. A new generation arises. The death of Joshua at the age of 110. (Josh. xxiv. 29. See for the age of Caleb Josh. xiv. 7. 10.) - - x yrs.

III. *The period of the Judges*, from the death of Joshua to the close of Samuel's rule. The data touching this period are of two kinds. On one side, the duration of foreign supremacy over the Israelites is given; on the other, that of their independence and state of peace under one or other of their judges, or simply the date of the time that such or such a leader was in office. Thus it is said of the time when Ehud was judge "the land had rest fourscore years." It is improbable that Ehud was judge in Israel during all this period of peace: yet the name of no other judge occurs between him and Deborah. But one single fact — the defeat of the Philistines by the hero Shamgar — is briefly mentioned. Sampson on the contrary (it is said) judged Israel 20 years "in the days of the Philistines," consequently in the time of the supremacy of the Philistines, which is stated as being a period of 40 years. Here then the question at once presents itself: how is the time to be computed from these data? merely by the years of the Judges? or by them conjointly with those of foreign supremacy? An exclusive preference of either method were obviously objectionable. We here give the numbers as transmitted to us, in a double column, according to the above twofold notation.

| Time of Foreign Rule and Anarchy. | | Time of the Judges and of Peace. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The supremacy of Mesopotamia (Judges, iii. 8.) | 8 | Period without a leader after the death of Joshua under the Elders | x |
| | | Othniel, of the tribe of Judah, Nephew of Caleb (Judges, iii. 11.) | 40 |
| Rebellion. — Suprem. of Moab (iii. 14.) | x+18 | Ehud, of the tribe of Benjamin (iii. 30.) | 80 |
| [Rebellion. — Suprem. of Phil. (iii. 15.) | x | Shamgar, son of Anath (iii. 31.) | x] |
| Rebellion after the death of Ehud.—Supr. of Jabin, the prince of North Canaan (iv. 1—13.) | x+20 | Deborah, of the tribe of Ephraim, Judge in the time of Jabin (iv. 4.) Barak, of the tribe of Naphthali, slays Sisera on Mount Tabor — peace (v. 31.) | 40 |
| Rebellion. — Suprem. of Midian (vi. 1.) | x+7 | Gideon (Jerubbaal), of the tribe of Manasseh, from Ophrah, slays Midian — peace during his life (viii. 28.) | 40 |
| | | Abimelech, his natural son, destroys the house of Gideon, and exercises the supreme power (ix. 22.) | x+3 |
| | | Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, Judge (x. 1, 2.) | 23 |
| | | Jair, of the tribe of Manasseh on the other side (x. 3.) | 22 |
| Rebellion immediately after the death of Jair (x. 8.) — Supr. of the Philistines and Ammonites | 18 | Jephthah, a Gileadite (xii. 7.) | 6 |
| | | Ibzan, from Bethlehem of Judah or Zebulon (xii. 8.) | 7 |
| | | Elon of Zebulon (xii. 11.) | 10 |
| | | Abdon of Ephraim (xii. 13.) | 8 |
| Rebellion. — Supr. of the Philistines (xiii. 1.) | 40 | Samson of Dan "Judge in the days of the Philistines" (xv. 20., comp. xvi. 31.) | 20 |
| | | Eli, High Priest, judges Israel (1 Sam. iv. 18.) up to the defeat at Eben-Ezer, where the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines: Samuel already a prophet in high repute and estimation (iii. 19. &c.) | 40 |
| | | Samuel, judge from the death of Eli to shortly before the victory over the Philistines at Mizpeh (xi. 15. xv. 12.) | 20 |
| | | Samuel, judge after the victory to the reign of Saul | x |
| | x+x+x+111 | | x+x+x+359 |

IV. *The time of the Kings to the Building of the Temple.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Saul (his son Ish-bosheth is 40 years old at his death, 2 Sam. ii. 10.) - | x years |
| David ($7\frac{1}{2}$ years at Hebron (over Judah) 33 years at Jerusalem (over all Israel), 2. Sam. v. 4, 5. Comp. 1 Kings ii. 11.) - - | 40+6 months |
| Solomon, up to the commencement of the building of the Temple. (2 Kings vi. 1.) - | 3+x |
| | x+43 yrs.+x mo. |

We have therefore the following results:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | The time of | Moses - - | 40 years. |
| II. | — | Joshua - | x+ |
| III. | — | the Judges | 3x+359+(3x+311)yrs. |
| IV. | — | the Kings - | x+ 43 |
| | | | 4x+442+(3x+111)yrs. |

If we omit entirely from our calculation the periods of rebellion which preceded the supremacy — as not being historical, or as included in the other numbers — or as unimportant, together with the time of Shamgar, as being included in that of Ehud — and lastly, the time before Abimelech took possession of the government at the death of Gideon — still there are four important periods remaining, the length of which is undefined:

The whole term of Joshua's command, consequently the time employed in the conquest of great part of Canaan:

The time between the death of Joshua and the judicature of Othniel: consequently that of the victorious settlement of the tribes in their new seats. (Judges i.)

The time of the judicature of Samuel after the victory at Mizpeh: lastly

The period of the reign of Saul — that is, from the battle of Mizpeh to his death.

All chronology is here obviously out of the question from the palpably defective state of the individual numbers. Add to which that from Moses to Gideon, all the numbers recorded are either 40 or twice 40 (40+40+80+40): and in like manner from Samson to David are either 40 or 20 (20+40+20+40). The intermediate numbers on the other hand are more definite, as are most of the dates for the duration of hostile supremacy.[118] Was there any fixed system of chronology running parallel to these dates? If so, on what could it be based? Let us examine the sum total for our period.

It is stated in the 2nd Book of Kings — according to the Hebrew text — with reference to the foundation of Solomon's Temple, that up to that time, consequently up to the fourth year of Solomon, 480 years had elapsed since the Exodus. The Septuagint version gives 440 years. This latter account is altogether irreconcilable with the dates above recapitulated — for the numbers there given, exclusive of those of foreign supremacy, amount to 442 years. It has, however, obviously the appearance of a round number, formed out of the sum total of those separate specific dates. It may, however, on that very account, be unhesitatingly rejected as spurious, as an arbitrary adjustment of dates in themselves to all appearance inaccurate, and certainly incomplete. The only remaining number, therefore, not liable to suspicion, is the 480: and that, perhaps, only because we have no insight into the mode in which it is made up. May we venture to assume that it is a tradition

[118] Studer's hypothesis, that the list of the Judges is not historically arranged, but rather of a geographical character according to their birthplaces, is not worth refuting. It is actually contradicted by the statements given above of the birthplaces of the separate Judges. But the whole historical contents of this part of Scripture prove, moreover, that their order is intended to be chronological.

based on the years of the High Priests of the Tabernacle, the only possible clue which here offers itself for a connected chronology?

II. LENGTH OF THE PERIOD FROM MOSES TO JOSEPH, OR, OF THE SOJOURN OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT.

1. THE Prophecy to Abraham, Genesis, xv. 12—17. "And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him. And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in the land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them 400 years. And also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards shall they come out with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, thou shalt be buried in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again, for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full."

In this passage it will be observed the time specified is merely that during which the posterity of Abram should be servants in a foreign land, namely 400 years. But the Israelites were so far from being in a state of servitude all the time of their sojourn in Egypt, that their bondage formed the exception instead of the rule —and served to mark the contrast between the years immediately preceding the Exodus and the previous centuries. Neither can the epithet of strangers be justly interpreted with any exclusive reference either to their residence or to their bondage in Egypt; for Abram, Isaac, and Jacob are called strangers in the land of Canaan, just as much as were their descendants in Egypt. There is consequently no historical precision in this statement. When it is further stated that their posterity should *come out* with great substance and take possession of Canaan, so that the fourth or fifth

generation — for either may be understood — should again possess the promised land, four generations are clearly made equal to these 400 years, and indeed in such manner that the fourth and last is *the* one which actually does *come out.* Can we require any further proof that no accurate specification of time is here throughout to be expected, but that the whole is to be viewed as a prophetic mode of expressing a long period, and that the determinate number four is but a conventional form, borrowed from the genealogical registers? For we shall clearly prove, hereafter, that the genealogies, prevalent at that time, had four branches.

2. The second datum occurs — with reference to the Exodus — (Ex. xii. 40.) in the following parenthetical remark: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years."

This statement may seem to originate in the same theory which forms the foundation of the previous passage, so that the thirty years may be reckoned as the age of the migrating host, they being at the same time called the fifth generation. Or it may be said the latter is the historical, strictly chronological, the former the prophetic form, in which there is no definition of time. Upon either view it is plain that the two data taken literally do not agree, and that they are therefore not strictly chronological. In the first case we could not from the outset expect any strictly chronological date, for none such can be based upon a prophetic announcement. It is certainly very different with the second hypothesis. But in this case the fact of a broad discrepancy in the terms of the tradition as handed down from the remotest period precludes its adoption as the basis of any chronological system. The common text of the Septuagint inserts after "Egypt" the words "*and in Canaan.*" We shall see in the sequel that according to the genealogies from Abram to Jacob,

the earlier sojourn in Canaan is fixed at 215 years; this number, therefore, here clearly forms the basis of the computation, the period from the migration of Abram into Canaan to the Exodus having been considered as ranging itself under two equal divisions, one of which belongs to Canaan, the other to Egypt. But then it should have said—the children of Israel "*and their fathers*," which is in fact the reading, both of the Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint, and of the Samaritan version. But no such regular division can ever be historical. Consequently, both the Alexandrian and Samaritan addition must be considered as a licence of conjectural criticism, and the preference given to the Hebrew Text. But 430 is exactly the double of the time from Abram's entrance into Canaan down to Jacob's journey into Egypt. The number, therefore, is itself conventional and unhistorical. For it were in our opinion as repugnant to any sound critical view of the passages to suppose that in early times such genealogical lists could have been so parcelled out, that the sum resulting from them should form precisely one half of the 430 historically transmitted years, as to assume the one period to have really been exactly the double of the other. There is no reason why any registers should have been so artificially adjusted, as that the series of years obtained should form precisely one half of the number historically established for the next period. On the contrary, we must consider it the more natural explanation of the passage, to adopt the number 215 as the more ancient. It represents the traditionary accounts of the primitive times of Canaan as embodied in a genealogy of the three patriarchs, which commenced with Abram's migration out of Mesopotamia, and ended with the settlement of Jacob in Egypt. For the period of the sojourn in Egypt there existed neither historical chronology nor even history. There appeared indeed, during the period between Joseph and

Moses, no personages of sufficient prominence to furnish materials for genealogical registers. They doubled therefore the previous patriarchal number for the time of the sojourn in Egypt, as a means of indicating its far longer duration, and gave the latter number the form of an historical sum total without the basis of genealogical registers. Parallel with this sum runs — whether of earlier or later origin may be a question — the prophetic announcement of 400 years and four generations.

This latter form of the tradition is probably connected with the legendary genealogies of particular families, those of the Levites especially. For almost all of them have three or four branches. But whether these were constructed on the basis of that passage, or whether the chronology of the passage were borrowed from them, in neither case can sound criticism here admit the existence of any element of genuine historical chronology.

The following genealogical tables may serve to elucidate the foregoing details. We begin with those of the Levites, for here, if any where, the genealogical succession must have been preserved through that of the High Priests.

I. Levi to Aaron: Exodus vi. 16. seqq.

Levi † 137 years old.
|
Kohath † 133
|
Amram † 137

Aaron, 83 years old at the Exodus — Moses, 80 years old at the Exodus (Ex. vii. 7.)

Aaron:
|
Eleazar
|
Phinehas (fights in the battle against Midian, in which Balaam fell (Num. xxxi. 6.).

II. List of the High Priests to the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chr. 6.).

Phinehas
|
Abishua
|
Bukki
|
Uzzi
|
Zerahiah
|
Meraioth
|
Amariah
|
Ahitub
|
Zadok, a Priest under David (2 Sam. viii. 17.), anoints Solomon (1 Kings i. 39. Comp. ii. 35.).
|
Ahimaaz
|
Azariah, a Prince under Solomon (1 Kings iv. 2.).
|
Johanan
|
Azariah, "a Priest in the house of the Lord which Solomon built" (1 Chr. vi. 10.) under Uzzi (2 Chr. xxvi. 20.).
|
Amariah
|
Ahitub
|
Zadok
|
Shallum
|
Hilkiah
|
Azariah
|

Seraiah
|
Jehozadak, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chr. vi. 15.).

We have therefore:

*a.* From the Exodus (considered=the first year of Phinehas) to Zadok, the Priest of David, who anoints Solomon, eight generations, which, reckoning 40 years to a generation, makes at most from 360 to 380 years to the building of the Temple.

*b.* From David or Solomon to Uzzi are from 200 to 250 years — therefore we have here four generations=160 years.

*c.* From Uzzi to Jehoiachim or Zedekiah from 200 to 220 years. The Priests with whom the genealogy commences are separated from those with whom it terminates by an interval of seven generations — each of thirty years.

III. Levi to Saul: 1 Chr. vii. 22. seqq.

Levi
|
Kohath
|
Amminadab
|
Korah
|
Assir
|
Elkanah
|
Ebiasaph
|
Assir
|
Tahath
|
Uriel
|

Uzziah
|
Saul

From Korah therefore are nine generations : taking a generation at 40 years, this makes 300 years from the Exodus to Saul's succession to the throne, consequently between 380 and 400 years to the building of Solomon's Temple.

IV. Ephraim to Nun, the father of Joshua (1 Chr. vii. 23.).

Ephraim
|
Beriah
|
Rephah-Reseph
|
Telah
|
Tahan
|
Laadun
|
Ammihud
|
Elishama
|
Nun

If the twentieth year of Beriah be held to coincide with the Exodus, and 40 years be assigned to a generation, and lastly, if Joshua be considered 40 years old at the Exodus, the sum total will be 340 years.

Another genealogy of Ephraim through Suthelah — the son of a first marriage — and his posterity (1 Chr. vii. 20.), produces no remarkable personage, and is in general obscure and doubtful (comp. Numb. xxvi. 35). But it has preserved the only historical fact transmitted from the first period of the sojourn in Egypt. It is recorded that Ephraim's posterity were

during his lifetime slain by the inhabitants of the *Philistine* Gath — because they made a marauding expedition into their country (from Goshen), and carried away their cattle.

From all this no other historical conclusion can be derived, than that even the genealogies — those of the High Priests themselves — contain nothing complete, no strict connection, and consequently that no chronology can be formed out of them. To which may be added, that with the exception of one or two individual members, the entire series of genealogy is unsupported by parallel historical notices.

It is difficult to imagine how those critics who admit (as we have no hesitation in doing) the personality and power of Joseph, and the immigration of the sons of Jacob, about 70 persons with their servants, as historical facts, and also the scriptural accounts (Numb. i. 46. comp. xxvi. 51.), according to which the fighting men of 20 years and upwards exceeded 600,000 men at the Exodus — it is difficult to imagine how these critics can consider it an historical fact, that the children of Israel should have quitted Egypt as a nation of more than two millions of souls, at the end of 400 or even 200 years after their settlement.[119]

[119] One of the latest expounders (Dr. Baumgarten, of Kiel, Theological Commentary on the Old Testament, Part i. p. 476.) thinks 430 years much too long, and prefers to assume the half. His calculation is the following: "If 30 years are to be taken for a generation, the sixth generation begotten in Egypt is born in the 180th year, and consequently at the Exodus was above 20 years old. This generation, therefore, comprises the majority of the 600,000 men. If then we deduct from the 70 souls who came into Egypt, 14, namely, Jacob, his 12 sons, and Dinah, there remain 56 pair, who produced children." . . . . This remainder of 56 pair out of 70 souls, puts us very much in mind of Falstaff's mode of reckoning. Dr. Baumgarten then shows, that from these 56 pairs, giving each a family of six children, which is a moderate progeny for Goshen in the sixth generation, 4,000,000 could so easily have been born in 200 years, that we may really wonder that the number of the children of Israel at the

We have hitherto examined each of these periods independently, and our inferences as to the amount or value of the traditional chronology of either have been derived exclusively from the sources supplied by itself. We shall now proceed to consider the two conjointly in their connection with each other.

On the death of Solomon, commences a complete system of connected chronology for the kingdom of Judah. But the empire had been already organised by David, and historical — for the most part connected — narratives, corroborated by names and facts, and their results, reach back from Saul to Joshua and Moses. If then we find no coherent chronology even in this period — if not only at the beginning, but also at the close of that epoch, the round number, 40, is the only one we meet with — how can we expect a chronology for a period, the end of which is the eve of the birth of a nation, and of their independence? One of which we have no history, extending, at the utmost, to a century prior to the Exodus? One lastly, in which no single prominent personage appears between Moses the Deliverer, and Joseph the Settler? Where under such circumstances has a chronology ever been preserved? How could it ever have existed? For chronology implies of necessity a consciousness of national integrity, independence, and an historical past.

In order to form an estimate of such epochs, our only resource is that of internal evidence, and this constrains us to assume a much longer duration for the

Exodus was not greater. I do not think this is good Theology; but I will confine myself to history, and say that the old Rabbis have hardly been more absurd. A veneration for the Old Testament, without critical views or philological knowledge, can give no claim to be an expounder of the Sacred Records; and I avow that it is to me one of the most melancholy signs of the times to find such statements in the writings of a theologian who evidently thinks seriously and is a scholar.

sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt — more especially, if we admit the actual truth of the narrative of Joseph's personality and power. Whoever rejects this assumption, seems to us not only to abandon every groundwork of historical criticism, and all right of research into the actual length of the period, but — we are even convinced — the very means of critically explaining so much as the origin of biblical tradition, in the form in which we possess it.

### III. THE PRIMEVAL TIMES IN CANAAN AND CHALDÆA.

The entry of the children of Israel into Egypt is the first historical point of contact between the two nations. We shall therefore limit our citations from the earlier sections of Scripture narrative to what is necessary to show that the Jewish tradition, in proportion as its antiquity is thrown back, bears on its face less of a chronological character; so that while no light is to be gleaned from it for Egyptian or general chronology, it supplies ample confirmation of the views we have previously enunciated.

It has already been remarked that the dates in Genesis for the next great epoch, between the migration of Abram out of Mesopotamia into Canaan and that of Jacob into Egypt give a sum total of 215 years. The numbers are as follows:

Abram's journeying:

| | Year of his age, 75 ; | Year of the chronol. 1 |
|---|---|---|
| Birth of Isaac - - | 100 - - - | 25 |
| Marriage of Isaac - - | 40 - - - | 65 |
| Birth of Esau and Jacob | 60 - - - | 85 |
| Jacob's going down into Egypt - - - | 130 - - - | 215 |

As regards these numbers there is no disagreement in the different texts; but the historical critic cannot surely claim for the genealogical tables prior to the

settlement in Egypt more implicit confidence, than for those that relate to the period of sojourn in that country. We must also take into account the general character of Abram's pedigree.

Abram, the Hebrew (Ebri), was great-grandson of *Serug*, in whom Buttmann has pointed out the name of the district of Edessa, Erech, and of the patriarchal chief of the race of Osroene. He was the son of *Terah*, who left Ur of the Chaldees and went into the land of *Haran*. He is called brother of Haran, father of Lot, and father of *Ishmael*, the ancestor of 13 Arabian tribes, and of *Midian*; further — through *Jokshan* and *Shebah* (two well ascertained names of countries), as his son and grandson, he is great-grandfather of the Ashurim, Letushim and Leummim. Even those who fail to perceive that these are names of races and not of individuals, must yet necessarily allow, owing to their plural form, that we have here to deal with a stage of tradition as to the connection of races, where epochs are alluded to under the form of generations.

Lastly, as Abram, through Isaac and Jacob, was great-grandsire of the 12 tribes of Israel, so, through Esau, he is great-grandsire of Amalek, and five other Edomite tribes of Northern Arabia, dwelling near the sons of Seir, i. e. the mountain ridge of Edom, and near the grandsons of Seir, among whom occurs the Edomite land of Uz, mentioned in the book of Job. While therefore we may be perfectly convinced of the personality not only of Jacob and Isaac, but also of Abraham — and it is obvious to every one, that with Abraham historical personalities take the place of eponyme patriarchs — we may yet, even in the age of "Abram the Hebrew," the wanderer from Mesopotamia of Chaldee origin, recognise a period, neither to be calculated by generations of individuals, nor capable of being measured by any means now at our

disposal. This proves the more clearly, that the family tree of the chosen friend of God is an historical representation of the great and lengthened migrations of the primitive Asiatic race of man, from the mountains of Armenia and Chaldæa, through Mesopotamia to the north-east frontiers of Egypt as far as Amalek and Edom. It represents therefore the connection between nations and their tribes, not personal connection between father and son, and records consequently epochs, not real human pedigrees.

For this reason we abstain from all chronological definition of both the periods prior to Abram — the primeval history before and after the Flood. The genealogies in the former, according to the Hebrew text, as generally interpreted, give 292 years from the year after the Flood to the birth of Abram, so that Noah must have died when Abram was 58 years of age. The variations in the Samaritan text and the Septuagint betray systematic alterations, and do not agree with each other. The following is a synopsis of all the transmitted dates of primeval history:

| | Hebrew Text. | | | Samaritan Text. | | | LXX. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. |
| 1. Adam - | 130 | 800 | 930 | 130 | 800 | 930 | 230 | 30 | 930 |
| 2. Seth - | 105 | 807 | 913 | 105 | 807 | 913 | 205 | 707 | 913 |
| 3. Enos - | 90 | 815 | 905 | 90 | 815 | 905 | 190 | 715 | 905 |
| 4. Kinan - | 70 | 840 | 910 | 70 | 840 | 910 | 170 | 740 | 910 |
| 5. Mahalaleel - | 65 | 830 | 895 | 65 | 830 | 895 | 165 | 730 | 895 |
| 6. Jared - | 162 | 800 | 962 | 162 | 785 | 947 | 262 | 700 | 962 |
| 7. Enoch - | 65 | 300 | 365 | 65 | 300 | 365 | 165 | 200 | 365 |
| 8. Methuselah - | 187 | 782 | 969 | 67 | 633 | 720 | 187 | 782 | 969 |
| | | | | | | | (167) | (802) | |
| 9. Lamech - | 182 | 595 | 777 | 53 | 600 | 653 | 188 | 565 | 753 |
| 10. Noah - | 500 | | | 500 | | | 500 | | |
| Flood - | 100 | | | 100 | | | 100 | | |
| Consequently, years before the Flood - | 1656 | | | 1307 | | | 2262 (2242) | | |

| | Hebrew Text. | | | Samaritan Text. | | | LXX. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. | Before the Birth of a Son. | After the Birth of a Son. | Sum Total. |
| 1. Shem - | 100 | 500 | | 100 | 500 | 600 | 100 | 500 | |
| 2. Arphaxad - | 35 | 403 | | 135 | 303 | 438 | 135 | 400 (430) | |
| [Canaan - | — | — | | — | — | — | 130 | 330] | |
| 3. Salah - | 30 | 403 | | 130 | 303 | 433 | 130 | 230 | |
| 4. Eber - | 34 | 430 | | 134 | 270 | 404 | 134 | 270 (370) | |
| 5. Peleg - | 30 | 209 | | 130 | 109 | 239 | 130 | 209 | |
| 6. Reu - | 32 | 207 | | 132 | 109 | 239 | 132 | 207 | |
| 7. Serug - | 30 | 200 | | 130 | 100 | 230 | 130 | 200 | |
| 8. Nahor - | 29 | 119 | | 79 | 69 | 148 | 179 (79) | 125 (129) | |
| 9. Terah - | 70 | | | 70 | | | 170 | | |
| Descendants of Noah down to Abram - | 390 | | | 1040 | | | 1370 (1270) | | |

The foregoing sections were written prior to the publication of the first two volumes of Ewald's History of the People of Israel — the third and last may be looked for immediately — a work which we regard as the commencement of a truly historical, systematic analysis of this ever memorable portion of human history, and its sources; and which therefore claims our warmest gratitude, as a noble monument of German scholarship and historic science. Although the learned author touches only cursorily on the length of the period between Solomon and Moses, we rejoice to find that we are agreed in thinking that it is to the whole number alone, to the exclusion of the separate dates[120], that any credit can be attached.

In regard to the duration of the sojourn in Egypt, he admits, as we do, the critical superiority of the Hebrew text — but judges more favourably than ourselves of the historical authenticity of the number

[120] Pp. 172. 187. Comp. 456.

430.[121] We shall give partial proof in the third book how little this number is supported by the Egyptian traditions and monuments, and supply the full details, to the satisfaction, we trust, of that critic, in the fourth. There also we shall endeavour to prove the impossibility of the Exodus having taken place under a King of the 19th Dynasty.

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## B.

### THE RESEARCHES OF THE EASTERN SCHOOLS INTO EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

#### I. JEWISH RESEARCH. THE SEPTUAGINT. JOSEPHUS.

The vitality of Jewish research had, as we remarked at the beginning of this section, outlived the empire. The decline of the state had tended rather to direct the minds of the more patriotic citizens towards this subject. In their captivity they did not forget the treasure of their tradition, and Ezra, during the Persian dominion, established a new school of criticism in Law and History. Even in the time of the Maccabees a spark of the same love of research was kept alive, chiefly by the influence of their great hero, Judas.

While the Jews of Palestine were engaged in a harassing warfare, a new Judaism bloomed in the capital of Alexandria. The great conqueror of Macedon had, like Cyrus, shown special favour to the Jews, built a handsome quarter for them in his new city, and bestowed on them various privileges. Many of them became rich, and exercised influence and power. Their proper language was the so-called Hellenistic Greek. But they did not on that account forget the pledge which had been intrusted to them. The translation

[121] P. 454. seqq.

of the Bible by the seventy interpreters is, and will ever remain, a most creditable undertaking.

Our analysis of the traditional chronology of Scripture, especially in the primeval history of the children of Israel, has satisfactorily proved that many of the variations in the Hebrew and Greek texts must have originated in a discrepancy in the tradition itself, which it is no longer in our power to reconcile. In some cases indeed there are manifest indications of a systematic tampering with the traditional dates, a charge which must be made against the Septuagint themselves, or critics who lived very little before their time. But the most important fact, which this comparison of the texts forces upon our notice, is, that no systematic chronological tradition was in existence for the times prior to Solomon, and that the general sums total which we there meet with must be considered as matters of adjustment and not of tradition. It were as incorrect as unfair to assume the chronological certainty of any single one of those numbers, as to maintain that they are capable of being reconciled with each other. But we are nevertheless very far from joining with the Talmudists in their cry of condemnation, when they marked the day on which the Greek text of the law was introduced into the synagogue of Alexandria, as a black day in the Jewish calendar: "The law in Greek! Darkness! Three days' fast!" We are on the contrary grateful to those who have preserved for us such evidence of the state of the chronological numbers in the old MSS., that even the dull investigator may receive a palpable hint in what light they are to be viewed.

We consider the Septuagint, therefore, as the heirs of Jewish and Alexandrian research, and as the earliest known commentators on biblical chronology.

Josephus, the first and last follower in the path of the Seventy, the historian of his nation, and the witness of its fall, proves that Jewish research was so far from being limited to the investigation of a difference of

reading, that it distinguished even between the contradictory versions of tradition. His great and invaluable work on Jewish antiquities, or the ancient history of the Jews, written in the beginning of Trajan's reign, is certainly an ample compensation for the loss of the earlier rabbinical tradition or commentaries, as well in regard to the primitive chronology, as to history itself and its critical treatment. Josephus certainly had before him the complete registers of the high-priests.[122] Had similar registers for the earlier times been transmitted, with certain and accurate chronological data, they would have been invaluable. But it is clear that he possessed no other traditional records of the remoter periods, but the books of Scripture. He reckons from the Creation to the Flood 1656 years (Antiq. i. 3. 3.), from the Flood to the birth of Abram, 292 years (i. 6. 4.), both which dates agree with the Hebrew, and differ from the Septuagint. But he follows the latter in reckoning 430 years for the earlier sojourn in Canaan and Egypt, the half consequently for each. He reckons from the Exodus to the building of the Temple

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the great historical work | 592 years | (viii. 3. 1.) |
| In the work against Apion | 612 | (ii. 1.) |

His principal dates in years of the world are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Flood | 1656 | |
| Birth of Abram | 1948 | |
| Journey of Abram | 2023 | |
| Departure | 2453 | |
| Building of the Temple | 3045 | (according to viii. 3. 1., but 3102 according to the work against Apion). |
| Destruction | 3516 | (according to x. 8. 1.; but 3513 in the other). |

[122] C. Apionem, i. 7. Comp. 1 Chr. vi. 1—15.

In round numbers he calculates from Adam to his own time 5000 years (instead of 4200)
and from Moses 2000.[123]

The dates omitted in the Bible from Moses to Solomon are filled up in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| Joshua leader (v. 1. 29.) | 25 years |
| Anarchy after his death (vi. 5. 4.) | 18 |
| Samuel alone (vi. 14.) | 12 |
| Saul (vi. 15.) | 20 or 40 years |
| Here, therefore, is an addition to the definite dates of Scripture of | 75 or 95 years |

In regard to Saul, our MSS. of Josephus give 18 years with Samuel, 22 alone, in all 40. But Epiphanius, Clemens, and Eutychius read 2 instead of 22 years. This computation is founded on a misinterpretation of a passage in the first book of Samuel.[124]

In the chronology of the book of Judges he evidently intends to give the years of each period of office complete. It is true that he omits the eight years of Abdon, but he mentions him as a judge, so that the omission of the duration of his rule must be carelessness on the part of the historian, or of his copyist. The same is probably the case with Tola who is left out altogether. The brief notice of Shamgar, as an appendix to the time of Ehud, required his being assigned the office of judge during one whole year. With regard to the dates of the hostile supremacy, they are no doubt purposely omitted:

[123] Josh. c. Apion. i. 1. Conf. i. 7.

[124] 1 Sam. xiii. (omitted in the Septuagint) seems merely to imply that "Saul was a whole year king" after the restoration of the kingdom (xi. 14.) by the public anointing and recognition in Gilgal, and "that he reigned two years over Israel" from his first consecration (x. 24, 25.).

18 years of the dominion of the Moabites, which doubtless seemed to him improbable as contrasted with 80 years of Ehud:

7 years of the dominion of the Midianites, as contrasted with the 40 years of Gideon:

18 years of the dominion of the Ammonites, between 22 years of Jair and 6 of Jephthah.

In all therefore 43 years.

Josephus is the highest authority with the Fathers after the Bible, and all Christian chronologers attach more or less weight to his computations. It is therefore important to form a clear general idea of the nature of his system, and the connection between the sum total of these individual numbers, and the two above-mentioned general data as to the length of this period. Those which rest solely on his authority we distinguish from the biblical dates by an asterisk:

| *Ant. Jud.* | | | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| v. | 1. | 29. Joshua leader | *25 |
| vi. | 5. | 4. Anarchy: wars among the tribes: war of retaliation against the Benjamites | *18 |
| v. | 3. | 2. Supremacy of Chusarthes, king of the Assyrians | 8 |
| | | 3. Othniel drives the Assyrians over the Euphrates, Judge | 40 |
| | 4. | 1. Fresh anarchy. Ehud judge | 80 |
| | | 3. Shamgar judge; dies in the first year | 1 |
| | 5. | 1. Supremacy of Jabin, the Canaanite | 20 |
| | | 2. 4. Deborah and Barak judges | 40 |
| | 6. | Dominion of the Midianites. Gideon | 40 |
| | 7. | 1—5. Rule of Abimelech | 3 |
| | | (Tola and his 23 years are omitted) | |
| | | 6. Jair, judge | 22 |
| | | 7—12. Supremacy of the Ammonites and Philistines. Jephthah judge | 6 |
| | | Abzan, of Bethlehem of Judah, judge | 7 |

| *Ant. Jud.* | | | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|
| v. 7. | 14. | Elon, judge - - - - | 10 |
| | 15. | Abdon, judge (the 8 years omitted) | |
| 8. | 1. | Supremacy of the Philistines - | 40 |
| | 2—12. | Samson the Deliverer, judge - | 20 |
| | 9—11. | Eli the High Priest, judge - | 40 |
| | | († 98 years old according to the Septuagint.) | |
| vi. 1. | 4. | The ark four months among the Philistines: in Kirjath-jearim - | 20 |
| 13. | 5. | Samuel, judge after the death of Eli - | *12 |
| 14. | 9. | Saul, King, 18 years with Samuel, 22 or 2 (the latter by a misinterpretation of 1 Sam. xiii. 1. See above) | *20 or *40 |
| | | | 472 (492) |

But Josephus must have added 120 years to those 472 or 492, in order to make up his two numbers 592 and 612; viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| for the missing Biblical dates of the period of hostile supremacy, of which he did not know how to dispose - - - | 40 | instead of 43 |
| for Moses, according to Scripture - | 40 | |
| for David, likewise, with the first three years of Solomon - - | 40 | — 43 |

Any other explanation seems impossible. The first of those numbers, 592, that preferred in his great historical work, is the one that has been the most widely adopted among the Jews: those of China and Cochin-China are said to adhere to it. They are however both evidently made up in the most arbitrary manner, even admitting the number 25 for Joshua to have every probability in its favour. Both originate doubtless in Rabbinical comments which have grown into tradition.

The Egyptian chronology in Josephus seems to be

his own, as is also his preference of the Hebrew texts for the dates of the Flood and the birth of Abram.

We find in his works the following notices on Egyptian history:

1. "Mēnæus"[125] (Antiquit. viii. 6. 2.) "lived long before Abram; for there are more than 1300 years between him and Solomon." Josephus in fact reckoned from the birth of Abram to the building of Solomon's Temple about 1100 years (viii. 3. 1.): consequently according to him, Menes is more than 200 years older than Abram. According to this assumption then he must be placed more than 2300 years before our era. We shall show in the fourth book that, in any case, this reckoning is false as regards Menes — even should it not rather be necessary to assign Abram the earlier date of the two.

2. Susakos (Sesak, the conqueror of Rehoboam) is, according to Josephus, the Sesostris of Herodotus (viii. 10. 2, 3.). It was seemingly not mere carelessness which misled this intelligent author to so preposterous an assumption, but a feeling of vanity, that the conquest of Jerusalem should have been expressly mentioned by Herodotus — although the monuments in Palestine, cited by Herodotus, do not offer flattering testimony to the manly resistance of the nation.

3. Bocchoris. Lysimachus related that the famine and pestilence in Egypt, which led to the expulsion of the leprous and unclean Jews, occurred under Bocchoris: and that Moses led them out plundering whatever came in their way, on which account the city he built was called Hierosyla (the plunder of the Temples). In quoting this story he adds[126] that Bocchoris lived 1700 years before his own time. But this King belongs to

[125] Μηναῖος instead of Μιναῖος, as the MSS. read it.
[126] C. Apion ii. 2.

the middle of the eighth century B. C., consequently about 850 before Josephus. Such a blunder seems hardly credible: for he must have known (having read Manetho) that Bocchoris could not have reigned so early — 700 years after his Menes, and almost contemporary with Moses. On the other hand, 700 years would here be no impossible number for an author, such as Lysimachus. Apion indeed placed the Exodus in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, consequently 750 years B. C., and 850 before Josephus, obviously on the same data which guided Lysimachus.

But with all his defects we cannot be sufficiently thankful for the researches of Josephus. How little assistance he could have derived from his own countrymen in any critical investigation into foreign history, may be shown by one example, furnished by himself, in treating of the affairs of Solomon. After having, in the well-known passage of the 8th book of the Antiquities, correctly explained the derivation and meaning of the word Pharaoh (viii. 2.), he quotes from the books of "our People:"[127] that after Solomon married a daughter of Pharaoh, the Kings of Egypt ceased to call themselves Pharaohs; doubtless out of respect for their wise brother-in-law at Jerusalem. This is about as absurd as any of the later rabbinical fables. Josephus knew well that Apries (Hophra) was called Pharaoh, and his authorities also knew it: but a notice tending to flatter the national vanity was not to be omitted, simply because it was absurd and contrary to Scripture.

Josephus himself had not examined the archives of Tyre. In the 8th book of the Antiquities (v. 3.) and in his tract against Apion (i. 17, 18.) he quotes Menander of Ephesus and Dius, the Phœnician historian as his authorities. In stating, as he does in his last-

[127] Ἐν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις — ἡμῶν βιβλίοις εὗρον.

mentioned work, that many letters which passed between Solomon and Hiram were preserved in those archives—those he has to cite are but the messages —described in the Bible (1 Kings v. 2., 2 Chron. ii. 3.) as having passed between the two sovereigns relating to the building of the Temple—embodied in epistolary form. The message of Hiram is indeed distinctly stated in Chronicles to have been transmitted in writing. In his Antiquities (viii. 2. 8.), when treating of the same subject, he boldly refers his readers to those archives. But he had never seen them himself, and was probably little apprehensive of any searching inquiry being made regarding them, either on the part of the Emperor Vespasian, his patron, or of Apion and his other antagonists. But after all, how infinitely superior is he in criticism and knowledge to Alexander Polyhistor, who describes a correspondence between Mephres (Hophra) and Solomon[128], and still more to the critics of his own times, among whom there was certainly no one to compare with him either in ability or in acquaintance with Oriental history. His acute learning and power of composition are nowhere exhibited in such glowing colours, as in the little tract already mentioned, which he felt called upon to write in defence of himself and his nation against the attack of Apion. This work contains both remarks and quotations of great importance to the study of Jewish history, especially as regards Egypt, Moses, and the Exodus. With great ingenuity he demonstrates to the vain Hellenistic bookworm that the civilisation of the Greeks was, in comparison with that of the Jews and Egyptians, but of yesterday—and refutes the statement advanced relative to his own countrymen, by an appeal to the authority both of Greek authors and of Manetho, whom his adversary had cited against him. Apion

[128] Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 143. (396. Potter).

had repeated a story from that author's historical work, the purport of which was to prove that the Exodus under Moses was nothing else but a revolt of leprous outcasts, who, at a much later period, established themselves under an apostate Egyptian priest, Osarsiph of Heliopolis, in the ancient Hyksos city, which had been benevolently made over to them, and then called to their aid the old enemies of the Empire. Josephus did not content himself in his refutation of this story, with urging that Manetho himself related it as a mere popular legend, but turns the tables upon his opponents by asserting that the Jews are the old lords of Egypt, who, after many centuries of glorious dominion, at length quitted it under an honourable convention, and the guidance of Moses, long before the supposed date of that fabulous story.

This is evidently the assertion of a bold controversialist, who feels his superiority to his opponent in the field of native research. It is hardly credible that Josephus meant seriously to maintain that the Jews are the Hyksos, for not only is he altogether silent on this subject in his Jewish history, but the supposition itself is irreconcileable with the historical truth of the books of Moses. It is not impossible however that he may have surmised a certain connection between the Hyksos and the Jews and their wanderings — a connection which we believe capable of being now so clearly demonstrated, that we may anticipate the probability of there being not a few persons who will be disposed to return to the opinion of Josephus. In our judgment there is no better grounded hypothesis than that of the affinity of race between the Hyksos and the Jews — but none more inadmissible than that of an identity between the expulsion of the one, and the Exodus of the other.[129]

[129] Here again we rejoice in finding ourselves in agreement with Ewald (vol. i. p. 448. seqq.).

"Critical research among the Jews into the remote periods of Scripture history, in so far as deserving of notice in the history of science, ends with Josephus. Ideler has proved that Hillel, who was the founder of the Jewish era of the creation in the fifth century, possessed no merit as a chronologer, and certainly none as a man of science.[130] He did nothing more than connect the well-known lunar cycle of Meton and Calippus — discovered by Greek ingenuity 750 years before, and adopted by all the other nations who reckoned by lunar years — with the conventional date of the Creation, and then adapted it to Jewish chronology.

### II. CHRONOLOGY AMONG THE APOSTLES AND THE FATHERS OF THE EASTERN CHURCH DURING THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES.

CHRISTIAN research was developed under very different auspices. Christianity engrafted on the limited inquiries of the later Greeks and Romans into the origin of nations, the grand ideas of a creation and of the unity of the human race; and thus held out to chronological research, as the guide in the new path of science, a novel and unlooked for object. It required that a connection should be established between the primitive traditions of the Bible and the historical traditions of the Gentiles about the past ages of the world; and at the same time challenged research, in order to defend the historical truth of Scripture. From that moment Egyptian research became linked with Jewish, and through it with the whole history of the world. The Apostle Paul, on several occasions, expresses very marked opinions upon various points of Jewish chronology. In his discourse at Antioch, according to St. Luke (Acts, xiii. 20.), after mentioning the Exodus, the 40 years in the wilderness, and the division of the land of Canaan consequent on the extermination of the seven Canaanitish tribes, he adds:

[130] Handbuch der Chronologie, i. 575. seqq.

> "And after that he gave unto them judges, about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the Prophet, and afterwards they desired a king, and God gave unto them Saul . . . . . by the space of 40 years."

This is clearly the same calculation as results from the separate dates in Josephus.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| From Joshua to the death of Saul (after a reign of 40 years) - - - - - - - | 492 |
| Deducting from this number the 40 years of his reign - - - - - - - - | 40 |
| Which gives, according to Josephus, for the era of the Judges and of Joshua - - | 452 |

If we deduct the 25 years of Joshua's leadership, and set against them the 23+8 years of Tola and Abdon, omitted by Josephus, we obtain 458 years. Both explanations are plausible.

In the same work of the Evangelist Luke (Acts, c. vii.) the passage of the 15th chapter of Genesis, relative to the 400 years from Abram to the Exodus, is quoted by the martyr Stephen. It was not obviously the Apostle's intention, in this citation, to give any more precise definition of the period than the passage itself contains. He does not appear as a critical chronologer, but he quotes what he finds admitted without further inquiry.

The early Christian writers in the same spirit content themselves with general quotations in a favourable or adverse sense, as suited their apologetical argument. Such is more especially the case with Justin Martyr and Tatian. To the latter, who flourished about 180, we are indebted for some valuable extracts on Egyptian antiquity. The same remark applies to Clemens, Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria (about 190), probably an Athenian by birth, whose efforts to form a

closer union between Greek learning and philosophy and the doctrine and traditions of Christianity, extended also to the science of chronology. His works, especially that entitled Stromata, or the "Carpets," are invaluable, if only on that account. His scholarship and philosophy guarded him against that lamentable adherence to the letter of Scripture, and the Judaising dogmatism on externals, the influence of which is so early perceptible even in chronology.

But even here it is distressing to observe how soon the path of research was obstructed, and the further progress of the traveller rendered difficult or impossible by self-imposed fetters. An eagerness to know what was beyond the reach of human knowledge led to a neglect of other subjects of research, the investigation of which, comparatively simple in those days, would have proved invaluable to posterity.

Thus it is clear from the very outset, that the Fathers made no use of Manetho, or, at most, quoted merely from the epitomised Lists, or the passages in Josephus. That author, it is certain, alluded, either directly or indirectly, to the Exodus in his 18th Dynasty. Tatian cites a passage in favour of that synchronism from the Egyptian history of Ptolemy of Mendes; but it neither occurred to him nor to Clemens to show how this authority — which, as regards the destruction of Avaris, clearly contradicts Manetho — is to be reconciled with other Egyptian accounts. In all these a leading point is that Amos (the chief of the 18th Dynasty), and *consequently* Moses, was contemporary with Inachus. This Ptolemy had stated, but he certainly could not know it. In this way they proceeded — straining after synchronistic epochs. For the above purpose they took the Alexandrian computations — which, however, as regards the remote ages of Greece, rested, even in the hands of the greatest critics of the Museum, on the visionary basis of mythological genea-

logies and pedigrees — not merely just as they found them, but often strung them together contrary to all criticism, as they thought would best suit their purpose. A clear understanding upon this point is indispensable, in order rightly to appreciate the real weakness of the grounds on which the ancients built up their fabric of primeval synchronisms for different nations, a fabric upon which the chronology of Christian nations was afterwards formed. We shall select as an example an inquiry instituted by Clemens into the age of Moses and the Exodus, to which a peculiar importance attaches, as having alluded to the connection between that event and the commencement of the Sothiac period, and which has been properly explained for the first time by Ideler.

After Clemens has given in the first book of the Stromata[131] a review of Jewish chronology, he lays down the following data for the era of Moses:

From the birth of Moses to the Exodus 80 years.
From thence to his death - - 40

*Consequently*, Moses went out of Egypt 345 *years before the Sothiac period.*

This passage the editors of Clemens have not understood. But we now know that the Sothiac period of the Egyptians, that is, their Canicular Cycle of 1461 years, ended in the second century of our era, and began in the year 1322 B. C. Clemens therefore placed the Exodus in the year 1667 B. C., that is, about 666 years before the building of Solomon's Temple. He then continues as follows:

"From Moses and Inachus"— (which synchronism, admitted by Tatian after Ptolemy and Apion, is already a settled point with Clemens) — "to Deucalion, Phaethon and Cecrops, four genera-

[131] Strom. i. p. 145. Comp. Ideler, Handbuch, i. 128.

| | |
|---|---|
| tions[132]— reckoning three to a century, make - - - - - | 133 years. |
| From the Flood of Deucalion to the Δάκτυλοι of Mount Ida*, according to Thrasyllus - - - - | 73 |
| Thence to the rape of Ganymede - | 65 |
| Thence to the expedition of Perseus (Isthmian games) - - - | 15 |
| Thence to the building of Troy - - | 34 |
| Thence to the Argonauts - - | 64 |
| Thence to the Theseus and the Minotaur | 32 |
| Thence to the 'Seven before Thebes' - | 10 |
| Thence to the establishment of the Olympic games by Hercules - - | 3 |
| Thence to the expedition of the Amazons | 9 |
| Thence to the deification of Hercules - | 11 |
| Thence to the rape of Helen - - | 4" |
| Here there is an obvious omission of: | |
| [to the taking of Troy - - | 10] |
| The continuation according to Eratosthenes: | |
| " From the taking of Troy to the Heraclidæ | 80 |
| Thence to the foundation of the Ionian colonies - - - - | 60 |
| Thence to the guardianship of Lycurgus | 159 |
| Thence to the First Olympiad - - | 108 |
| | 870" |

We have thus a period of 870 years, terminating with the year before the first Olympiad. If we add to this number 777, we obtain 1647 B. C.: which leaves about 646 years between the Exodus and the building of the temple.

[132] I read with Hervet 4 instead of 40 which has no meaning. Tatian (p. 132.) assumes four generations between Inachus and Triopas, the pretended contemporary of Cecrops. Others read Crotopus instead of Cecrops here and at p. 138.

* The supposed birth of the Cabiri in Samothrace, typifying the introduction of the mechanical arts into Europe.

This calculation differs from the former by 20 years: just as is the case of the previous twofold date of Josephus for the same period (592 and 612).

Another computation[133], which places Moses (probably his birth) 602 years before the deification of Bacchus, and follows the reckoning of Apollodorus, gives (perhaps owing to a textual error) a considerably higher number: 1765 or 1785 B. C. for the date of Inachus (contemporary with the birth of Moses). This would give for the Exodus 1685 or 1705 B. C.

The strictly Jewish computation of Clemens for this period is — as might be expected — that of the Bible, but either a corrupt version — the twenty-two years of Jair's judgeship being omitted — or it is incomplete and confused.

The general results are thus stated:—

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| "From Joshua to the beginning of David's reign are reckoned | 450 |
| To David's death the above calculation gives | 523 |
| According to the first, the birth of Moses occurs before the accession of David | 610 |
| According to the second, there are to the accession of Solomon | 643" |
| The first computation therefore (assuming the accession of Solomon at 1006, B. C.), places the Exodus in the year | 1656 |
| The other | 1649 |

These vacillations prove that Clemens did his best to place the Exodus at about 1650 B. C.

Now as he followed Ptolemy in placing the Exodus in the reign of Amos, we naturally expect from him an inquiry into the age of that sovereign. It may here be remarked, in anticipation of our subsequent more accurate collation of the Lists of Manetho with

[133] Ibid. p. 138. seqq.

the monuments, that the results of collation show this reign to have commenced in the year 1638. But according to the List of the 18th Dynasty, incorporated by Josephus among his extracts from Manetho, and which all the Christian epitomists have adopted as their standard, the 25 years' reign of Amos would fall about 200 years earlier. This, after deducting about 50 years for mutilations of text, or errors of transcript in the later Dynasties, would still throw him back to about 1784. The Exodus, therefore, taken as contemporaneous with the death of Amos, may be placed about 1760.

But does Manetho really assert, that the Exodus, or the taking and destruction of Avaris, and the departure of the Shepherds, took place under Amos, the founder of the New Empire? By no means. According to the extract in Josephus, it was Tuthmōsis, the son of Misphragmuthōsis, who made the convention with the Shepherds—and we may venture confidently to assert in opposition to Josephus, that he was a Tuthmōsis, and cannot be an Amos. But which of the Tuthmōses? And what connection was there between the withdrawal of the Shepherds and the Exodus? Were they contemporaneous events, or was the Exodus earlier or later? And to what extent? Upon none of these questions has any light been thrown by Clemens. May not perhaps some answer to them be found in Africanus, the first editor, as far as we know, of the Lists of Manetho?

### III. THE EDITORS OF THE LISTS OF MANETHO: JULIUS AFRICANUS AND EUSEBIUS: THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURY.

As early as the beginning of the third century, Julius, the African, Priest or Bishop of Emmaus-Nicopolis in Judæa, and founder of the Library of Cæsarea, which was enlarged by Eusebius, compiled a chronological work in five books, the fragments of which have been

admirably arranged by Routh.[134] Unfortunately they are but very scanty. They exhibit throughout the man of judgment, integrity, and information, zealous in collecting and examining the oldest Chaldee and Egyptian records, those especially of Berosus and Manetho. His object was not the arrangement of a system of Annals with regular notation of synchronisms — an attempt, fraught in other cases with so much perversity and fraud. — He gave the traditions unadulterated, just as he found them, contenting himself with proving from their own internal evidence the extravagance of those myriads of years admitted in the computation of his Pagan opponents. He would seem, however, to have attempted the formation of a scheme of dates according to the Scriptural years of the world, with incidental notations of synchronisms, in order to bring the Bible history into a certain connection with the Greek chronology.[135] We know from Syncellus and a fragment of Africanus himself[136], that he assumed the year of the world 5500 to be that of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. This assumption, which upon his authority has remained a standard dogma with the fathers of the Greek Church, is in truth far preferable to the calculations of the Western Churches and those of Newton, although of course, like the other two, it is beyond the province of scientific chronology, and rests upon wholly conjectural grounds. But in order to explain the manner in which he arrived at his Egypto-Jewish computations, to us the most important of the whole, we lay before our readers the following chronological table in years

[134] Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. iii.

[135] Sync. Chronog. p. 326. (Compare Ideler's Handbuch, ii. 437.). According to the hypothesis of Petavius, with which Ideler agrees, Africanus as well as Clemens placed the birth of Christ in the third year before our (the Dionysian) era, so that our first year coincides with his 5503rd. This Syncellus overlooked, and therefore charges him with an error of two years.

[136] Ibid. p. 18.

of the World. Routh has given a similar one for the whole chronology in his excellent collection and illustrations of the fragments of Africanus above mentioned [137], and we have taken him for the most part as our guide.

| | Year of the World. |
|---|---|
| The Flood (according to the Septuagint) | 2262 |
| The birth of Abraham | 2302 |
| Journey of Abraham into Canaan | 3277 |
| Journey of Jacob into Mesopotamia | 3390 |
| This is according to him the 77th year of Jacob: his 29th he makes contemporaneous with the beginning of the Kings of Sicyon. | |
| Jacob's arrival in Egypt | 3493 |
| Joseph's death | 3563 |
| The Exodus | 3705 |
| From the Exodus to the First Olympiad | 1020 |
| This table gives the following three synchronisms: the flood of Ogyges; Phoroneus in Argos (or his father Inachus); Amasis in Egypt. But in this way we have only 212 years for the sojourn in Egypt instead of the 215 of the Septuagint, which Africanus evidently adopted. | |
| The right date therefore is | 3708 |
| Time of Moses 40 years. | |
| Joshua 25 years (R. 27.), beginning (R. 3745) | 3748 |
| The elders 30 years | 3773 |
| The Judges mentioned in Scripture 490 years, beginning (R. 3802.) | 3803 |
| End of the Judges | 4293 |
| Eli and Samuel, called 90 years, read 80 | 4373 |
| Building of Solomon's Temple (R. 4453.) | 4457 |
| That is, reckoning 83 years + 4 months for Saul, David, and the first years of Solomon. According to Syncellus, p. 181., the year of | |

[137] Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii. 360. seqq.

Year of the World.

the dedication in Africanus was 4457, which took place after the structure had been seven years in progress; in the 11th consequently, not, as Syncellus says, the 8th year of Solomon. The best MS. reads 4460 instead of 4457, which agrees tolerably with our calculation.

First Olympiad after the Exodus 1020 - 4725

Contemporaneous with Jotham, king of Judah.

Beginning of the reign of Cyrus, Ol. 55, 1. - 4942

The birth of Christ - - - - 5500

From this table we see that Africanus in the disputed dates adheres to the Alexandrian tradition: he consequently assumes 215 years for the sojourn of the Children of Israel in Egypt. But neither the Bible nor Josephus afford the least explanation of the 744 years assigned by him as the period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple.[138] For we have the testimony of Eusebius that this date was specially laid down by him. Here, however, we may follow out a little more closely the traces formerly indicated in our remarks on Clemens. Africanus set out upon the plan of discovering synchronisms in the primitive Greek tradition, for the above most prominent point in Jewish history — the exordium as it were of connected Scripture narrative. Now it is a settled thing with him[139], that the period from the flood of Ogyges, and the reign of Phoroneus, to the first Olympiad was 1020 years. He appeals for the truth of this to Achusilaus, Hellanicus, Philochorus, Castor, Thallus, Alexander Polyhistor, Diodorus, all the Attic writers, and "some accurate Christian expositors;" evidently alluding to

[138] Euseb. Chr. Armen. ed. Mai. p. 71. According to Syncellus, Chr. p. 175., Africanus assumed above 740 years.

[139] See the principal passage in the 3d book of the Chron. of Africanus, in Euseb. Pr. Ev. lib. x. fragm. xxii. in Routh, p. 155. seqq.

Tatian and Clemens. He assigns this same period for the interval between Moses and Solomon, while he agrees with Josephus in admitting 25 years for Joshua, but gives for the time of the elders after Othniel, on his own authority, 30 years — that is, one generation. He then reckons the years of the Judges and those of the hostile supremacy at 359+111, in all 470. The 20 years that are wanting are clearly reckoned for the rule of Samuel after the victory at Mizpeh. But then how could he assign to him and Eli 80 years, 40 of which must belong to Samuel? These dates, with the 40 commonly assigned to Saul, and the same Scriptural number for David, make up exactly 1020 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple, or the number he wished to obtain. But whoever has accompanied us thus far in our Biblical Chronology, or who so much as glances at what really exists in the Bible, will see at once on what arbitrary grounds he has proceeded.

Africanus fortifies himself in this delusion on the subject of Greek synchronisms by two totally inadmissible assumptions: first, by a statement of Polemus, that in the time of Apis, son of Phoroneus, a portion of the Egyptian army left their own country and established themselves in Palestine: secondly, by the text of Apion, "the best read of all grammarians," the value of whose authority has been already analysed, itself borrowed from Ptolemy the Mendesian, to the effect, that in the time of Inachus, under the reign of Amōs, Moses led out the Israelites. This gives us the key to his assertion in his version of the Lists of Manetho, that Moses withdrew from Egypt under Amōs, the chief of the 18th Dynasty. But the above statement of Ptolemy, as we have seen, rests solely on the other assumption, that Amōs destroyed Avaris, the stronghold of the Hyksos. Admitting this, the only conclusion from it would be that the expulsion of the Hyksos from all Egypt was ascribed to Amōs. But from the notices in

Manetho's historical work we learn that it was the so-called Mephra-Tuthmōsis, whose reign cannot be placed earlier than fifth in the List of that Dynasty, who occupied Avaris after his convention with the Hyksos. Amōs must have expelled them from the Imperial throne by the capture of Memphis, otherwise he could not well be reckoned as an Imperial Pharaoh: perhaps he had driven them as far as Avaris. It is, however, altogether nugatory to confound the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos. That they were even contemporary events seems irreconcileable with any traces of historical truth in the Book of Exodus. Such an assumption indeed implies the narrative of Scripture to be altogether mythical and of later invention. The worthy Africanus certainly meant no such thing; but the fatal love of synchronisms exercised an evil influence even upon him, and prevented any close examination of Manetho's account.

The later Egyptian synchronisms have been very happily treated. In his version of Manetho's Lists, he reckons about the same number of years from Amos to the end of the 21st Dynasty, as from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. The first King of the 22nd Dynasty took Jerusalem forty-two years later, in the fifth year of Rehoboam. Africanus, therefore, there can be no doubt, considered the Sesak of Scripture — and rightly — as the Sesonchis of the Lists, and had not allowed himself to be led astray (like a celebrated English chronographer) by Josephus. The synchronism of the first Olympiad and the reign of Jotham is also quite correct.

We have already intimated the great general superiority of his version of Manetho's List over that of Eusebius. He is said to have published two editions of this work. It were more important to know whether he was acquainted with the original history of Manetho. He evidently had the same Lists before him out of

which Josephus quotes the Kings of the 18th Dynasty. He found in them some historical annotations, derived from the text of the historical work. To these he added his own observations; such are, evidently, that which places the Exodus under the 18th Dynasty, that concerning the Book of Cheops in the 4th, and in all probability, the well-known notice of Memnon, the vocal stone. But it by no means follows that he was acquainted with the historical work itself; it is, on the contrary, highly improbable. Had he known it, he would have amended the Lists, and communicated much interesting matter which Eusebius and Syncellus would then have preserved as well as other portions of his text transmitted by them.

The first author, as far as known to us, who after Africanus devoted any attention to these Lists, was Eusebius, the celebrated historian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, in the time of Constantine. He had undertaken a comprehensive scheme of adjustment between the Scripture dates and those of all the other ancient nations. He is, therefore, the originator of that systematic theory of synchronisms which has so often subsequently maimed and mutilated history in its Procrustean bed. There can be no doubt, as we have already remarked in treating of Manetho, that Eusebius entered upon this undertaking in a very unscrupulous and arbitrary spirit. The text of St. Jerome has presented the merely practical element of his work; that is, the canon or general table of synchronisms, without the introductory illustrations or extracts from the old chronographers. Fortunately, an Armenian translation of the entire work, upon the whole faithfully and skilfully executed, was discovered in 1820, about the same time with the art of deciphering hieroglyphics. In addition to a Milanese and Venetian text, accompanied by the valuable notes and restorations of our esteemed and lamented friend Giacomo Leopardi (the ornament

of Italy, too soon removed from this world) we are indebted since 1833 for a complete and classical Roman edition to the labours of that able and indefatigable critic Cardinal Mai.[140] It contains a text of Manetho's Lists, which, in addition to the royal names and dates, gives with great accuracy the annotations, appended here and there, in chronicle fashion, to the different reigns. As these notices cannot, as we have already shown, have been Manetho's original composition, at least in their present shape; and, as in the one appended to the second reign of the fourth Dynasty, Africanus himself writes in his own name, it follows that Eusebius must have had Africanus before him, and in many instances have copied from him. There can, however, be no doubt that he also made use of other editions or commentaries, though in a lamentably confused and hasty manner. Africanus himself, as we have seen, edited two versions of the Lists, apparently with different readings. It is possible that such discrepancies in the Bishop of Cæsarea, as are neither the result of wilful corruptions, or of errors of transcript, may be owing to these different readings. Eusebius himself never names his authorities. It is clear, indeed, that he rarely differed from Africanus unless from mere carelessness or from deference to his fanciful theory of synchronisms. These charges are made against him by Syncellus, above referred to; and his own work shows that author, upon the whole, to have accurately quoted his text, and to have done him no injustice by his verdict.

### IV. THE BYZANTINE SCHOOL OF RESEARCH — THEOPHILUS — PANODORUS — ANIANUS — SYNCELLUS.

WITH Eusebius closes the Ante-Byzantine period. The Byzantine period proper commences early in the

[140] It completes the 8th volume of the Vaticana collectio.

fifth century. In proportion as the despotism of the Emperors and the corruption of the modern Romans increased, the spirit of true research declined and gave place to the torpid formality of the Byzantine school. Every thing now tended towards decay—the external forms and habits of ancient life alone survived. Men's minds were now so fully occupied with their own—from day to day more pitiful—objects of ephemeral controversy, that they had neither leisure nor inclination for historical research. About the commencement of the fifth century, Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, author of the Cycle of Easter, made one more attempt at a better arrangement of the Egyptian synchronisms. From the account given of his method by Syncellus, and from his still extant commentary on the 18th Dynasty[141], but little benefit would seem to have resulted from his labours. His contemporary Panodorus, and afterwards Anianus—both Egyptian monks—had the very doubtful merit of inventing an universal or mundane era, for the more convenient calculation of the Golden Number, the Solar Cycle and the Indictions. According to Panodorus, the birth of Christ occurred in the year 5492, the incarnation in 5493. Anianus likewise fixed the birth in 5492, but the incarnation in 5501. Ideler[142], with his usual sagacity, has also settled this hitherto so confused and complicated point of chronology; he has shown into what incredible blunders Anianus was led by the above arbitrary assumption. The death of Christ was thus made to fall in the second year of the Emperor Claudius, chiefly, as Ideler conjectures, in order that it might occur in a year in which Christ could have eaten the passover with his disciples on the 14th day of the

141 See Appendix of Authorities, A. V., Theophilus.
142 Handbuch, ii. 447. seqq.

month, and on a Wednesday. We know nothing more of the principle on which this mundane era of Anianus was contrived; but it is evidently based upon Africanus, and, for the sake of more convenient use, was embodied in such a form that, on dividing by 19, the remainder is the Golden Number.[143]

Panodorus and Anianus, as patriotic Egyptians, took great pains to uphold as far as possible the more ancient dates of the Egyptian and Babylonian annals. They are also both responsible in common with Eusebius for having attempted this at the expense not only of sound common sense, but of the pure letter of Scripture, by the reduction, for example, of mythical periods to years of a single month, and by petty omissions, additions, or corrections in the text of the Bible. Yet still they followed so far in the track of Africanus, that they did not altogether reject those annals, either on account of their mythological dates, which they were not competent to understand, or on account of their incompatibility with the canon of Scripture chronology.

Their method, however, was far from congenial to the daily increasing rigour of the orthodox school. The learned monk and Vice-Patriarch of Constantinople, George Syncellus, (that is the *Concellaneus* or cell-companion of the Patriarch,) who flourished about the year 800, endeavoured to conciliate its favour by imparting to chronology a more exclusively Scriptural character. Syncellus is a somewhat caustic critic, and attacks Eusebius in very scurrilous terms, which may, however, be called honied words when compared with the modern Latin style of polemical controversy prevalent from the days of Laurentius Valla to our own. Scaliger, whose favourite scheme was the restoration of the lost work of Eusebius, having found a Parisian

[143] Ideler, Handbuch, ii. 444. seqq.

MS. of the then unpublished chronography of Syncellus, availed himself of it for the above object, which accordingly, by his inexhaustible treasure of learning, and exuberant faculty of combination, he carried into effect. It was but just that he should retaliate upon Syncellus his own sarcasms; but we agree with Bredow[144] in lamenting that he did not also publish his works. The text was afterwards edited by Goar, a Greek monk, resident in Paris, with a translation and restoration of the canon or synchronistic tables. This work, in a philological point of view, is pitiable in the last degree, disingenuous, and interlarded with disgraceful attacks upon Scaliger. It is much to be lamented that in the new edition of the Byzantine writers, where the text of Syncellus has been, as might be expected, restored after the MSS.—Goar's utterly worthless translation has been retained—a real blot in that publication.

We must here remind our readers that we are indebted to Syncellus for the preservation of the invaluable labours of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, although but in the form of a miserable epitome. The compilation of records relating to Egyptian chronology is in fact the most valuable part of the whole work. The best authorities on Egyptian history were of course the most perplexing to the absurd system of synchronisms, adopted by the Byzantine Church, and therefore the most useless to Syncellus. But he has also given certain Egyptian computations, which the Christians had already cut down to their own measure, and which it is here proper to mention, not on account of their

[144] Prize Essay *de Georgii Syncelli Chronographiâ.* Whatever is valuable in Dindorf's edition, excepting the strictly philological emendations, is contained in this treatise on a very appropriate question proposed by the French Academy, in the *Epistolæ Parisienses.* The first volume ought to be completely reprinted.

intrinsic value, for they possess none whatever, but of the use which Syncellus made of the worst of them, and the influence they have had, down to our own times, in perplexing the judgment of the Western world.

### V. THE PSEUDO-MANETHO'S BOOK OF SOTHIS, OR THE DOG-STAR.

SYNCELLUS mentions this work in two passages. In the first[145], with reference to his assertion that the antediluvian race dwelt between the sea and Paradise, and that neither the primeval empire of the Chaldees, so greatly vaunted by Berosus and his followers, nor that of the Egyptian Gods, of which so much had been said by the lying and braggard Manetho, were then in existence. After endeavouring to prove this according to his own fashion[146], he returns to Berosus and Manetho, and sneers at "some of our historical critics"—evidently Anianus and Panodorus—who have attempted to get rid of the endless myriads of years by reducing the Chaldee Sari to days, as if those periods had any claim whatever to substantial reality. He then quotes to the point two passages of Africanus. In the first, that author denies all credit to the Egyptian astrological dates, which, even when reduced to months, make up still 8000 or 9000 years. In the second, he ridicules the three myriads of the Phœnicians, and the forty-eight of the Chaldees, and substitutes in their stead the Scriptural number of 6500 years B. C. Then follows the Chaldee computation from Alorus to Xisuthus, "the Man of the Flood," which is evidently taken from Berosus, or one of his copyists. Syncellus then goes on to say: "Manetho, the Sebennyte, High Priest of the detestable Egyptian mysteries, who, according to Berosus, lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, as great a liar as Berosus

[145] Syncelli Chronographia, p. 15.
[146] Ibid. p. 17. seqq.

himself, writes to this monarch concerning six dynasties, constituting the reigns of seven imaginary Gods, in 11,985 years. The first, Vulcan, reigned, according to him, 9000 years. These 9000 years, again, some of our historical critics have reckoned as months, and thus reduced to 727$\frac{3}{4}$ years, in their absurd attempts to extract truth out of falsehood."

We have here given the entire context of the passage, in order more clearly to shew that this citation of the *real* work of Manetho belongs entirely to Syncellus, and in no respect to the quotation from Africanus. Routh, therefore, has very properly entertained scruples as to inserting any thing more than these two passages in his collection. We have already shown, in our remarks on his extract from the genuine Manetho, that Eusebius was not aware of the fraud.

Then follows, in Syncellus, the list of dynasties of Gods and Heroes, also already quoted on the occasion above referred to. Afterwards[147], however, reverting to the work in question, he says: "Manetho, the High Priest of the Egyptian Idols, wrote a fabulous work on the Dog-star[148] under Philadelphus, and dedicated it to that King in the following words — 'To the great King Ptolemy Philadelphus, Semper Augustus (Σεβαστῷ!), Manetho, High Priest and Scribe of the Mysteries of the Temple, by birth a Sebennyte, dwelling in Heliopolis, to my Lord, Ptolemy, hail! All attention is due, greatest of Kings, to whatever thou mayest inquire of us. As thou hast questioned me concerning the future destinies of the world, it shall be declared to thee, as thou hast commanded, what the Holy Books, written by your ancestor, Hermes Trismegistus, have instructed. Farewell, King, my Lord.'"

Syncellus further describes him as having declared

147 Syncelli Chronographia, p. 40. 148 Ἡ βίβλος τῆς Σώθεος.

that certain Stelæ, still existing in the Syriadic land, were his authorities. His account of the inscriptions on these supposed Stelæ, was in the following words — "They are in the Sacred Dialect, engraved in Hieroglyphics by Thoth, the first Hermes; but after the Flood, they were transcribed from the Sacred Dialect into the Greek tongue (*sic*), in Hieroglyphic characters, and deposited by Agathodæmon, the Son of the second Hermes, and father of Tat, in the shrines of the Egyptian Temples."

The book so pompously announced, began with the history "of five Egyptian races, under the titles of Gods, Demigods, Manes, and Mortals."[149]

We have already seen, that the sum of the reigns of Gods and Heroes, according to the Book of Sothis (of the Dog-star) embraces 11,985 years. If we add to that the number of the genuine Manetho, which, according to Eusebius, comprises the reigns of Gods, Heroes and Manes, as = - - 24,925 years,
the sum total will make - - 36,910 —
consequently only 385 years more than the 36,525 years, which constitute the great Sothiac Cycle (25 × 1461), and which it was the impostor's object to make up. It is clear, therefore, that he introduced the cyclical element into the calculation, although wholly foreign to the method of the real Manetho.

It were but a waste of time to enter upon any further proof of the spuriousness of this production. Zoëga[150] has remarked that the mention of a second Hermes indicates a late period. But this is a trifle compared with the effrontery of the dedication, and the folly of the introduction. In the former, the false

[149] Θεοί, ἡμίθεοι, νέκυες, θνητοί. Ἡμίθεοι and νέκυες are therefore distinct here as well as in the extract in Eusebius.

[150] Zoëga de Obelisc. p. 881.

Manetho announces to his Lord and Master, that he will, as requested by him, unfold the mysteries of the future: instead of which, the genuine Manetho described the Past and the Antiquities of his nation. The latter derived his information from records and monuments, by the testimony of which his own authority is now again vindicated in the most triumphant manner. The former appeals to "Stelæ in the Syriadic country," to which our attention has already been turned in the introduction of the Egyptian traditions. The first Hermes had engraven the lore of primeval ages on those monuments in the Sacred Dialect with Hieroglyphic characters. After the Flood, Agathodæmon, the father of Thoth, translated them from that sacred language into Greek — but still in Hieroglyphic characters! No less fabulous are the "five Races," which he makes to consist of Gods, Demigods, Manes, Mortals, and probably the historical Kings (of Egypt). Lastly, the language is purely Hellenistic, no trace of which is found in the fragments of the genuine Manetho.

This book therefore is clearly a very contemptible counterfeit of a late period, compiled for astrological purposes.

But the credit of the genuine work of Manetho was exposed to still severer assaults — according to the same Syncellus.

### VI. THE SO-CALLED OLD EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE.

"THE Egyptians," says Syncellus[151], "BOAST OF a certain old chronicle, by which also, in my opinion, *Manetho*" (the impostor) "was led astray." *It comprises an immeasurable period, different from that of Manetho, of 30* Dynasties, in 113 generations, and 36,525 years, first of Gods, then of Demigods, thirdly of Egyptians; such are its terms, almost literally "word for word."

[151] Chronog. p. 51. See Appendix of Authorities, A. III.

| | | | | | Dates in Eusebius. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Rule of Gods: | | | | | | |
| Vulcan: without time, because he appears by day and by night. | | | | Years. | | |
| Helios, son of Vulcan | | | | 30,000 | | |
| Chronus and the other 12 Gods | | | | 3984 | | |
| II. Eight Demigods | | | | 217 | | |
| XV Generations of the Sothiac Cycle | | | | 443 | | |
| | | | | 34,644 | | |
| 16th Dyn. | Tanites | 8 | generations | 190 | 5 Theban | 190 |
| 17th – | Memphites | 4 | – | 103 | 4 Shepherds | 103 |
| 18th – | — | 14 | – | 348 | 14 Theban | 348 |
| 19th – | Diospolitans | 5 | – | 194 | 5 Diospolitans | 194 |
| 20th – | — | 8 | – | 228 | 12 — | 172 |
| 21st – | Tanites | 6 | – | 121 | 7 Tanites | 130 |
| 22d – | — | 3 | – | 48 | 3 Bubastites | 49 |
| 23d – | Diospolites | 2 | – | 19 | 3 Tanites | 44 |
| 24th – | Saites | 3 | – | 44 | 1 Saite | 44 |
| 25th – | Æthiopians | 3 | – | 44 | 3 Æthiopians | 44 |
| 26th – | Memphites | 7 | – | 177 | 9 Saites | 168½ |
| 27th – | Persians | 5 | – | 124 | 8 Persians | 120⅓ |
| 28th – | (is wanting) | | | | 1 Saite | 6 |
| 29th – | Tanites (is wanting) | | | 39 | 5 Mendesians | 21⅓ |
| 30th – | — | 1 | – | 18 | 3 Sebennytes | 20 |
| | | | | 36,341 | | |

The origin of this fiction is obvious. Its object, as well as that of the Pseudo-Manetho, is to represent the great year of the world of 36,525 years, or 25 Sothiac cycles. The *timeless* space of the Book of Sothis becomes the rule of Vulcan, the first of the Gods, through a mystic comparison of that deity with eternal light. To Helios, instead of the modest 9000 years of the first divine reign in the Pseudo-Manetho, three round myriads are assigned. The number fixed for the other Gods 3984 is quite original; perhaps it may not be mere accident, that it agrees with the computation of some chronographers for the period from the creation to the birth of Christ. The Dynasty of the Demigods (217) reflects the same judicious moderation as in the scheme of the Pseudo-Manetho, where the number, as we have seen above, is 214½. Then comes a series of

corruptions of the genuine Manetho, that is, of the Manetho of the 30 historical Egyptian Dynasties. He is, however, confounded with the Manetho of the Dog-star, and hence it is that the 15 Dynasties of Manetho are called the 15 Dynasties of the Sothiac cycle. But how is the number 443 to be explained? Is this entry to be understood in the same sense as the similar one in Clemens, namely, that the first 15 Dynasties comprehended the 443 years prior to the beginning of the last cycle, consequently prior to 1322? Or is it simply taken with a slight alteration from the number assigned by Eusebius to the 14th and 15th Dynasties (435)? The following dates for the length of the reigns are in the gross evidently borrowed from Eusebius.

The 113 generations are explained in the same arbitrary manner.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The dominion of Gods | - | 15 Dynasties. |
| Demigods | - | 8 |
| Fifteen Dynasties of the Sothiac cycle | - | 15 |
| Sum total | | 38 |

In the sequel there is no more reckoning by Dynasties, but 75 generations are numbered in order to make up the 113 of Manetho. So palpable is this, that we have only to fill up from the text of Eusebius the chasms which now exist in the 28th and 29th Dynasties of Syncellus, in order to obtain the number 75. That the titles of the Dynasties have been altered in the most blundering manner is evinced both by Manetho's tables, and by our present more accurate knowledge of the monuments and history of the New Empire. Lastly, the dates of the years, as well as numbers of particular reigns, are brought into shape by various arbitrary expedients; but Eusebius on all occasions appears as the authority. In the 23rd Dynasty, the trace of the right number (19

instead of 44) is preserved, perhaps from better MSS. of Eusebius. As the dates of the individual Dynasties now run, 184 years are wanting to make up the promised 36,525, it is scarcely worth while to inquire where the mistake lies.

It is quite evident that we have here an unnatural union between the dates of the genuine and the Pseudo-Manetho. The so-called old chronicle is therefore of more recent date than the latter.

Letronne was the first to denounce (in 1831) the utter worthlessness of this Cento, so long esteemed by modern scholars as a sort of literary treasure, and adopted as the foundation of their researches. Its true critical value has also been rightly estimated in a note to Biot's Treatise on the names of the Egyptian months.[152]

That sagacious critic, to agree with whom is always a guarantee with us that we are ourselves on the right path, characterises the Book of Sothis as the compilation of a Jewish or Christian impostor, executed not earlier than the end of the 3rd century. We believe it to be considerably later.

### VII. THE ANONYMOUS LIST OF KINGS.

IN this way the historical work of Manetho was gradually, step by step, superseded. First by extracts, in which history and chronology were extinguished, then by the levity of Eusebius, and the falsifications to which he resorted in order to carry out his system: after him, by the impostor, who, usurping the name of the Sebennyte, so thoroughly confounded truth with falsehood: lastly, by an arbitrary paring down of the Dynasties of Manetho into a chronicle, reckoning by cyclical numbers. The vast Mythic dates were so plausibly reduced to within a reasonable compass by the devices of Panodorus and others, and their ingenious discovery of

[152] At p. 24. seqq.

years of one, two, and three months, that a new clue was offered for their more convenient adjustment. Such was the state in which chronological science was found by Syncellus. It was easy for him to demonstrate Eusebius's perverse treatment of Manetho's Lists. But he was himself as little competent as the Bishop of Cæsarea to turn the genuine dates in Africanus to profitable account. Dynasties at the best were ill adapted for any complete system of synchronisms. First of all, as regarded the earliest period, they were obliged to begin with Menes-Mestraïm, and add on a few names, so as to fill up in a reasonable manner the short period prior to the Shepherds, and between them and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The first 14 or 16 Dynasties therefore must have been reduced to at most as many names and reigns.

But many, even of the later Egyptian Epochs, proved extremely intractable. It was a settled point with the majority of these inquirers, that Abraham or Joseph came into Egypt under Aphōphis, the Shepherd King, or that the Exodus took place under Amos, or rather, perhaps, that Moses was born in his reign, and that he led out the Children of Israel under Mephra-Tuthmosis. This, however, could not be brought about without much clipping and paring. Afterwards, too, they were necessarily brought into conflict with their own system of Jewish Chronology, by any attempt to square it with the Table of Dynasties. That such was the result in every period is proved, as will hereafter be seen, by the synchronistic canon of Eusebius. In order to evade these difficulties, the List now embodied in the synchronistic tables of Syncellus was constructed. Valueless as it is, it still deserves consideration in one point of view. It is only through it that we can form a complete idea of the total extinction of all sound criticism which marks this period, and the consequent futility both of its calculations and its conclusions.

We here subjoin it complete, subdivided according to the periods of real history, and with its own progressive numbers—

I. The Old Pharaonic period[153]—341 years, 9 Kings.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | "Mestraim," (according to the Bible) "or Menes" - - - | 35 years. |
| 2. | Kurodes (utterly incomprehensible) - | 63 |
| 3. | Aristarchus } purely fictitious names | 34 |
| 4. | Spanius } purely fictitious names | 36 |
| 5. | } "names not registered" (praise- | |
| 6. | } worthy conscientiousness!) - | 72 |
| 7. | Serāpis: for vanity's sake—the name of a God of the Ptolemaic age - | 23 |
| 8. | Sesonchōsis { raked together from the latter part of the Lists. | 49 |
| 9. | Ammenemes { Dyn. XII. 1, 2. = Eratost. 34. 33. - - | 29 |
| | | 341 years. |

The sixteen names which follow are foreign to the Old Dynasties of Manetho, as well as those of Eratosthenes. As the Shepherd Kings join immediately on to them, these sixteen names must either be pure invention, or a gleaning from the 53 lost names of Apollodorus—or from the 60 of the XIIIth Dynasty of Manetho. It were, perhaps, doing too great honour to the author of this patchwork to prefer the latter alternative; the names, however, in spite of this corruption, exhibit a genuine Egyptian character, and do not elsewhere occur. We are, therefore, more inclined to think they are borrowed from a good source, than to award the impostors the credit of their invention. The names of the 53 Theban Kings of Apollodorus were still extant in the days of Syncellus.

[153] Syncellus, p. 91. See Appendix of Authorities, B. IV.

II. Theban Kings of the Hyksos period[154] — 16 Kings, 359 years (10—25).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10. | Amasis | 2 years. |
| 11. | Achesephthres | 13 |
| 12. | Anchoreus | 9 |
| 13. | Armiyses | 4 |
| 14. | Chamois | 12 |
| 15. | Miamus | 14 |
| 16. | Amesēsis | 65 |
| 17. | Uses | 15 |
| 18. | Rameses | 29 |
| 19. | Ramesomenes[155] | 50 |
| 20. | Usimares | 31 |
| 21. | Ramesseseos | 23 |
| 22. | Ramessameno | 19 |
| 23. | Ramēsse-Jubassē (*Cod. Bamb.* Ramessei-Ubassē.) | 39 |
| 24. | Ramesse-Uaphru[156] | 29 |
| 25. | Koncharis | 5 |

16 Kings, 359 years.

Uses alone among all these names has a certain resemblance to the old Pharaonic titles. The names of primeval Ramessides would be in the highest degree interesting, assuming these to have been derived from any such source. They would prove that this name also had its ramifications in the Old Empire of the Pharaohs.

Usimares, perhaps, is the same name as is found in Eratosthenes for the 24th King; Thyosimares according to the MSS. Koncharis is the same word as Kencheres of the Lists.

To Koncharis succeed the Shepherd Kings, according to this compiler; according to Eusebius and the Chronicler, the 17th Dynasty. This point being settled, it necessarily followed that Koncharis must have been the

[154] Sync. p. 96. [155] Ibid. p. 101. [156] Ibid. p. 103.

last King of the 16th. Reverting then to the foregoing lists, we shall find exactly 700 years for the Old Empire of the Pharaohs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kings from | 1— 9 | 341 years. |
| | 10—25 | 359 |
| | | 700 years. |

In this way the following remark of Syncellus, which has obtained so unfortunate a notoriety from the circumstance of its never having been understood, receives its natural explanation[157]: "In the fifth year of the reign of King Koncharis, during the 16th Dynasty of the so-called Sothiac Cycle of Manetho, there are (reckoning from Mestraim, the first King and settler in Egypt) 700 years complete, and 25 Kings; that is, from the year of the world 2776, the epoch of the Dispersion of the Tribes, in the 34th year of Arphachsad, the 5th of Thalek."

In the sequel of our historical review of the previous stages of Egyptian chronological research, we shall have occasion to see into how fatal an error Champollion Figeac was led, and through him his distinguished brother, by his misunderstanding of this passage. The former interpreted the words of Syncellus to imply that the 700th year of the Sothiac cycle ended at that epoch. As it is well known that this cycle commenced in the year 1322 B.C., and as that era is called by them the era of Menophres, he imagined that by connecting this fixed point with the above statement of Syncellus, he had found the synchronistic pivot, which had been so long sought for in vain. The name of Menophres seemed to him to accord best with that of the 3rd King of the 19th Dynasty of the Lists, and hence he fixed the subsequent chronological dates in the following manner:

[157] p. 103. C.

| | Years. |
|---|---|
| XIX. 3. Ammenephthes-Menophres - | B.C. 1322 |
| Ammenephthes' reign (Afr. 20. Eus. 40.) - | 31 |
| XIX. 1, 2. (according to Eusebius) - - | 121 |
| XVIIIth Dynasty - - - - - - | 348 |
| The beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Amos) | B.C. 1822 |
| — 19th — (Sethus) - | 1473 |

Champollion was also, unfortunately, induced to adopt this delusive pivot as the basis of his Egyptian researches, and was thus led astray in his dates to the extent of several centuries.

So long ago as the opening of the Roman Archæological Institute, on the 21st April, 1833, in addressing that society on the existing state and prospects of Egyptian research, we called attention to this notable circumstance.[158] Since then Letronne, in his note to Biot's Treatise, already quoted, has, with his usual sagacity, clearly pointed out the error and the fallacy of all the calculations of which it has formed the basis. He also called attention to the fact that Freret, and, before him, Marsham, had fallen upon the same erroneous interpretation.

Then follows an uninterrupted series of 23 Kings, the last 16 of whom are those of the 18th Dynasty, as they appear in Eusebius. Syncellus concludes this series with the following words[159]:

"To these 25 Kings succeed the 23 mentioned by Josephus in the treatise against Apion."

Syncellus leaves no room for doubt as to his understanding of the series. His next King is the first of the Shepherds whose names are mentioned in Josephus. In another passage of his work, Josephus enumerates the Kings of the 18th Dynasty. The List finds it convenient to assume as a matter of course, not only that those Shepherds follow immediately after his Koncharis,

158 Annali del Instituto di Corresp. Archæol. 1834.

159 p. 103. D.

but likewise that to these again succeed the Kings of the 18th Dynasty. The former hypothesis is altogether groundless; the latter contrary to the express testimony of Josephus and the Epitomists.

This single trait will suffice to show the wretchedness of this botchwork. But it may naturally be supposed that these two series of Kings, thus clumsily dovetailed into each other, would at least be given as they stood in the authorities he consulted. This, however, is very far from being the case. The forger of synchronisms required a few more years, in order to bring Amos and his successors into their right place. He, therefore, inserts between the last but one, and the last of the Shepherds, two other Kings, to whom no place whatever belongs in the series.

The 23 Kings of the Hyksos Period: No. 26—48.
(Sync. p. 104. B.)

26. Silites, "the first of the six Kings of Manetho's 17th Dynasty." No one mentions six Shepherd Kings. That these foreign Kings formed the 17th Dynasty is a fiction of Eusebius, who is, on that account, fairly charged by Syncellus with falsification of the Lists. As regards names and years of reigns, they are treated with the same Procrustean licence. Silites (Salatis) as in the Lists - - - - - 19 years.

27. Bæon (Euseb. 40; all the others 44) 44

28. Apachnas (name and date from Josephus) - - - - - 36

29. Aphophis (name and date from Africanus and Josephus) - - - 61

"In the 4th year of whose reign Joseph is said to have come into Egypt, and in his 17th to have been advanced to the highest honours."

30. Sethos (known only to the monu-

ments and Lists as one of the Ramessides) - - - - 50 years.

31. Kertōs - - - - 44

"According to Josephus 29, according to Manetho 44." Josephus nowhere definitively mentions him; neither do the Lists.

32. Asseth (Goar 24) - - - 20 years.

Here we may be reminded of the last Shepherd King in Josephus (Assis, Aseth). The observation upon it is as follows: "He added five days to the year, and made the Egyptian year 365 days instead of 360. In his time the deified calf was named Apis." This observation belongs either to the King of the Second Dynasty, to whom the introduction of animal worship is ascribed, or to a still older King of the ante-historical period; for the epact is probably as old or older than Menes. Or, lastly, it is a pure invention founded on some general notice concerning the year of 360 days. Could anything be founded on so shallow a basis, Asseth might lead us to think of Seti. This name, a formation from Set or Sothis, appertained, according to the Turin Papyrus, to a primitive ante-historical King, and again recurs under the Ramessides. The most important point is that we have here palpable proof of the futility of a remark of Syncellus in his commentary on the 18th Dynasty. It is where, in speaking of Asseth, the father of Amos, he alludes to the former name as occurring in Manetho's Lists; the whole of this quotation is founded on our Lists.

33. Amōsis or Tethmōsis (M. 22.) - 26 years.

34. Chebrōn [160] - - - - 13

35. Amemphes (like Amenophis, 20.) - 15

36. Amenses (22 years) - - 11

37. Misphragmuthōsis (26 years after Mephres) - - - - 16

[160] p. 147. B.

38. Misphres (13 years before Misphram) 23 years.
39. Tuthmosis (10 years) - - 39
40. Amenophthis[161] (31 years) - - 34

"Who is the Vocal stone. The Ethiopians came from the Indus and settled in Egypt." The illustration of these learned remarks may be left to such critics as Van Bohlen.

41. Orus (Horus 37 years) - - 48 years.
42. Achencherēs (12 years) - - 25
43. Athōris (Rathotis 9) - - 29
44. Chencherēs (Achen. 12) - - 26
45. Acherrēs[162] (Achen. 12) "30 or 8" 8
46. Armais (4 or 5 years) - - 9

"Armais, who is likewise Danaus, came to Greece, having been expelled by his brother Ramesses; Ramesses, who is also called Egyptus, reigned 68 years. From him the country received its new name, having previously borne that of Mestraim."

47. Ramesses,[163] who is also Egyptus - 68 years.
48. Amenōphis (19 years) - - 6

The compiler has thus far been at pains to keep pace with the names in Manetho's Lists from Amos downwards, contented with amusing himself at the expense of the numbers. But even this forbearance becomes too much for him.

13 Kings for the XIXth, XXth, and XXIst Dynasties down to Scheschonk.

49. Thuōris (the last of the 19th Dynasty) 17 years.
50. Nechepsos } from the xxvi. 2. 6. - { 19
51. Psammuthis } { 13
52. (Name lost) - - - 4
53. Kertos for the second time (No. 31) "16 years" read - - - 20
54. Rampsis - - - - 45

[161] p. 151. C. [162] p. 155. [163] p. 160.

55. Amenses, who is also Ammenemes. (Occurs in the List of the 21st Dyn.) 26 years.
56. Ochyras (?) - - - 14
57. Amendes (compare 55) - - 27
58. Thuōris (repeated from 49). "This is Polybus, the husband of Alkandra, who in the Odyssey receives Menelaus and Helen." (Copied, like the previous gloss, from the Lists at xix. 8.) - 50
59. Athotis, also Phusanus: "under him occurred a great earthquake in Egypt, such as never was before" - - 28
60. Kenkenes - - - - 39
61. Uennephis - - - - 42

These three stop-gaps are the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th King of the *first* Dynasty in Manetho! The piece of learned commentary is borrowed from the first King of the 2nd Dynasty; lastly, Phusanus is in all probability a corruption of Phusennes (i. e. Pusennes), the second name of the 21st Dynasty.

25 Kings from Sesak to Amosis (No. 62—86).

62. Susakim[164] (form adopted in the Alexandrian translation of the Bible for the Sesak of the Hebrew text, Scheschonk of the Monuments, xxii. 1.) "Subdued the Libyans, Ethiopians and Troglodytes, before his expedition to Jerusalem." (Taken from the notice in the Chronicle) - 34 years.
63. Psuenus (Phusenes, xxi. 7.) - 25
64. Ammenōphis (xxi. 4.) - - 9
65. Nephecheres (xxi. 3.) - - 6
66. Saites (a misunderstanding of Bocchoris, the only King of the 24th); he is called in the Lists "the Saite" 15
67. Psinaches (xxi. 6.) - - 9

[164] p. 177.

68. Petubastes (xxiii. 1.) - - 44 years.
69. Osōrthōn (xxiii. 2.) - - 9
70. Psammus (xxiii. 3.) - - 10
71. Koncharis (a repetition of No. 25.) - 21
72. Osorthōn[165] (xxii. 7.) - - 15
73. Takalōphis (xxii. 6.) - - 13
74. Bocchoris (compare 66.) "made laws for Egypt. Under him a lamb is said to have spoken." (From Manetho) 44
75. Sabakon the Ethiopian. (xxv. 1.) - 12 "Burnt Bocchoris, his prisoner, alive." (From Manetho.) - - -
76. Sebēchōn (xxv. 2.) - - - 12
77. Tarakēs[166] (xxv. 3.) - - 20
78. Amaēs (Scaliger, Armaes; Euseb., Ammeris 26) - - - 38
79. Stephinathes (xxvi. 1.) - - 27
80. Nechepsos (xxvi. 2.) - - 13
81. Nechao[167] (xxvi. 3.) - - 8
82. Psammetichus (xxvi. 4.) - - 14
83. Nechao II. Pharaoh (added from Scripture) (xxvi. 5.) - - 9
84. Psamuthes II. (xxvi. 6.) "who is also Psammetichus." The latter is really the correct name.
85. Uaphris (xxvi. 7.) - - - 34
86. Amōsis (xxvi. 8.) - - - 40

### VIII. SYNCELLUS COMPARED WITH EUSEBIUS AND THE LATER BYZANTINES. MALALAS. CEDRENUS. THE CHRONICLE OF EASTER.

THE more closely we subject the above List to the test of real history, or even of the historical data at the disposal of Syncellus, and the more we reflect on that chronologer's criticism of Eusebius, the more inexplicable appears the use he has made of that List in his canon. The fact, however, is undeniable, whether he

[165] p. 184. [166] p. 191. [167] p. 210.

found the List ready made for him, or invented it himself. The former seems to us the more probable, although Syncellus gives no authority for the document, and that Eusebius had no knowledge of it, we have now the conclusive evidence of the Armenian translation. The name of King Asseth proves that Syncellus —if indeed, he himself undertook any independent course of investigation — had that list before him in forming his chronography. He calls him, as we have seen, Father of Amos, and is at great pains to inform us that some copies assign 16, others 20 years to his reign. All this is explained from the List, where Asseth is inscribed with 20 years, which number Syncellus specifies as the most accurate.

What has here been said suggests the following remark: Syncellus passes a severe judgment on Eusebius, and upon the whole with justice; but in the formation of his own canon he is as much inferior to the Bishop of Cæsarea, as the eighth century is to the fourth. Speculative criticism without creative talent is the infallible sign of a declining age.

Syncellus accordingly was an acute critic in the minutiæ of by-gone times, but was not qualified to apprehend the fundamental fallacy of the principles by which he was guided, and the futility of every system formed upon such principles. Still, however, he was a scholar and a critic. In spite of his confusion of good and bad authorities in the chronology of a dark primeval antiquity, where the prejudices of his age precluded the separation of the genuine from the apocryphal, he nevertheless knew how to distinguish between truth and fable. Egyptian history itself, in its substantial integrity at least, was transmitted by him in a candid and intelligent spirit, as a sacred deposit of historical truths.

Within a century after his time we find in John Malalas[163] (about 900), the complete extinction of all

[163] Joh. Malalas Chronog. book i. end, and ii. init. (p. 16—26). Bonn. Comp. Chron. Pasc. p. 106. R. 14. 16. P.

Egyptian tradition, although in the midst of continual appeals to the much calumniated name of Manetho.

From this author, followed by Cedrenus, about 1050, and by a subsequent continuator of the "Chronicon Paschale," we learn how "the giant Nabrod (Nimrod), the son of Chus (Kush), the Ethiopian, of the race of Ham, built Babylon. Chronus ruled over Syria and Persia, the son of a certain Uranus, who reigned 56 years. His wife's name was Semiramis. He was succeeded by Ninus, the father of Zoroaster; after whom came Thuras, then Ares and Baal, to whom the first Stelæ were dedicated; then Lamis; then Sardanapalus, slain by a Persian. Picus, who is also Zeus, the brother of Ninus, reigned over Italy. After the death of Picus, his son Faunus reigned — also called Hermes. He visited Egypt, where Mestraim reigned, of the posterity of Ham. After his death the Egyptians made Hermes their king, who reigned over them 39 years."

"To him (3) succeeded Vulcan, who reigned 1680 days, or 4 years 7 months and three quarters. He was a severe lawgiver, and enacted a law against adultery. His son Helius (4) reigned 4477 days. As he had a very keen eyesight, he discovered an Egyptian woman in the act of adultery, and punished her, as was right, according to his father's law. It was from this event that Homer derived his instructive fable of Mars and Venus. But the learned Palæphatus has related the fact as it really occurred. His son Sosis (5) succeeded him, then Osiris (6), then Orus (7), and last of all, Thulis (8). The latter subdued the whole country as far as Ocean. In Africa he was vouchsafed a wise and providential oracle in hexameter verse, commencing as follows" (we endeavour to imitate the lameness of both versification and language):

"First of all comes God, then the Word, and then with them the Spirit."

"He was soon after killed."

"Manetho registered these primeval reigns of the Egyptian Kings. It is also stated in his writings that the five planets bore quite different names among the Egyptians. Saturn, they called the Enlightening; Jupiter, the Shining; Mars, the Fiery; Venus, the Loveliest; Mercury, the Sparkling.

"In later times, Sostris, of the descendants of Ham, was the first who reigned over Egypt (in the Chronicle, Sesostris). This conqueror brought 15,000 young Scythians to settle in Persia, where they still reside: the Persians call them Parthyâi; and they preserve their Scythian dialect to this day.

"Hermes Trismegistus lived under Sesostris. Pharaoh, who is likewise called Maracho (in the Chronicle, Nachor—Necho?), succeeded him on the throne, and from him sprung the kings who afterward successively reigned over Egypt."

With such an example before us of the rapid degradation of history into fiction, how can we wonder at those fables of our own middle ages, where Æneas and Ascanius appear as the ancestors of the Franks? In Germany also, history relapsed into fiction, during the same dark period. The realities of human existence were banished into the background, and historical fact denoted every thing except itself. Here, however, from the ruins of history a genial tradition arose, and was matured into the great national epos of the German races; and, even on the crumbling remains of the primeval Cimmerian world, a fair edifice of poetry, beaming with life, and love, and energy, was constructed. But lastly, there lay here in the bosom of dreamy time the germ of a New World; and, with the downfall of Byzantium, a light burst forth over the departed glories of Greece and Rome, by the rays of which the darkest pages of the past were destined ere long to be again brilliantly illumined.

## C.

### THE RESEARCHES OF WESTERN AND MODERN EUROPE INTO EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

#### I. THE RESEARCHES OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGERS. — JOSEPH SCALIGER, MARSHAM, PERIZONIUS, HEYNE, HEEREN, ZOEGA.

GOETHE has characterised chronology as one of the most difficult sciences, requiring a combination of distinct branches of knowledge, and the application of an extensive variety of mental faculties. The history of the revival of chronology in the 15th and 16th centuries is a striking proof of the correctness of this remark. Already, during a century and a half, historical research and general science, inspired, first, by the genius of poetry and art, and the universal longing of mankind after the past golden age of genuine virtue — afterwards by the zeal of the noblest intellects, in the pursuit of the noblest objects — had done much to rescue the more valuable remains of the ancient world from the havoc of the middle ages — when, towards the close of the 16th century, Joseph Scaliger commenced his great undertaking, the restoration of ancient chronology. In order to estimate aright the difficulty of the undertaking, and the grandeur of its success, we must first have clearly before us the circumstances under which it was commenced.

Down to that period, the scholars of Western Europe had contented themselves with St. Jerome's translation of the practical portion of the labours of Eusebius, namely, the Canon of Synchronisms. The key to that canon — the collection of original records, with the compiler's commentary on their contents — he had left untranslated. Manetho's Lists were unknown, and even that of Eratosthenes slumbered with the work of Syncellus in the obscurity of the Paris Royal Library.

Scaliger in searching for the first, discovered the second also, and published both in a critical form, after the Parisian MS. Manetho's Lists he gave after the tradition of Africanus. He calls them "a glorious and inestimable record," although he possessed no common standard by reference to which they could with any certainty be applied to his chronology, inasmuch as they reached back beyond the Flood, and even beyond his own first year of the World. This he assumed to be the year 3950, in conformity with the Hebrew text. As a common basis for the computation and comparison of epochs, he invented the progressive Julian period of 7980 years, the first year of which is 4713 B. C. But so thoroughly convinced was he that the primeval annals of Egypt extended far beyond the date thus assigned to the creation, that he required and introduced before the commencement of that epoch another, the last 971 years of which he claimed for the first four Dynasties of Manetho. Petavius, his learned theological and chronological antagonist, in his great work, published in 1627, consequently twenty-two years after the appearance of that of Scaliger, fell upon a shorter method. "That the Egyptian Dynasties are fabulous," he asserts, "and that the earliest in the list are fabrications, is self-evident; we have therefore so stated it in a few words." If this statement is meant for a proof, it still remains due, for he has advanced nothing but positive assertions in his comments on the Egyptian records.

After the death of Scaliger, in the year 1652, Syncellus was at length edited by Goar. The complete Lists of Manetho in Eusebius were at the same time brought to light, and could now therefore be collated with the critical Lists of the two most celebrated Alexandrian chronologers, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. What Scaliger had been unable to undertake, would perhaps have been accomplished by his successors,

had not the natural course of historical philosophy been in most countries of Europe impeded; and in France more especially, the cradle of historical criticism, almost totally obstructed by a series of wars and civil dissensions. Philosophical science, indeed, found a refuge in Holland and England; but the previous spirit of genial research and ardent zeal for original investigation had now given place to the mechanism of servile commentary, and an uncritical parade of scholastic learning. The consequence was that the precious gems, which lay concealed in the rubbish of Syncellus, remained unnoticed; while, on the other hand, the synchronistic system of that author and of Eusebius, with their whole train of wilful or unconscious falsehood and confusion passed for well-established canons of chronology. Even those wholly valueless impostures, the so-called Old Chronicle, with the Pseudo-Manetho of the Dog-Star, and the later Lists of Kings, which first came to light in Syncellus, met with consideration — at least for the time being — whenever they seemed to square with some favourite chronological theory, some theological or philological whim. Even before the year 1670, in which the great war of Egyptian chronology broke out, the pioneers and out-skirmishers had done much to complicate the difficulties of the campaign. Unable to extract, sift, and set apart from the promiscuous materials at their disposal the practical and tangible elements for future inquiry and illustration, they arbitrarily mixed up the whole in one confused and undistinguishable mass.

In the year above mentioned, Marsham brought out his *Canon Chronicus*. This work contained a chronology of eighteen centuries after the Flood, with a new plan of synchronistic arrangement. It was compiled with especial reference to Egypt, and submitted her Lists of Kings to a detailed examination. Much as he and his contemporary Spencer attributed to the influence of

Egyptian institutions upon Moses and the Law, he was but little inclined to meddle with the Dynasties. Although he admits that Petavius had brought forward no arguments either against them, or the views of Scaliger, he still flattered himself that he had found an easy and convenient method of dispensing with them, which appeared to him a most desirable object. His whole procedure betrays the spirit of a new period; pure truth is no longer the prize to be contended for, but the establishment of a convenient system. He begins by assuming that the Pseudo-Manetho of the Dog-Star is the historian of the Ptolemies, and admits the authenticity of the old chronicle. But then, as if such unwarranted authorities were still too good for him, he fastens on the very worst he could find, viz. the forgery of Syncellus, to which attention has above been directed! "How convenient is it," he remarks, "to disembarrass ourselves at once of the first 15 Dynasties of Manetho, and instead of them to have only 443 years with 15 kings! There remain besides 10 kings; and these make up the first of the 10 Dynasties with which Syncellus supplies us. This first Dynasty suits my purpose exactly—where Syncellus obtained it I do not inquire; for that he must be responsible." As to the other Dynasties, he does not certainly deny that they are a palpable corruption of the Lists of Africanus, as well as of those of Eusebius.[169] In closing his critical review with "how can we be sufficiently astonished at the indiscretion of this man!" he alludes to Syncellus, but describes his own proceeding with the nicest exactitude.

So much for Marsham's critical basis of primeval Egyptian history. In the historical period itself he has found a lever altogether worthy of such a fulcrum to assist in overturning the system of Scaliger. "The

[169] p. 6, 7. in the Leipzig edition.

Sesak of Scripture," he says, "is clearly the Sesostris of the Greeks, the Sesōthis of the Lists. The Shepherds were expelled; but then followed the indolent Kings, of whom, as was reported to Herodotus, there was nothing to notice worthy of record; then came that great conqueror, the 55th King of Egypt, and he is the Sesak of Scripture." As already observed, Josephus had attempted to mystify his Greek and Roman readers into the same belief. "Herodotus," he observes, "is quite correct as to the fact, that a great Egyptian conqueror subdued Palestine without striking a blow(!); he errs only in the name, for the Scriptures do not call him Sesostris, but Sesak, and that is his true name." Was he really in earnest? Whoever had Herodotus in his head or on his table had the means of testing the truth; but it sounded very pleasantly in the ears of the Jews and Vespasian, that he who first took Jerusalem was the conqueror of the world; even the words "without striking a blow" were not unskilfully used, albeit not very creditable to their author's forefathers.

Marsham's, then, was no new idea, and was the more unpardonable, that he turns it to serious account in aid of his attempt to remodel the whole Egyptian chronology. His chronological work created a great sensation, and encountered considerable opposition, especially his theory of Sesak-Sesostris. Jacob Perizonius, a professor of Leyden, was the first (in 1711) to avenge the cause of Scaliger and of science. His *Origines Egyptiacæ* is one of the most profound and ingenious productions of that century in the province of historical research. Among all the works on Egyptian antiquity, one only surpasses it in learning, that of Zoega on the Obelisks, which appeared at the end of the preceding century. Infinitely superior in talent and acuteness to the Danish investigator, Perizonius shares with him the fate of all those who attempt to steer the vessel of science upon a

mere sea of conjectures, without a single solid landing point." They successfully demolish the theories of their predecessors, but fall into the very same errors as soon as they attempt to establish any thing of their own. Thus Perizonius exultingly destroyed the loose web of Marsham's system, but fell at the same time himself into the strange error refuted or abandoned by all preceding critics — that the Hyksos really are the Jews, as Josephus asserted. He had probably been mainly instigated to the so ready adoption of this view by the assertion of Le Clerc — who, however presumptuous and superficial, was at that time both respected and feared — that Marsham (to whose general system Le Clerc had subscribed) had completely proved its absurdity. Perizonius knew very well that Marsham had proved nothing whatever; for his Egyptian chronology, prior to the year 1000 B.C., was palpably wrong, by from two to four centuries. With his historical tact he further perceived in the statements of Manetho a connexion between the Hyksos and the Jews, as to race, to time, and perhaps in their mode of leaving the country. The assertion, however, was not the less extravagant and false; but in the course of his investigations many important truths broke upon his mind. He was the first and only commentator who surmised that Manetho's lists of the 18th and 19th Dynasties had been adulterated. "The repetition of the same name at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty," he says, "renders this portion of the Lists very suspicious."[170]

The work of Perizonius may be described as the last critical analysis of Egyptian chronology before the late discoveries in hieroglyphics. From that period the inquiry passed from the province of the philologer into that of the general historian. His book must itself

[170] Orig. Egypt. p. 194. seqq.

have contributed to demonstrate the dangers of systematic theory in the old chronology of Egypt. Perizonius himself ventured upon no such analysis of either the Alexandrian or Manethonian Lists as would have sufficed to convince him of the unequivocal spuriousness of those of later date. To the succeeding investigators of Egyptian history nothing of the kind ever occurred. From that time scholars were divided into the two classes above mentioned. The one reconciled Manetho with the Bible, and more or less with Herodotus, by compressing or curtailing the dynasties to such an extent as suited their own theories, through the same expedients of synchronisms or contemporaneous epochs suggested by preceding chronologers. Such, for example, was the method followed by Gatterer, for I pass over altogether the labours of the Benedictines, as totally unworthy of the restorer of the Palæography and Chronology of the Middle Ages. This system of curtailment was prosecuted not only with that arbitrary license which, even under the most plausible show of adherence to truth, is the surest means both of missing and perverting it; but without so much as a pretence of critical illustration, either of the Lists themselves, or the history of their transmission. They followed Africanus, because it was evident that Eusebius deserved no confidence; which, however, did not prevent them from adopting his very worst dates whenever they suited their purpose. As little did they hesitate to set aside both authorities, by adding, or, more frequently, subtracting a hundred years or two from their numbers, where it appeared necessary for the adjustment of their own system.

The natural effect of such a course was to call forth a counter-movement on the part of the Hellenists. Larcher here took the lead in 1786. As the translator of Herodotus, he endeavoured not only to bring his author's Egyptian chronology into repute, but also to

restore it. His efforts indeed were as little likely to be successful as those of the opposite party. It must, however, be admitted, that a step was thus taken towards substituting a better system for the reckless license and fallacy of that which prevailed. It must never be forgotten that we are indebted to Larcher's penetration for the discovery and publication of a fragment of Theon, the astronomer, the great importance of which, as an aid to the restoration of Egyptian chronology, will be seen in our fourth book.

In the mean time, under the auspices of the illustrious Heyne, a school of philology and history sprung up in Göttingen, far superior to that of Ernesti, and which paved the way for the ultimate revival of true criticism in Germany and Europe. Heyne in all his writings, in the "Göttingen Journal" for example, in his review of the English Universal History, as well as in his lectures, dwelt strongly on the especial importance of testing the sources of history — of examining critically the authorities cited, and suspending the judgment where none were adduced. His treatise "On the Authorities of Diodorus" (1782) is the first specimen of judicious research into the sources of Egyptian history, and as such, remains unequalled. The Hellenist does not suffer himself to be led astray by his love for classical antiquity, nor the colleague of Meiners and Schlözer by false theories, so far as to deny the Lists of Manetho to be the most trustworthy testimony. He expressly warns his readers against attributing to Manetho the errors of careless epitomists and ignorant copyists.

Zoega, of whose work we shall treat in our investigations into the Egyptian language and monuments, and Heyne's own colleague, Heeren, followed in the same track. It is highly to the credit of the latter, that in the confusion of the times in which he lived, and amid the open scepticism that prevailed relative to all ancient authority, he has never once in his "Ideas" wandered

from the path of sound criticism, especially as regards Egypt. With very many of his statements as to that country and Ethiopia we can by no means agree. But we have abundance of proof that it is easier to cavil at, than to excel him.

It would be out of place here to enlarge upon our obligations to Heyne for having restored the method of rigid critical analysis in matters of history, and of combining the materials for such analysis from the whole body of antiquarian science. The time, perhaps, is not far distant when this obligation will be more generally appreciated. But it may perhaps be permitted to the writer of these pages gratefully to mention, that his own steps were guided towards the path of historical research by Heyne and Heeren, and that he received from them, who were at once his affectionate friends and kind patrons, the first lessons in historical criticism. Heeren's judgment (as expressed in the portion of his "Ideas" devoted to the subject) — upon the antiquity of Egyptian tradition — the importance of the writings of Manetho, and the absurdity of imputing to him ignorance of the extant history of his own nation — his wise deference to the authority of Scripture, and his warm veneration for Herodotus — his steady adherence to the reality of a Hyksos period, and the consequent tripartite division of the history of Egypt, form a most consolatory contrast to the arbitrary medley of Gatterer and the Hellenistic prejudice of Larcher. We may venture to add that they have essentially contributed to preserve Germany from the adoption of partial and arbitrary systems of chronology, upon which it now remains for us to say a few words.

In the first class of arbitrary chronologers are those who in the past and present century have attempted a gratuitous addition to chronology and the human race of several thousand years, without any reference whatever to the Egyptians. The first such attempt came

from the French missionaries and men of science, with China as their stronghold. Great credit is indeed due to them for having called attention to the existence of the Chinese books of history, and the incontrovertible proof of the antiquity of civilisation among that extraordinary people. Their historical books were translated, and exhibited a regular chronology, extending back three thousand years B. C., without any trace of the fabulous dates proper to astronomical cycles. Theologians scarcely knew whether they had most reason to be gratified or shocked at this discovery. They were well satisfied that what the world would no longer credit from them should be established by records; namely, that chronology, civilisation, writing, and science do not date from yesterday, as the rigidly Hellenistic school had at all times a strong inclination to assume and inculcate. But when an attempt was made to go considerably beyond the epoch of Abraham, which the theologians fancied they knew for certain, they became alarmed at the waters of the deluge, to which they found themselves so much nearer than their brethren of the Eastern church. Much useless controversy ensued on the subject, till the sneers of Voltaire put an end to the dispute, or at least till it lost its scientific interest. This could hardly fail soon to be the case; for it could not be concealed that China was signally deficient in authentic contemporaneous monuments of any period prior to the historical commencement of connected Hebrew chronology, the standard era of Scripture history. But besides this, the country, the name, the actions and character of the Chinese were wholly unconnected with the rest of the world, and consequently failed to create any sympathy in the European mind. The chasm which separates China from the origin or history of the nations, whose advancement in civilisation is traced on the page of universal history, yawned darkly and dismally before the investigator and the

reader. There were consequently few persons sufficiently interested to inquire whether the unknown names and renownless annals of the Chinese really did reach back to the commencement of the 3rd, or even to the close of the 4th millennium before our era. European enthusiasm for Chinese literature limited itself to the study of Confucius, the sage of the 6th century B. C., and the computations as to the flood remained as they had been fixed in the 17th century, contrary to the wish of Scaliger, partly by accident, and in all cases without any tenable grounds, in the schools and heads of theologians.

The chronology and monumental remains of India seemed to hold out brighter hopes to the one party, and more serious cause of apprehension to the other. This was especially the case from the period when the brilliant genius of Frederic Schlegel took up the series of Sanscrit researches already long pursued in Calcutta by Jones and Wilford, and tested their results by the standard of universal history and by the new light of German philosophical criticism, enlivening his labours with the charm of elegant style, and with versions of popular passages from the Indian poets. Here a nation was brought to light, speaking the language of the race who conquered and civilised the world, a race which, as Indians, Medes and Persians, as Hellenes and Romans, as Germans and Sclavonians, had during thousands of years rolled down the great channel of the stream of human migration; a nation distinguished for primitive wisdom, a profound code of laws, and possessing equally primitive monuments, and records of their influence on the other great nations of antiquity. Their historical period began coeval almost with that of the Chinese, towards the 30th century before our era. The Egyptian problem seemed at last to be solved, civilisation of Egypt was derived from [redacted] Meroe incontestably from India.

nation, as compared with the modern Hellenes, the empire of Egypt was of course younger than that of India. So at least Van Bohlen (in 1830!) still represents the matter. If proof be required, but a poor case can be made out. The Brahmin and Hindù party at this hour leave the Egyptian language entirely out of the question, as an impracticable subject — even now that Champollion's grammar has demonstrated to the satisfaction of every competent scholar the grammatical identity of the Egyptian and Coptic languages. Their own system of philology would indeed soon lead this party to admit the higher antiquity of the Egyptian. As to the boasted primeval antiquity of the Indian buildings they have begun to lower their tone, and that assigned to the written records of the nation fluctuates to the extent of a thousand years. But the weakest part of the whole case is the Indian historical chronology. Whether from a want of historical judgment in the Hindùs themselves, or the faults of those by whom the course of Indian research has hitherto been directed, the fact is, that a critical examination of their Lists of Kings, although in themselves to all appearance quite authentic, barely carries us back with certainty to the Augustan age. An interesting discovery, lately made by Prinsep, seems indeed still further to extend our knowledge to the age of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ; but that we should ever be able to reach the Olympic era, still less to the fountain-head of authentic Hebrew chronology, but little hope can, at least from present appearance, be entertained; while the chasm which lies between Menu and the commencement of the Kali-jug is such as to exclude all reasonable expectation of its being ever filled up. One fact at least is certain, that the primeval history of Egypt finds neither elucidation nor [redacted] contact in the Annals, Lists, or Monuments of [redacted] with the first steps in the progress of

modern hieroglyphical discovery (in 1823), Dr. Prichard, one of the most acute and learned investigators of his time, had once more vindicated the claims of Egypt to a primeval chronology, and suggested a collation of the Lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho, as the true method of elucidating the earliest period. In his work on Egyptian chronology and mythology he shows that the continually recurring coincidences which they offer cannot be accidental, and that the Lists of the former must represent a chronological canon. These suggestions, promulgated on the very eve of hieroglyphical discovery, far surpass in practical value the similar attempt on the part of Rask[171], who, though an acute critic, was little versed in historical inquiry, and was still ignorant of the hieroglyphic system, when, eleven years later, he undertook to reconcile the same two authorities. Egypt remained as before, a sealed book, and her chronology altogether unserviceable.

Such was the state of Egyptian chronological science at the period when Champollion presented himself before the monuments of the nation with his Hieroglyphical Alphabet in his hand and deciphered the names of her Kings.

### II. THE RESEARCHES OF THE EGYPTOLOGERS: CHAMPOLLION AND THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN SCHOOL — ROSELLINI — THE ENGLISH SCHOOL, SALT, BURTON, FELIX (LORD PRUDHOE), WILKINSON.

THE chronological views of Champollion have been so often and so variously attacked, and almost every one of them must be so decidedly combated in the course of this work, that it becomes the more necessary to explain the ground on which we feel justified, nevertheless, in pronouncing him in history as well as philology the father of the new critical school of

171 Rask. The ancient Egypt. Chronology, translated ... Altona, 1830.

Egyptian research. Between his system of chronology and his character as a man of science, an interesting parallel may be traced. In each the faults of detail lie on the surface—in each the internal excellence and greatness of the whole are concealed from the eye of the superficial observer. Many of his opponents have attacked him without possessing any acquaintance with the subject; many with the weapon of presumptuous knowledge or false learning. Their names will never reach posterity. The errors and faults of Champollion will be ascribed to the decline of the French school of classical philology, after the death or banishment of Scaliger and its other great masters; while his own comprehensive views and discoveries will be attributed to the superiority of his genius, and the unaided efforts of his noble intellect. These remarks are dictated by a no less powerful sense of conviction than of heartfelt gratitude; for we enjoyed the happiness of his personal acquaintance, and of learning from him the first rudiments of hieroglyphic lore at the foot of the obelisks at Rome.

Especial credit is due to Champollion for his efforts to apply his discoveries at once to the purpose of historical research, instead of wasting his time in mere verbal quibbles or visionary speculations. And what he effected was no trifling matter, if we consider the low state in which he found ancient chronology generally, more especially as regards the history of Egypt. Zoega had already clearly proved that previous researches had done nothing for the times anterior to Solomon; that a wide chasm intervened before the latter chronology again assumed a coherent shape in the time of Psammetichus, and that it was not till the age of Cambyses that it began to acquire consistency and certainty by the establishment of synchronistic epochs. [redacted] the primeval period, we have seen already [redacted] props of the old system, one after

another, were broken down, involving in the same ruin a considerable portion of the later history of the world, which they were then supposed firmly to support. Champollion with the Royal Rings in one hand, transmitted to him in great numbers from both Europe and Egypt on the first announcement of his discovery, and with the hieroglyphical alphabet which he was forming in the other, boldly grappled with the—then almost exploded—Lists of Manetho, and with the names of the Pharaohs in the Bible and the Greek writers. Here his system was to be established or annihilated, together with all his hopes of restoring the chronology of Egypt.

But not only in the zeal of his historical research did Champollion surpass Dr. Young, who had outstripped him in the discovery of the Phonetic signs, but also in its results. In the first edition of his *Précis* (1824) he demonstrated that the Monuments as well as Lists reach back to the contemporaries of Solomon, and that the combination of the two supplied a basis for the criticism of the latter. He also shed a ray of light on the glorious epoch of the primeval empire, by reading on the obelisks at Rome the Royal Rings of Ramses, Tuthmōsis and others. It would be ungenerous to taunt him, immersed as he then was in his hieroglyphical discoveries, with having declined to undertake a task which had long been treated by other celebrated investigators with a degree of neglect amounting to an entire abandonment. He accepted therefore this important element of research as it was offered to him. His brother Champollion-Figeac, however, whose studies had previously been devoted to other departments of Egyptian chronology, undertook this portion of the work; but fell, unhappily, at the outset, as we have already intimated, into an error pregnant with the most fatal results to Egyptian chronology. The point, indeed, is one of such importance as to demand a few words [illegible]

The discoverer of the hieroglyphic art did not sufficiently appreciate those invaluable data which the historical synchronisms from Cambyses back to Rehoboam—or deep into the tenth century, B.C.—supplied, for the illustration of the lists, or the restoration of a great part of Egyptian, and, indeed, of universal history. He overlooked the fact that this system of synchronisms must be the touchstone for testing the value of the names and numbers of those lists, or, rather, the basis on which to erect any connected framework of primeval chronology. The two brothers sought such a basis in another direction. The highest of those synchronisms reached but to the decline of that empire which they were anxious to bring within the province of history. The reign of the son of Solomon was many centuries posterior to the more glorious dynasties of Pharaohs, the restoration of which Europe demanded—partly in mockery, and partly with anxious expectation—as the price of her conditional belief in the reality and value of the hieroglyphical discoveries.

May there not (asked Champollion-Figeac) be some point in Egyptian history itself coincident with certain astronomically established phases of the celestial bodies? If so, a completely new field would be opened for Egyptian research in those periods where the greatest importance must attach to its successful results. In following out this seductive object he was (owing to a thorough philological blunder, as we have seen) led to assume that the notice in the anonymous List of Syncellus, relative to a certain King Koncharis, gave us the wished for relation between the old Egyptian history and the commencement of the Sothiac cycle, ascertained to have coincided with the year 1322 B.C. If the reign of Koncharis, the last King of the Old Empire, ended 700 [redacted] before that astronomical epoch, the reign of the [redacted] Kings began 2082, and the 18th dynasty [redacted] 1822 years before our era. This sup- [redacted]ded as it was with singular

ingenuity, seemed as it were to lift the inquirer on a secure basis of incontrovertible astronomical data, far above the drudgery of diffuse and obscure historical disquisition—and if the Sesostridæ were placed so high, there seemed to be the more room for the overwhelming number of Kings and years in the lists of the 18th and 19th dynasties. By these considerations, and especially by the desire at once to dress up these Dynasties in the garb of history, the younger brother also was induced without closer inquiry to adopt that calculation as the basis of his letters from Turin to the Duke de Blacas, as well as of his Hieroglyphic Manual.

This precipitancy, however, was productive of the most mischievous results to Egyptian research, to Champollion, and to his school. As a consequence of the above assumption, he placed the beginning of the 18th Dynasty two centuries and a half too early, the period of 600 years between Sheshonk, the contemporary of Rehoboam and Amos, being necessarily prolonged by the same extent. This, however, tallied exactly with the worst versions of the Lists of Manetho, and in this way he was misled into a fatal collision with the true Scripture chronology, and, indeed, with the whole chain of ancient history, from deference to corrupt and adulterated registers, the interpolations in which would otherwise have been perfectly clear to him from the Tablet of Abydos. But it was precisely by this corruption of the lists that he was able to fill up the vacant space, representing an altogether imaginary period, in an apparently appropriate manner.

It thus became impossible for him to identify the great Sesostris-Ramesses among the Kings of Manetho, for, as we shall see in the third book, the lists to which he appealed presented the name not once only, but several times.

In however brilliant a light, therefore, the [redacted] Champollion may have been displayed [redacted]

tions of these letters, his efforts to attain the main object he had in view could not but prove abortive.

In the mean time the English critics and travellers were endeavouring to reach the truth by another path. It had not escaped their notice on the spot that the Ramesses-Miamun of the monuments could not possibly be the 16th successor of the Amos, between whose Ring and that of the conqueror, so well known by the Stelæ, there are but ten Kings on the Tablet of Abydos. Salt, Burton, Wilkinson, and Felix, in Egypt, and Gell at Rome, afterwards established that Royal Tablet as the pivot of their investigations, and thus sought to effect the desired restoration of the 18th and 19th Dynasties. The beneficial results of their exertions cannot be too highly appreciated; for while historical critics by profession, both in England and Germany, with the exception of Niebuhr, partly from indolence or indifference, partly from timidity, abstained from those preliminary labours and researches which more especially belonged to their province, those travellers visited every part of Egypt and Nubia, and even the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula, in their zeal to secure the completest possible collection of Royal Rings of the Pharaohs, scattered about in every direction, or buried in sand and rubbish. Gell, on his part, was not deterred by his afflicting state of health from arranging and elucidating the materials supplied, or from zealously animating his friends to renewed researches. The results, as bearing on the chronology or succession of Dynasties and reigns for that period, are before the public in Wilkinson's *Materia Hieroglyphica* (Malta, 1828), and in the Lists of Pharaohs of Col. Felix, Lord Prudhoe's travelling companion, which, though written in 1828, were first published in 1836.

These investigations had at an early period aroused [illegible]'s attention to the gaps and errors in his [illegible]ugh not to the cause in which they [illegible] anxious himself to institute

further researches on the spot, and to refresh his views by inspection of the monuments themselves. Through the liberality, no less than the influence of his illustrious patron, he obtained at length, in June 1828, the means of gratifying his ardent wishes. In that and the following year he composed the letters which appeared first in fragments, and afterwards in 1833 in a complete shape, and which contained his last written communication upon the re-adjustment of those Dynasties. Death, alas! hurried him away before he had time to mature the new series of investigation there sketched out. The letters, as they are before us, are full of contradictions, especially upon the most important point — flaws so self-evident, as to furnish the enemies of Champollion and his views a ready handle for detracting from his credit, or excusing their own ignorance. We shall call attention hereafter to a suggestion hastily thrown out in a moment of happy divination in one of his last letters, as reflecting in the truest and fullest light the real views on the subject at large to which he had been led by an impartial study of the monuments. So little further progress, however, had he made in the details of the investigation, that, shortly before his death, he did not hesitate to approve and adopt, as the basis of their intended common work, a scheme of chronology proposed by Rosellini, which, while partially corrected as regards the personality of Sesostris, and some other subordinate points, was substantially the same as that originally promulgated by himself.

We have still a few remarks to offer on the system of his able and excellent friend and pupil, Ippolito Rosellini [172], as expounded in the work published by himself

[172] Alas! since the above was written, this amiable and excellent man, and honest critic, has been hurried away by an early death from his country and from science. His name will ever hold an honourable position among the students and proficients of art during this century; and his Egyptian monuments will remain indispensable to the lovers of Egyptian antiquity and art, not only on account of the beauty of their execution, but their fidelity and truth. We had

alone, after the death of his master, and which has so greatly redounded to his own honour and that of Italy. The point of view from which judgment must in fairness be passed upon this, the historical portion of it, cannot well be mistaken. Monuments, invaluable not only for the history of art, but for the universal history of mankind, were after Champollion's death committed as it were to his charge.[173] A collected edition and practical illustration of them were indispensable in order to awaken that warmer interest in Egyptian research which as yet lay dormant, and to secure to the disciples of the new school, or to the general student of ancient history and philology, courage and materials for a combined effort to realise the treasure with which the discovery of the hieroglyphic art had enriched our generation. We have already shown in a general way that the preparatory labours in philology, criticism and history, essential to the construction of an Egyptian chronology for this period, are by no means complete; that on the contrary, the greater part of these are still in a very backward state, of which we shall not fail to adduce substantial proof in the sequel. It was neither Rosellini's vocation nor his object to undertake these

hoped for the completion of this work from Padre Ungarelli, the Bernabite, the careful and learned editor of the Roman Obelisks, who has lately followed Rosellini to the tomb. The Monumenti were published complete (400 plates fol.) during his lifetime; the text (in 8vo) of the Mon. Storici appeared from 1832 to 1841 (vols. i. ii. iii. A.B. iv.); that of the Mon. Civili in three volumes (1834–36); that of the Mon. del Culto has been published from his papers, since his death, in one volume (1844). The tenth volume, containing general indices to the Monuments and the text, is preparing for publication by Dr. Bardelli, of the University of Pisa.

[173] A French edition of them has since appeared in Paris. The arrangement of it is purely topographical, while that of the Italian work represents the monuments in the order of history, customs, and religion: Monumens de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, exécutés d'après les desseins de Champollion le Jeune. Printed at the expense of the government. Up to the present time, 4 vols. fol. of copperplates (1837–1845), and four numbers of text in small fol. (1847).

preliminary labours. They would indeed have been incompatible with the practical importance of his undertaking, and the views and wishes of a benevolent government for the immediate publication of his great work. When therefore we express our conviction that his chronological system is essentially as groundless as the one adopted by Champollion as the basis of his labours, we have still detracted but little from the intrinsic value of that excellent work. Every critical reader must indeed readily perceive that this system was but a temporary framework for his proposed chronological and historical arrangement of the Egyptian monuments, and that it never can be satisfactory as a permanent one. We can imagine the possibility of the Lists of Manetho often giving a name, which is not that of the monuments; and of this we shall have to cite examples in the course of our inquiry. They may perhaps occasionally introduce a surname instead of the monumental name, or even a Greek or Hellenised name which does not belong to the monuments, and yet be at the same time in harmony with them. But we cannot suppose this possible if an equally well known monumental name, but that of another King, is made to correspond in the lists to the name of the monuments; if, for example, Amos is made to correspond with Amenōphis, and Amenōphis with Tuthmōsis. Either all hope of a critical solution of the difficulty must here be abandoned, or some error or falsification of the lists is to be assumed.

The path therefore pursued by the English travellers is apparently the surer one; but even it is by no means satisfactory. In the first place, the succession of Kings on the monuments still extant only reaches from Amos, the chief of the 18th, to Ramesses, the most prominent point in the 19th Dynasty. With regard therefore to the time prior to that epoch, those inquirers stand on the same rŏugh and unsafe ground as Champollion and Rosellini. But in the second place, even as regards the period where they wholly or chiefly follow the old series

of royal succession, they have plainly abandoned, together with the order and number of the Kings, the dates also of the individual reigns. Hence they became involved in still grosser self-contradiction than the French and Italian critics, wherever they are under the necessity, in spite of their own system, of availing themselves of these same dates and lists. The necessity of any preparatory criticism or study of the Lists or Manetho had as little occurred to them as to the others; nor were the professional men of learning among their countrymen at pains to make good the deficiency.

Up to the present moment, then, no one has proposed to himself the preliminary questions, which it has been our object to answer in the previous investigation: How did these Lists originate? How were they transmitted to us? What connexion may there be between the Dynasties and Eratosthenes — between them both and the actual succession of Kings? What is a Dynasty in Manetho's sense? Do the sums total belong to Manetho, Africanus, or Syncellus? While in the researches of those English critics the Kings mentioned by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus are not deemed worthy of the slightest notice, the miserable trash of the old Chronicle and the anonymous Lists of Syncellus has been treated even with deference. While therefore in the classical works of Sir Gardner Wilkinson [174] we possess perhaps a more extensive and accurate insight into the social, civil, and domestic habits of the Egyptians, than in the case even of the parallel branches of classical archæology; while the full development of the history of Egyptian fine art, and the settlement of its various epochs, also await but the establishment of a consistent system of chrono-

[174] Topography of Thebes, London, 1835. Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1837. Second Series, 2 vols. and a vol. of plates. London, 1841. The chronological notices contained in these works are repeated in the more recent publication of the author, Modern Egypt and Thebes, 2 vols. 8vo.

logy — it is precisely this latter important head of the subject that remains involved in obscurity, beyond the period where light is thrown upon it by the Jewish annals.

The dates suggested for the Dynasty, under which the Exodus took place, vary by three centuries; nor has so much as an attempt been made to investigate the period of the Hyksos; so that the Old Empire is separated from the New by an immeasurable chasm. The fundamental views of Champollion as to the tripartite division of Egyptian history, and his faithful adherence to the high and demonstrable antiquity of the Egyptian empire and Egyptian writing, are and will remain the most important results derived during the last 20 years from the researches of Egyptologers in the historical department of their subject.

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WE have endeavoured to point out the sources of Egyptian chronology, and to illustrate the historical and chronological contents of the existing Records, which derive from them. We have considered the Lists of Manetho as extracts from his historical work, although without the chronological key or canon. The criticism of Eratosthenes furnished such a key for the Old Empire, that of Apollodorus for the Middle. We have attempted in our historical survey, and in connexion with the data of Scripture, to explain why all efforts to restore the chronology have hitherto failed, and we have analysed in connexion with the Scriptural dates and epochs the labours of previous inquirers devoted to that object. The path therefore to be pursued in the examination of the monuments and other records, is clearly marked out for us; and the Egyptian chronology itself must be restored before we can venture to deal with the Synchronisms. But before embarking upon this part of our subject, our attention is called to the primeval period and sources of Egyptian civilisation.

## SECTION IV.

### ON EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR.

### INTRODUCTION.

#### THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE PRIMEVAL PERIOD.

We have endeavoured in the first three sections of this book to determine approximatively the extent of the historical period of Egypt from Menes to Alexander, during which it possessed a fixed, connected chronology. The high antiquity and importance of that chronology in its bearing on Universal History have been shown, in so far as proof was competent, apart from a critical analysis of its details, or of the monuments on which it rests. The ravages to which it has been exposed during so many thousand years have been demonstrated; while the results accruing from the laudable exertions of the Greeks, as well as of the Christians of the Eastern and Western Churches, towards its restoration, with the value of that portion which they have succeeded in rescuing, have been elucidated. Lastly, the method has been pointed out by which, since the discovery of the hieroglyphic art, our own and all future researches must be guided towards the acquisition of that treasure which has now been so long and so vainly sought for.

It has also, we trust, been made evident in the course of this preliminary view of our subject, that it is not, as usually supposed, a mere dry chronology that has been preserved, while all real historical substance has perished. Did history take no account of intellectual culture, in art, sciences, and customs — were it limited to a mere pragmatical exposition of wars and

conquests, or, in a general sense, of the external life of a nation, the historical materials for filling up the outline of the Egyptian annals during so many centuries would certainly fall most lamentably short. A large portion of the detail of what is called the historical tradition of the Egyptians, must be referred to the province of legend and popular tale; and the frail edifice raised partly upon these, and partly upon a misunderstanding of the Bible narratives, which has been dignified with the title of Egyptian chronology and history prior to Psammetichus, thus falls entirely to the ground. The residue of historical reality reduces itself to little more than what we learn incidentally from the monuments; which, however, certainly is considerably more than the scoffers at hieroglyphical research have supposed. But we have already, in the Introduction, discarded the above pitiable view of history as unworthy of our age, and of the object of this work; it were, therefore, but a waste of time further to allude to it.

While treading the sacred ground of the primeval period — that is, of the times anterior to Egyptian, and, therefore, to all chronology — we have a strong temptation to overstep the limits of our present inquiry, and to soar to a height from which the importance of that period may be discerned, and the way to its complete elucidation, that is, its connexion with universal history, may be pointed out. But the plan of our work constrains us to abide within the immediate province of Egyptian history. The Egyptian primeval period can be elucidated but in one way — by connecting its monuments with the development of universal history: but this view of the subject is postponed to the fifth book. We shall here be contented with a few words of introduction to the following practical exposition of the Egyptian records of that primitive epoch.

The life of all those nations who form a part of history oscillates, during the primeval period, between

two poles, by the reciprocal action of which the feeling of a national existence is developed. One of these poles is language, the other, religion. By means of the former individual objects are connected with the images they excite in the human mind, and a continuous, conscious perception of them becomes possible. By the latter the intercourse between the human mind and the centre of all being and all thought is regulated and sustained. Without language there can be no religion, and without the intuitive consciousness of a God there can be no connexion between the *essence* and the *modes* of Being — consequently, no proposition or affirmation, no word, and no language. Without the two, religion and language, no science, no art, no sense of human community can exist, therefore no development of civil polity, no history.

In this ancient epoch there can be no chronology, for chronology implies the consciousness of a past and a future, which can only form a sequel to the primeval period, the first step in advance from it. The primitive time can only be computed by epochs — strata, as it were, of previous formations, from whence the fertile soil of authentic history is produced.

Its records are language and mythology — its poetical monuments, which are also its grave-stones, are popular ballads and legends, containing traditions of the reigns of the Gods, years of the Gods, and narratives of the miracles and exploits performed by Gods, Heroes, and Ancestors.

Let us here be clearly understood. In this primeval epoch of Egyptian history we do not attempt to discover the mysterious import of tales and legends, nor offer interpretations — whether ingenious or the reverse — of astronomical subtleties, and astrological chimeras: neither do we contemplate any addition to the existing stores of etymological artifice, in order to impart plausibility to this or that theory, as to the origin of

the nation. The objects of our inquiry are language and mythology themselves — records more valuable than all others that exist of the history of the old world — primeval facts, upon which all later facts are based. Our method of treating them will, however, be the same as that pursued in examining the sources of chronological history. The records and facts themselves will be exhibited in a distinct, and, in all essential respects, an integral form, and in one intelligible to every class of readers.

Our inquiry, therefore, will be threefold. The first of the three following sections will treat of the language, in the state of development in which we find it soon after the beginning of the reign of Menes; the second of their written characters; the former the earliest, the latter the most recent fact of the primeval time, bordering on the commencement of the historical period. The mythology of the primeval period, which forms the third branch of our inquiry, intervenes between the two. Chronology, both on external and internal grounds, requires the existence of written characters. With writing, the nation, already Egyptian in language and religious feelings, advanced to that complete consciousness of their connexion with universal history, which constitutes the essence of chronology. In this respect, likewise, the Egyptians stand forth pre-eminently as the monumental people of the world. In the first stage we find a system of language capable of being completely restored, and combining more important data for investigating the development of human speech than that of any other nation. In the second we meet with a system of divine cosmogony, which likewise owes its origin to the primeval times of history. From the third we obtain a system of writing no less remarkable in its bearings on universal history, and with which the empire of Menes becomes historical. Our plan of analysis in respect to all these records will be based on a

rigid critical distinction between their epoch of primeval aboriginal existence, and their later more complete historical development.

The full verification of the results of this analysis must be sought in that portion of our inquiry which is necessarily reserved for the fifth book. What we are here about to offer must—like our previous observation—be considered rather as a mere practical exposition of the system, than as an attempt to establish it on any firm philosophical basis.

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## A.

### HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE—ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES—AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS.

There is palpable proof that the Old Egyptian language, in so far as yet known or investigated, was in its essential element a legacy, inherited by Menes and his empire, from their forefathers. We possess monuments from the 3rd down to the 12th Dynasty (the last but one of the Old Empire), and in particular of the 4th, 6th, and 12th. In all these we find the same language and writing, differing in but a few slight details of grammar and construction, from those of the New Empire, especially during its two first and most celebrated Dynasties, the 18th and 19th. To elucidate these remains of the primeval times is the object of our present section.

The identity of the more ancient and more recent Egyptian language was unanimously admitted by the Fathers of the Church. But Josephus had also previously remarked the difference between the "Sacred Dialect" and the ordinary language. All sacred language is, however, essentially nothing but an earlier stage of the popular dialect, preserved by means of the sacred books. Such are the Hebrew as contrasted

with the so-called Chaldee — the old Hellenic in the Greek Church, with modern Greek — the Latin with the Romanic, and the ancient with the modern Sclavonic languages. It does not indeed follow that the more modern idiom is everywhere the immediate offspring of the sacred language: the true connexion between the two is most conspicuously exemplified in the Romanic and Sclavonic. The "common dialect" of the Egyptians therefore is not necessarily the immediate descendant of the sacred language of this nation: yet the distinction between them may be merely dialectical, for we meet with no trace of any further subdivision of national interests than that between Upper and Lower Egypt. The conclusion, therefore, is, that the dialect of the Christian Egyptians, or Copts, is but the younger branch of the Egyptian language, the latest form of the popular dialect, although, from the age of the Ptolemies downwards, mixed with Greek words and forms, and, since the third or fourth century, written with an alphabet, containing only five old Egyptian, in addition to the twenty-four principal Greek letters. This was the view entertained by the more distinguished men of letters who at the period of the revival of learning devoted any attention to Egyptian antiquity. The German Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, was, however, the first who by the publication of his *Prodromus Ægyptiacus* at Rome, in the year 1636, and of the *Lingua Ægyptiaca restituta* in 1643, gained the credit of compiling a vocabulary, however defective and inaccurate, of the Coptic language.[175] In this compilation he availed himself of the Coptic and Arabic dictionaries of Semnudi, and of an Arabo-Coptic grammar and a few Coptic texts, which Pietro della Valle had brought to Rome, together with the collections of

[175] Upon this and what follows, see the admirable disquisition of *Etienne Quatremère*, Recherches critiques et historiques sur la langue et la litérature de l'Egypte, Paris, 1808, p. 48.

Peiresc. But his fallacious interpretation of the inscriptions on the Obelisks led him, not only to assign erroneous meanings to Coptic words, but also to introduce words, which no one knew so well as himself to be purely fictitious. Salmasius turned these labours to ingenious account in explaining several Egyptian words, which had been transmitted by the ancients. Although there were in Europe, especially at Rome and Paris, MSS. of the old and valuable Coptic version of the New Testament, and though there were always Coptic priests resident at Rome, yet no school of Coptic philology was instituted till the beginning of the 18th century. This merit belongs to Prussian theologians. The founder was David Wilkins, who published the New Testament at Oxford (1716), and the Pentateuch (1730). He instructed Jablonski, and furnished La Croze, a Protestant clergyman, with his copies of Coptic books. The latter compiled a Coptic dictionary, but never succeeded in publishing it. The MS. was sent to Leyden. Here Scholtz, a preacher of Berlin, had it copied by Woide, a Pole by birth, and the minister of the German Chapel Royal at St. James's. Woide subsequently applied himself with great success to farther researches under the patronage of George III., and in 1775 published La Croze's dictionary in a much improved shape. His edition of the fragments of the Theban translation of the New Testament (Oxford, 1799) gave us the first authentic acquaintance with that dialect.

Among the professors of this school Jablonski was the most successful in applying the Coptic language to the interpretation of Egyptian names.[176] His explanation of all the existing names of Egyptian Gods and Kings, and of other words in the ancient language, accomplished all that was then possible. But although the Coptic in its national elements adheres even more closely to the Old Egyptian than the modern Greek to

[176] Pauli Ern. Jablonskii Opuscula, ed. Te Water. Lugd. Batav. 1804. 3 vols. 8vo.

the Hellenic, still any attempt to explain Egyptian words by the Coptic would be less successful, than to decipher Homer by the aid of popular ballads in modern Greek. Even a vocabulary of the ancient tongue, unillustrated by hieroglyphic texts, would, as will be seen in the sequel, give a very unsatisfactory idea of the words. Add to this, that the Coptic language employs both in composition and flexion a number of particles which do not exist in the Egyptian, and prefixes both article and personal pronouns to the commencement of nouns and verbs, whereas the old language appends them at the close. We cannot be surprised therefore that the greater part of these interpretations should now have turned out fallacious.*

Among the contemporaries of this school, we must not forget the Coptic priest, Tuki, settled at Rome, where he published the Psalter in 1744, and a Coptic grammar, translated from the Arabic, in 1778.

The first comprehensive scheme for the publication of Coptic manuscripts was that set on foot by the Danish philologer and antiquary, Zöega, at Rome, where the treasures of the Vatican library, and especially the collections of Cardinal Borgia, offered a rich mine for the study of the language. This undertaking was dictated by that zeal for Egyptian archæological research to which his Coptic collections, and profoundly learned work on the Roman obelisks (1792), bear so noble a testimony. Since that time the knowledge of the Coptic language has been materially advanced by means of the dictionaries (1835) and grammars (1830-1841) of Tattam and Peyron, especially those of the last-mentioned accomplished critic. The discovery made within the last few years — chiefly through the efforts of Tattam and the protestant missionary, Lieber, at Cairo — of the whole of the Old Testament, excepting the books of Samuel

* Parthey's Vocabulary (1844) is most useful as a handbook.

and Kings (which have not yet been brought to light), holds out the hopes of a speedy addition to, and correction of, the Coptic vocabulary. The two introductory volumes to Schwartze's great Egyptian work [177] consist, besides the history of Egyptian philological science down to Champollion's death, chiefly of researches into the Coptic; and his critical editions of the Psalter and Gospels, form an important epoch in the study of that language.

In respect, however, to the genuine Old Egyptian dialect, as distinct from the Coptic, the discovery of the hieroglyphic art, to which our attention will be turned in the following section, was a preliminary step, indispensable to any sound system of further research. It may also be remarked that the success of any such system depended on the method pursued by Champollion, in his analysis of the monuments; and above all, on the collation of hieroglyphic texts containing the same subject matter, with each other, and with the hieratic MSS. It may no doubt naturally appear to many something like arguing in a circle, to talk of discovering a language to a certain extent unknown, by means of a written character the knowledge of which is completely lost, and which as soon as we advance beyond certain names of Kings, is itself dependent for its own confirmation and completion on the very language which it is to be the means of restoring. But the genius of Champollion cut this circle in twain by means of two arguments, of which he availed himself with extraordinary ability. First, he maintained, and in general with great justice, that the Egyptian roots and forms are preserved in the Coptic. He next — as a substitute for bilinguar inscriptions, of which the Rosetta stone and the

177 Dr. M. G. Schwartze, Ancient Egypt, or the Language, History, Religion, and Constitution of Ancient Egypt. First part: Exposition of the principal systems of deciphering the three ancient Egyptian characters. Leipz. Barth. At present only two sections in 2183 double-columned pages in quarto are published.

Turin Stelæ still remained the only examples, endeavoured to extract materials for the restoration of the language itself from the Funereal Papyri, which are written partly in pure hieroglyphics, partly in the character of the hieratic books. For instance, as a word may be written by its own type or symbol, as well as by that of its sound, i. e. of its syllables and letters; and as again there are different signs for almost every sound, all that is here requisite is to compare the various ways of writing one and the same word. The Phonetic sign gives the word — the symbolic generally represents the object expressed by the word, and therefore gives its meaning. If this be once ascertained, it becomes probable at least, that any other Phonetic group, written by the side of the same symbolic character, although all the signs may not be known, expresses the same word. Now the monuments offer various opportunities of making these comparisons; for they frequently present — especially in the tombs of the 12th Dynasty at Benihassan — exact pictures of the objects indicated by the annexed Phonetic signs — as beasts, plants, and the like. Thus we obtain alternately figure for sound, and sound for figure. In such cases the Coptic, as a general rule, faithfully retains that sound for the same object, or at least gives the root, from which its meaning can easily be explained. This is a fact of which any one may now convince himself without difficulty. To the above may be added two other singularly favourable circumstances. Among the Egyptian characters there are, as we shall see in the sequel, a number of generic, or *determinative* signs, indicating that a word written either phonetically or symbolically, denotes an animal, a plant, a metal, mineral, &c.; or defines a particular mode of acting or being — such as transitive verbs — or actions, whether violent or gentle, or such as are connected with speaking, lighting, burning, and the like. By means of these

signs also, collated with the Coptic word of corresponding signification, and with the kindred phonetic or symbolic characters, the sense can very often be determined with positive certainty. Lastly, the monuments of all kinds contain numerous recurring formulas, expressed sometimes in direct or picture hieroglyphics, sometimes symbolically, sometimes phonetically. In one place the sense is clear where the word is wanting — in another the word is ascertained, but the sense remains unknown. Here the Coptic is doubtless often of great assistance. But certainty can only be obtained by establishing the identity of several passages already understood in which one of the unknown qualities occurs. Such were the aids supplied by the monuments. But Champollion soon perceived that the papyri, found in so many tombs written in hieroglyphic or hieratic characters, and containing a representation of funeral processions and judgments of the dead, are more or less complete MSS. of the same "Book of the Dead," already described in our first section among the sacred books of the Egyptians. A fac-simile of one of these was given in the "Description de l'Egypte." Champollion found the most complete of all in the museum at Turin, and from that moment made this invaluable record the basis of his philological studies. This was his principal guide to the discovery both of the Egyptian language and its written character. The important results of this series of acute and intelligent researches were given to the public in his Egyptian grammar, in 1841, five years after his own death. About three hundred words of the ancient Egyptian language are there interpreted after the above method, and a considerably larger number are contained in his Egyptian dictionary, which appeared complete in 1844. The discovery of every single one of these implies long and laborious research, guided by a happy spirit of divination and combination; and the history of each would require a separate treatise.

Four Italians, Rosellini, Salvolini, Ungarelli, and Migliarini; two Germans, Lepsius and Meyer; and the English scholars, William Osburn, the Right Rev. G. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Hincks, and Samuel Birch, have followed the great master in this toilsome but indispensable course of investigation. Ippolito Rosellini's philological labours upon the Egyptian language are dispersed throughout the text of his great work, of which we shall often have occasion to speak, and they exhibit ingenious criticism. As regards Salvolini and Lepsius, the relation in which they stand to each other, to Champollion, and to science, will be more fully illustrated below, in our history of hieroglyphical discovery. Salvolini's interpretation of the Ramses-Papyrus and of the hieroglyphical inscription on the Rosetta stone (1835 and 1836) would, however, here demand a more immediate notice, as being the first attempt at the philological treatment of an Egyptian record, were it not clear that little of it belongs to himself, and that all the rest was pirated by him from his master's papers. The first scientific analysis of the language is contained in Richard Lepsius's letter to Rosellini (Annals of the Roman Archæological Institute, 1837), which, besides rectifying certain grammatical errors that pervade the system of Champollion, supplies additional interpretations of important Egyptian roots and words. In order that the method adopted by himself for the progressive restoration of the old sacred language might be accessible to all, he published in 1842 (as already remarked in treating of the sacred books), immediately before his departure for Egypt, under the same royal auspices to which science is indebted for his journey, the "Book of the Dead," from the Papyrus at Turin. His recent return to Europe encourages us to hope from him a critical collation of other transcripts of the same work, of some sections of which he possesses as many as eighteen texts. This would complete our knowledge of one principal portion of the

instruments with which he has worked in so methodical and scrupulous a manner, and with such complete success. The basis, however, of all further successful investigation into the ancient Egyptian language has been already laid by his printed edition of the Turin MS. of the "Book of the Dead." As regards the second main class of authorities, the monuments, Rosellini's work, contains the most copious and authentic materials for the student, while his interpretations afford him a welcome assistance and support in the further prosecution of his own researches.

For the publication and illustration of the monuments contained in the British Museum, and for the deciphering and interpretation of the hieroglyphical signs, our valued friend, Samuel Birch, has made himself a conspicuous name by his Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, mythological and historical, from the British Museum, and by several dissertations on important and difficult points of Egyptian philology.* The method of his investigation in those publications, and in what he has contributed to this work, is that first designed and followed by Champollion. As to deeper linguistic researches into the origin and formation of Egyptian roots, an eminent German scholar, Dr. Charles Meyer, proposed in 1841 a plan for a grammar of the Egyptian language and character, in an elaborate review of Champollion's grammar, and Lepsius's letter to Rosellini.[178] It is to be hoped that this able and learned philologer will publish in an independent work the substance of those essays, and of his Celtic researches, all of which have already — although containing some hazardous etymologies — thrown such surprising light on the most important and obscure points

* Gallery of Antiquities, selected from the British Museum. Part I. Mythological, 1842: Part II. Historical Illustrations, 1844. Observations on the Canon of Egyptian Kings at Turin (Transact. of R. S. L., 1843).

[178] Gelehrte Anzeigen der königlichen Bayerischen Academie der Wissenschaften. 1841. First article, No. 66—71. Second article, No. 238—245.

of general philology, and exhibit, indeed, the highest efforts of linguistic philosophy.

After what has been said, our readers can hardly be at a loss as to the method which we ourselves consider best calculated to promote the historical development of the ancient dialect, or effectually to forward the general prospects of Egyptian philology. A knowledge of the Coptic language is indispensable; and here Schwartze has opened a new path by connecting the study of that language with the results of German philology, in its widest extent. We do not hesitate even to assert that all hope of any considerable progress beyond what Champollion has effected, and his four successors supplied and amended, depends even more essentially than ever upon the study of the Old Egyptian being associated with an equally profound investigation of the Coptic dialect. There are inscriptions, such as those on the obelisks, and whole pages in the "Book of the Dead," which can now be read and explained, as regards their substance at least; as can also the greater part of the hieroglyphic inscription on the Rosetta stone by the assistance of the Greek texts. Champollion in fact, made out the essential import of both the Egyptian texts before his visit to Egypt. Still we confidently maintain that no man living is competent to read and explain *the whole* of any one section of the "Book of the Dead," far less one of the historical Papyri. The indispensable condition of any further proficiency is now a practical knowledge of the Coptic. By it alone the unintelligible words can be guessed in so far as may be necessary to assist ulterior comparative researches into the Egyptian itself. For of about 900 signs, phonetic or symbolical, comprised in the entire hieroglyphic table, the value of about 700 has been ascertained. Our principal task, therefore, is to understand those groups which are already legible. A thorough critical knowledge of Coptic cannot be too highly rated as a means of overcoming this difficulty; and in fur-

therance of this object, it were most important to obtain and accurately transcribe its true pronunciation from the lips of the few Coptic priests among whom it has been traditionally preserved. But the most important object of all is the completion of the Coptic vocabulary.

Coptic philology, however, can, under present circumstances, avail but little towards forwarding Egyptian archæological science, unless the latter be itself cultivated on the plan indicated above, as pursued by Champollion — by the aid, namely, of the monuments and native records. This element of the inquiry has hitherto been totally neglected by German scholars, with the single exception of Lepsius. This may be attributed in some measure to the fact that until the recent additions to their stores no German collections, not even that of the Berlin Museum, supplied the materials which the French, English, and Italian student finds in Paris and London, Turin and Rome. But Lepsius's "Book of the Dead" has opened up to all a rich mine of research, and it is now merely requisite to pursue the same course with judgment and ability, in order to disinter the treasure which has been exposed to view. It would be vain to expect more from the deciphering of the Demotic inscriptions than has been indicated above as derivable from the Coptic. The language is the same, in both cases, the common provincial idiom of Memphis, and it is, if possible, more important to understand the sounds and character, the vocabulary and accidence of the Coptic, than of the other. Its bilinguar records, and the Leyden Glosses, the publication of which we owe to the industry of Leemans, have also been hitherto far from sufficiently studied. It would however be unreasonable to neglect on their account the main object, the Old Egyptian records; or so much as to expect to discover in them the key to the study of hieroglyphics. On the contrary, the primitive language, while alone of any real importance in universal history, is at the same

time the key to all nearer insight into either the Coptic, or the lower dialects of Egypt in general. Such is our conviction as to the method to be pursued in following out this department of research.

Still less room can there be for doubt as to the mode of treating our present subject. Its aim is strictly historical. Words, and the signs of language, are to us in the primeval time, what the names and reigns of Kings are in history properly so called—facts, the right understanding of which depends upon their capability of chronological arrangement.

We shall therefore endeavour in the first place to establish a just relation between what we already know of the Old Egyptian vocabulary and grammar, and that portion of it which is still undiscovered. We shall next examine the individual elements of the language and its pronunciation, and from thence pass on to the formation of the roots. A general synopsis of those already deciphered from the monuments of the Old Empire will be subjoined by way of appendix at the close of this book. We shall here be content with laying before the reader the elementary forms and flexions which have been as yet authentically discovered, in order, at this important stage of its development, to exhibit language as an historical record, as in fact the earliest genuine record of the human race.

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## B.

### PRONUNCIATION AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.

#### I. THE EXTENT AND PRIMITIVE ELEMENTS OF THE VOCABULARY.

IN order to convey a general idea of the discoveries made in this language, it may suffice to remark that the words hitherto deciphered (about 500) are principally independent roots, and can, for the most part,

be traced unaltered in the modern Egyptian, where the whole number of words amounts to about 900. This does not include such roots, or remains of roots, as may be called formative, or grammatical terms, pronouns, prepositions, adjectives, numerals, conjunctions, and interjections. We are acquainted with about fifty such roots, and from their frequent recurrence, it is not probable that the language of the earlier periods of the empire possessed more. It seems rather to be one of its peculiarities, that it contains fewer of these than the modern Egyptian, and that its particles also are more simple; a fact which every philologer knows to depend on a pervading law in the formation of language. But as regards those more general or fundamental roots, several not now extant in the ancient vocabulary, but which are found in the Coptic books, clearly belong to the later or latest epoch of formation, and seem to have been modifications, whether in the way of extension, contraction, or abbreviation of the Old Egyptian forms. Upon the whole, it is probable that in the reign of Menes and the Tuthmōses, the language possessed about the same number of roots as the Coptic. In the latter dialect some were lost, while new forms were produced by the method above indicated. But of compound words there were certainly many more in Coptic than in the ancient Egyptian.

To those whose ideas of human speech have been formed by reference to more recent models — to the classical Greek, for example, or modern European dialects, the above details will convey no very favourable impression of the language of ancient Egypt. But we may remind such persons that the language of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament does not contain at most above 1200 roots, the auxiliary forms included. It must certainly be taken into account too, at the same time, that the Hebrew, like all Aramaic languages, possesses a much greater number of forms for flexion or

composition, and therefore more derivative words than the Egyptian. It is one of the most important properties of the latter language, that those words which we term roots, and which express a verb, are at the same time without any change nouns, and indeed substantives as well as adjectives. Thus anχ (*anech*) signifies: *to live, life, alive, a living being.*

It results from this, that it must be a characteristic of the language to contain comparatively few words. The same is evident when we compare the individual roots with each other. For instance, we find a root, which, according to the Egyptian phonetic signs, is one and the same, admitting of three, four, or more fundamentally different meanings independent of each other. Thus *men* (written *mn*) is *to found* (*founder, building*), *to suckle*, a *swallow*, the *fore-arm* or *shin;* and so in many other instances. The Coptic mode of writing such words indicates how they are to be distinguished in pronunciation by different modifications of the subsidiary vowel. Thus *mn* in Coptic is pronounced in the first sense *man*, *men* — in the second *moni* — in the third *benni* — in the fourth it is no longer extant.

In the case of many of these homophone roots, one might be tempted to conjecture that there was a slight difference in the pronunciation of the signs, which pass for being homophone in the Egyptian alphabet. In Coptic there are really three sounds for the *k* of the old language (k, $^{d}$j, and $^{t}$s); and of these the second, (Djandja) arose out of the general sign for *k* (a cup with a handle), the third (Tsima) out of the special syllabic sign with which, among other words, Khemi, Egypt, is written.[179] On the other hand, the pure Egyptian *k* is expressed by the corresponding Greek element. But the Egyptian character has several signs for *k*, as well as for most of the other letters: the *a*, for example, from one of which (the Eagle), the Coptic

179 Lepsius, Lettre Pl. B. I.

sign for *h* (hori) is derived, as Lepsius has shown. We may venture, however, to assume, since the new light thrown by him on the subject that the 34 signs, to which he reduced the alphabet, were really invented to designate but 15 sounds, occurring as they do alternately on contemporary monuments. Judging therefore from these monuments, the old language would seem really to have possessed no more than 15 sounds.

A right understanding, however, of the roots of language can only be acquired by analysis of the language itself, and a clear insight into its original elements.

In passing on to this important head of our subject we shall offer in the first place a synopsis of those 15 sounds. According to the usual division they stand in the following order —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 pure aspirates: | | a u i h |
| 3 liquids: | | m n r |
| 2 sibilants: | | s ϰ (skh) |
| 6 mutes: | 3 labials: | ʿb (French v) f p |
| | 2 palatals: | k χ (ch) |
| | 1 lingual: | t |

Meyer's arrangement (see above, page 266.) gives the following tabular result —

| | Natural position of the mouth. | Labial movement. | Lingual movement. | Movement of the uvula. | Movement of the epiglottis. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aspirates and primitive vowels | a | ū | ī | | h |
| Explosive sounds (real consonants) | - | p | t | k | - |
| Nasal sounds | - | m | n | - | - |
| Gliding sounds | | vocal sound ʿb (v) f | s, ϰ | - | χ |
| Tremulous sounds | - | - | r | - | - |

As regards the quality and value of the individual sounds, it is first of all to be remarked, that, of the

three primary vowels, *a* and *u* at least seem originally to have had a double sound, which is now lost. For of the three signs of the *a* (the arm, the eagle, and the reed), the last only is changed to *h*: it had, therefore, probably, a more marked aspiration than the other two. The *reed* also is always a prefix in words, such as *atef* (father) — for *etef*, *tef*; *anek* (I, pron.) — for *nek*, *enek*; *amn* (Ammon) — for *mn*, *emen*.[180] In the same way, the *noose*, which is rare on the old monuments, seems to have had a peculiar sound, as *u*, for it is never used instead of the general sign of *u*.[181] All the three original vowels, moreover, are radical sounds, that is, independent, self-subsistent, and really imitative sounds.

The *b* is so strongly aspirated that it is frequently changed to *u*, and the Greeks often render it by *m*. We shall recur to this point hereafter. The *k*, too, must have been strongly aspirated, particularly in the living language, for the three sounds above specified all correspond to it in Coptic, the last of which now appears as a strong sibilant—sibilants in all languages being more frequently the result of aspirated than of non-aspirated consonants. In French, for instance, *cher*, pronounced *share*, originated in the Teutonic pronunciation of *charo* (*kharo*), instead of *caro*. The *r* sound appears to have fluctuated between the German *r* and *l*: in foreign words it is used to express *l* as well as *r*. In the Coptic it is, by way of exception, sometimes expressed by the latter, but still without any original difference—either ascertained or probable—from the old signs. In the popular dialect, it is apt, above all other consonants, to be dropped or suppressed at the end of the word; while the *s* sound is always retained —frequently strengthened into the Tsima.

Each of these fifteen sounds is capable of forming an essentially independent word. Let us first consider

180 Lepsius, Lettre, p. 57. N. 67.

181 Ibid. p. 46. N. 51. It was anciently the syllable *ua*, or *wa*.

the three vowels. The consonants must naturally have always possessed a certain power of vocal enunciation. Some valuable hints have been thrown out by Lepsius, and still further by Meyer, as to the sound more essentially proper to each of the different consonants. But we have roots, which regularly consist of only one such consonant; for example, *h*, that is, *he*, to strike. Sometimes we meet with a double form: the one, simple, where the indeterminate inherent vowel (which may be expressed by *e*, and considered equivalent to the Hebrew *Scheva*), is understood; the other amplified, where one of those three vowels preceded or followed it. In the latter, however, we have a simple and therefore very primitive instance of the formation of roots with two sounds from those with one, as first suggested by Meyer in the article before quoted.

Somewhat parallel is the contraction of two vowels into a single diphthong — *au*, as apparently exemplified in the Coptic *ó* — for *oo*; although, by reference to the general analogy of language, such contractions belong to a later period. The French *au*, for example (for *al*), is the more recent form; and in the same way, in the Latin, *focillum* is the derivative of *faux*.

In this manner originates not the pure syllable, for that lies in the roots, which are expressed by one of the fifteen letters, but the impure or compound syllable. And here we become sensible of the necessity of some nearer insight into the principles upon which the ancient Egyptians imparted vocal power to their consonants. They were at liberty to pronounce the written auxiliary sound before or after the consonant: *n*, might be sounded either as *en* or *ne*. We will call the former the initial, the latter the terminal sound. Judging from the invariable practice of the Coptic orthography, the latter was the rule: the vowel only precedes in the case of a few prepositions (as *m̀*, *ǹ*, *r̀*); but even in those the more complete form (*am*, *an*) is frequently found. The *s* appears to have formed a

familiar prefix of certain sounds, of the *t*, for example, without any sensible intervention of the Scheva, as in the case of *stem*, pronounced by the Greeks *stimm*, in Latin converted into *stibium*. In the greater number of such cases, however, the *s* may be explained as a formative element imparting the power of causative action to the root. It is the sign through the agency of which *being* becomes *action*, or an action is converted into the cause of an action, the stimulus, as it were, to the activity of the predicate, by means of which, in the parallel case of the Semitic dialects, the conjugational forms are produced. In the Indo-Germanic languages, on the contrary, the word conjugation denotes the modification with reference to time and mode of the pure substantive root; a species of conjugation which, in the Semitic languages, was thrown greatly into the background, and is, comparatively speaking, extremely incomplete.

In such forms, where an elementary prefix was blended with a root into a single word, it may also have been accompanied by its initial vowel sound. In this way *S.men-teti* and *S.ment-et* may have been pronounced as *Ismandes* or *Osymandyas*, and we believe that both these forms are in fact representatives of that Egyptian name.

Such are the principles by which we have been guided in transcribing Egyptian words, while in other respects, we adhere to the system adopted by Lepsius in the "Book of the Dead." In transcribing the Coptic it has also been our endeavour to adhere as closely as possible to the letter. As regards the two sibilant aspirates, we have, with this object, prefixed the secondary element to the principal letter in smaller character * (ᵈj for the djandja, and ᵗs for the tsima). We may add, that from personal communications made to us by the missionary Lieber, who, in conjunction

* The Coptic ϫ is nearly represented by the English soft *g*.

with Kruse in Cairo, is engaged in stimulating and assisting the unfortunate descendants of the Egyptians to the recovery and use of their mother tongue, we are led to hope that not only the pronunciation of the Coptic, which has survived the knowledge of the language more than a century, but that even the language itself may still maintain a wretched existence in some retired villages of the Thebaid. Should this turn out to be the case, it would certainly be worth while to collect and study its remains. The loss of the living traditional pronunciation implies a loss of much more than what we generally call pronunciation. Lepsius in one of his letters has called attention to a circumstance, which may be of considerable importance in promoting the restoration of the Egyptian phonetic system. He remarks that the vowel forming the termination of certain polysyllabic Egyptian words, in Coptic always forms part of the sound of the first syllable. For instance, Abydos, in Coptic *Ebōt*, is written hieroglyphically *Ebt-u*; Anubis, *Anp-u*; Mōnth (Μωνθ), *Mnt-u*; Chōns (Χωνς), *Xns-u*. *Iom*, the Coptic word for *sea*, is written in hieroglyphics, *ima*, where the Coptic pronunciation is corroborated by the Hebrew *iōm*. Attention is here more especially due to the name of the crocodile, which in Coptic is written *msuh*, *msooh*, but in hieroglyphics sometimes *msh*, sometimes *mshu*, sometimes *msuh*. Lepsius calls this the only instance of a medial vowel hieroglyphically expressed in words where the Coptic pronunciation also gives it in the middle. He explains this apparent exception by supposing that *msuh* is a compound word, namely, *m-suh* "out of the egg:" the vowel *u* therefore is not supplementary, but a radical, just as it is in the primitive word *suh*, egg, in Coptic *soōuhe*. The real explanation of this mode of writing appears to be, that the Egyptians in attempting to express a vowel not in itself radical, but merely phonetic, inherent in one or two consonants, adopted for that purpose signs which express the

corresponding radical vowel. This radical vowel, however, they regularly threw back to the end of the word, to prevent the possibility of its being taken in its primitive signification. It may possibly have been the case that the inherent vowel written in this way was pronounced twice; viz. both before and after the consonant which it accompanies: for instance, *Anp-u* was perhaps pronounced *Anu-pu; Mnth-u, Muntu;* and so on. This supposition we connect with Meyer's view that in each biliteral root, which is the most common kind of root in the Egyptian as well as Indo-Germanic languages, the two radicals were sounded separately, forming as it were two syllables.

The rhythm peculiar to this sort of biliteral root was, according to him, a sort of "rhythmus antispasticus," composed of two arses; and the great point in which all the Semitic languages differ from the Egyptian and Indo-Germanic languages, in regard to the formation of roots, is, that subjecting the mimic tendency of language to a mere musical law, these languages amplify the biliteral into the triliteral root, in which, according to their pronunciation, the arsis represented by the first radical is counterbalanced by the two theses represented by one of the three radicals. It is true that the Egyptian admits in many instances a similar amplification, but seldom or never without the biliteral coexisting with the triliteral root, and representing in consequence the more primitive form — the nucleus, as it were, out of which the amplified form has grown. Meyer has proved this by a series of examples, in which the amplifying letter is inserted sometimes at the beginning, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the end. For instance: *nk, a-nk* (I); *ht* and *htr* (a horse).

This forms one of the most important peculiarities of the Egyptian language, as enabling the etymologist to analyse the three elements thus united into one significative articulation or gesture of language, and in many

cases to trace the process by which even the two become combined, in order to express by their union more clearly and emphatically the same idea which they had already expressed in their single state.

Another form of adding to the root is reduplication, as in the Semitic and other languages; e. g. *apep*, to elevate, from *ap*; *petpet*, to shoot, from *pet*; *papa*, to nurse, from *pa*.

Having thus obtained an insight into the peculiar features of the Egyptian language, we can the more confidently reject the old erroneous theory as to the formation of Coptic roots, by mere mechanical agglutination, a system adopted in the first instance by the Copts themselves, and, on their authority, by European etymologists, not excepting Jablonski, Zoega, and De Rossi, and even sometimes Schwartze.

This brings us to the question of the power of the individual sounds. Every letter, whether vowel or consonant, may be emitted with a less or greater quantity of air. Applied to the consonants, this different gradation of breathing produces what is called the distinction of *tenues* (p, k, t), i. e. slender, weak consonants; *mediæ* (b, g, d), or consonants requiring a medial quantity of air for their articulation; and *aspiratæ* (ph, kh, th), or strong consonants. When applied to vowels, this difference produces the distinction of short, medial, and long vowels. The so-called different tones of the Chinese seem to indicate the combination of these two kinds of quantities, i. e. of consonants and vowels. Meyer was the first to correct the error committed by modern grammarians in confounding the terms *tenues*, *mediæ*, and *aspiratæ*, with those of surd, vocal, and guttural; and to point out that both *tenues* and *mediæ* may, as well by reference to the nature of sounds, as to the explanations given by the old Greek grammarians, be either surd (p, k, t), vocal (b, g, d), or guttural (ph, kh, th, and bh, gh, dh). It is a peculiarity of the Egyptian language (shared by it as far as we know

only with the Etruscan) that it does not possess any vocal mutes, but expresses the three different degrees of weak, middle, and strong quantities only by the surd form — the three mutes (p, k, t), or, as is perhaps more probable, ph, kh, th, representing indiscriminately in some words *tenues*, in others *mediæ*, and again in others *aspiratæ*. The sign rendered in the Coptic alphabet by the Greek β appears not to have represented (like the English b) the vocal form of the explosive consonant *p*, but (like the English *v*) that of the gliding consonant *f*. The Egyptian sign for *h* differs from the Greek in not indicating, like it, a mere guttural modification of a vowel or consonant, but an independent sound, which, when written after one of the mutes, was separated from it in pronunciation by its inherent vowel; for instance, *th* or *thu* was pronounced *tuh* (ⲧⲁϩ, *tah*), straw.

We have deferred to the fifth book the historical comparison of languages, merely intending on the present occasion to give some general facts relative to the primitive formation and writing of roots. In doing this, we have derived invaluable assistance from Schwartze's Introduction. He has analysed and explained the comparative survey made by Rossi and Coppe of Coptic, Hebrew, and Arabic words, adding at the same time the corresponding Indo-Germanic roots. We have, however, no settled criterion by which to institute any philological comparison with the Coptic, as long as we are not cognisant of the old Egyptian mode of writing, and the original signification of words in that language. Schwartze has never taken these into consideration. The number of the Egyptian roots, indeed, with which we are acquainted is not as yet sufficient to enable us to make them the basis of a thorough investigation of comparative philology. To do this will require at least ten more years of European research — an indeterminate period, indeed, unless far more time and

talent be dedicated to the subject than heretofore, and unless every branch of it be studied without interruption upon some clear and well regulated system. We are, as yet, very far from having reached the point where the delicate file of a criticism like Grimm's may be applied with success to the Egyptian language. The first thing to be done is to chisel it out in the rough.

The plan we have pursued in the Appendix, a sort of historical narrative of the process the language underwent during the epoch of its formation, is as follows.

We exclude every thing which we do not find proved to demonstration by the monuments and records before the Ptolemies: and we have marked with asterisks what occurs in those of the Old Empire to which we have access, that is, those of the first twelve Dynasties. We are indebted for the completeness of these Lists to the researches of our friend Mr. Birch.

The order of the fifteen sounds of the Egyptian alphabet is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | | | |
| u, | b | | |
| i, | h | | |
| s, | k, | χ (ch), | ϰ (skhi). |
| f, | p, | t | |
| m, | n, | r. | |

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## C.

### ACCIDENCE AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.

#### INTRODUCTION: A SKETCH OF THE FORMATIVE ROOTS AND FLEXIONS.

In the Egyptian, as well as other languages, there seem to be two classes of words, one comprehending all those

which express the representation of phenomena, and objects considered independently, without any reference either to each other or to the speaker—such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs—the other, comprising those words which represent certain general ideas of place, time, gender, number, relation and gradation; ideas, some or all of which are generally found blended with those of words belonging to the first class, as pronouns, personal and correlative (indefinite, definite, interrogative and relative), the verbs substantive, or more properly (verbum absolutum) numerals, prepositions and conjunctions, and particles or formative adverbs in general. The name, formative, we may give to the second class of words in reference to their indicating that sort of modification, by which the matter of the idea expressed by one of the non-formative words is determined to belong to certain categories or logical forms of the human mind. Hence we obtain the following tabular result:

FORMATIVE ROOTS.

| 1. Space. | 2. Time. | 3. Gender. | 4. Number. | 5. Gradation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adverbs of place. Pronouns, indef. demonstr. person. and possess. Terminations of the Nom. and Accus. cases. | Adverbs of time. Verb. absol. and Tense endings. | Article and Gender endings. | Numerals and Numeral endings. | Adverbs and endings of Comparison. |

6. Relation.

| *a*. Relation between the objects themselves, Prepositions and endings of oblique cases, Auxiliary verbs and endings, marking the voices. | *b*. Relation between objects and the speakers, Conjunctions and endings of words, and of the Vocative—interrogative, and relative Pronouns. |
|---|---|

The interjections which are not comprehended in the preceding table are words in which the representation of a phenomenon is not retained as an idea, but as a sensation.

Several modern philologers, since Horne Tooke, have recognised in those formative roots nouns and verbs which are lost. Similar forms have also been proved to exist in several languages, so far at least that it seemed reasonable to suppose that this was the origin of those particles for which no derivation is known. As for the philological discussion of this fact, Fürst's Chaldee grammar, and his gigantic work, the Hebrew-Chaldee Bible Concordance, form an epoch. It must be reserved for the fifth book to show that this phenomenon is the necessary consequence of a natural law of language. There also we hope to establish the fact, that of all languages, the Egyptian is that by which the gradual origin of the formative roots, out of words of the first class, may be most clearly traced, and to refute the hollow theory which assigns to those roots a mere mechanical origin. In the mean time we would refer our readers to Benfey's work, which contains a comparison of the Coptic forms with those of the Semitic languages — an incomplete one, however, inasmuch as it pays no attention to the forms of the Old Egyptian. A comparison of them would have prevented him from falling into various errors, and have been a brilliant confirmation of many of the conjectures of the acute author. Here we only intend to notice how important the Egyptian language is in clearly demonstrating what even the Sanscrit in most cases only enables us to infer by induction.

In the following illustrations we exclude those flexions for which there is no authority except in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans. We have acted on this principle in the selection of our examples from Champollion's grammar.

## A. PERSONAL NOUNS OR PRONOUNS.

### I. *Personal Pronouns as independent words, preceding noun or verb.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *I* | anek, or anuk, enek, nek, or nuk, | (Copt. anok, anak, anog), Hebr. anoχi. |
| *Thou* (masc.) | entek | (ntok, ntak, ntk, nthok), Chaldee, anteh (i. e. an-teh). |
| *Thou* (fem.) | enta | (nto . . . . . ntho). |
| *He* | entuf | (ntof, ntaf, nthof) Heb. hu, hv. |
| *She* | entus, entes | (ntos, ntas, nthos). |
| *We* | (not discovered yet) | (anon, anan, anǹ), necessarily anun, anen, Heb. anàhnu.[182] |
| *Ye* | emtuten (?) / entuten | (ntôten, ntaten, nteten, nthôten), Heb. masc. atem. fem. aten. |
| *They* | entesen / sen | (ntoû, ntau, nthôu). |

### II. *Personal Pronouns as Affix, added to noun or verb.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *I, me* | a,u (nai, nēi, nu) Heb. i. |
| *Thou, thee* | masc. ek, fem. et (nak, nēk, ne) Heb. χa, χ. |
| *He, it, him* | ef, u (?) su, se (naf, nēf) Heb. o (v), comp. seh, su (this).[183] |
| *She, her* | es (nas, nēs) Heb. ha. |
| *We, us* | en (nan, nēn) Heb. nu. |
| *You* | ten (nôten, netēn, nētn̄, tēutn̄, tēnu, thēnu) Heb. masc. tem, fem. ten. |
| *They, them* | sen (nōu[184], nau, nēu) Heb. masc. hem, fem. hen. |

## B. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

### I. *Separate, before the noun.*

#### *a.* First Person Singular: *my, mine* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ὁ μοῦ* | Pai-a, pui-a, pa, pi-a | (pôi, phôi; pa)[185] |
| *ἡ μοῦ* | Tai-a, tui-a, ta-a, ti-a | (tôi, thôi; ta) |
| *οἱ, αἱ μοῦ* | Nai-a, na-a | (nui; na). |

[182] Chald. and Samar. anan. Birch observes, that on the tablet of Abydos *na-nen* (ipsi-nos) proves, indeed, that *nen* was this Egyptian pronoun for *we*.

[183] Sanscrit, sa, he. [418] Benfey, p. 64.

[185] Copt. pôi, &c. are not syntactically, but generically, probably the same.

*b.* Second Person Singular: *thy, thine* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ὁ σοῦ masc. | Paik, puik, pak, pik | (pôk, phôk ; pek) |
| ὁ σοῦ fem. | Pait, puit, pat, pit | (pô, pho ; pe) |
| ἡ σοῦ masc. | Taik, tak | (tôk, thôk ; tek) |
| ἡ σοῦ fem. | Tait, tuit, tat, tit | (tô, thô ; te) |
| οἱ, αἱ σοῦ masc. | Naik nak | (nuk ; nek) |
| οἱ, αἱ σοῦ fem. | Nai, na, ni | (nu ; ne). |

*c.* Third Person Singular: *his, her* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ὁ αὐτοῦ | Paif, puif, paf, pif | (pôf, phôf ; pef) |
| ὁ αὐτῆς | Pais, puis, pas, pis | (pôs, phôs ; pes) |
| ἡ αὐτοῦ | Taif, tuif, taf, tif | (tôf, thôf ; tef) |
| ἡ αὐτῆ̈ς | Tais, tuis, tas, tis | (tôs, thôs ; tes) |
| οἱ, αἱ αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς | Naif, naf, nais, nas | (nuf, nôf, nus ; nef, nēs). |

*d.* First Person Plural: *our* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ὁ ἡμῶν | Pan, pin | (pôn, phôn ; pen) |
| ἡ ἡμῶν | Tain, tan, tin | (tôn, thôn ; ten) |
| οἱ, αἱ ἡμῶν | Nain | (nun ; nen). |

*e.* Second Person Plural: *your* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ὁ ὑμῶν | Paten, peten | (pôtn, phôtn ; peten) |
| ἡ ὑμῶν | . . . . . | (tôtn, thôtn ; teten) |
| οἱ ὑμῶν | Naiten, naten | (nutn̄, nuten, nôten ; neten). |

*f.* Third Person Plural: *their* (masc. and fem.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ὁ αὐτῶν | Paisen, pasen, pisen | (pôu, phôu ; pu) |
| ἡ αὐτῶν | Taisen, tuisen, tasen, tisen | (tôu, thôu ; tu) |
| οἱ αὐτῶν | Naisen, nasen | (nuu, nôu ; nu). |

Examples (p. 267. seqq.).

Pai-a nēb, my Lord.
Pe ran nui. k (or nai. k) LXXII. neter. u.
the name of thy 72 Gods.
Pi. sen (ōhēr), their leader.
Au. ti tau. en pai-a matai. u, hna na i-a t. ent-hetra.
I gave word to my infantry at the same time to my cavalry
(literally: to the (division) which has horses).
tet: s. men ten, s. men het ten, pai-a matai. u.
saying: prepare yourselves, prepare your heart, your infantry.
naia tent hetra (Papyrus of Ramses' expeditions).
you, who on horseback.
nai. f.s. ma. t. u, his justifications (p. 413.).

## II. *Suffixed Affixes of the Personal Pronouns.*

si. k, *thy son*, Copt. p. ek. si.
si. f, *his son*, Copt. p. ef. si.
set. ten, *their daughter*, Copt. te. ten. set.

The Coptic has not lost entirely this primitive mode of expressing the possessive pronouns by suffixes — the only one in general use in the Semitic — retaining it chiefly in the connexion of the article with the personal suffixes. It is certainly an error on the part of Champollion that, not being aware of the greater extent allowed to this mode of expression in the Old Egyptian, he continually transcribes such words as Tef. k and Si. f by *paktef* and *pafsi*, which is the only way in which the Coptic language can express *thy father* and *his son*. The Old Egyptian admits the three following forms of expression: Tef. k, πατήρ σου, pak tef, ὁ σοῦ πατήρ [186], and paik tef, οὗτος (ὅς) σου πατήρ.

## C. TERMS OF LOCALITY, OR DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

### I. *The Article used demonstratively*, as in Homer, or *the Article and demonstrative Pronoun.*

*The* (ὁ): pa, pe (pi, pe)
*The* (fem.) (ἡ): ta (ti, te)
*The* (plur.) (οἱ, αἱ, τὰ): na (ni, ne)

Always prefixed: also used independently, as, for example,

ta. ent hetra, ἡ τῶν ἵππων (see before from Champ. p. 268.) οἱ ἱππεῖς.

### II. *Demonstrative Pronoun.*

*The, this:* pai (Copt. pai, pei, pē, phai, phē).
*The, this* (fem.): tai, for ex. tai unu, this hour (tai, tei, tē, thai, thē).
*The, these* (pl.): nai, for ex. nai tet, these words (nai, nei, nē).

Suffixed (Aram. pun, pon: see Fürst, p. 231.)

*The, this:* pen, for ex. Men pen, this building
hef χιëu pen, this long snake
*The, this* (fem.): ten, for ex. Set* ten, this country
neteri ten em seχr pen, the [se] Gods in this picture

186 Lepsius, Lettre, p. 72.

* Ch. reads the sign *kah*, Coptic for *land*; without proof, besides *kah* is masc. Birch found *set* in ancient inscriptions for *land*.

*The, these* (plur.): apu, for ex. em maū apu, in these waters
apen [187], for ex. χet neb iri. ut em hbi. u apen, everything else that is done at these meetings.

### III. *Relative Pronoun, after the noun.*

1. The amplified Article: with a relative signification, the origin of which may be explained by the comparison of the Greek and German articles, in their respective varieties of usage.

*He who:* pui or pefi, for ex. neter pefi hem maū, God, who in the water; or, *the* God in the water

*She who:* tui, for ex. abt tui hem neter-ker (or ker-neter) the dwelling which in Neterker (divine lower region)

*They who* (pl.) . . . . . .

2. Determinate Relative Pronoun, implying at the same time the Articulus Demonstrativus and Relativus. So called on account of these two words representing as it were two links by which the principal sentence and its incidental or relative member are united; as, *the—who*, il quale, lequel).

*a.* Indefinite:

enti, ent, for all genders and numbers (Copt. ent, en, e).

*b.* Definite:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pui . ent | Copt. pai ȟt, pei ȟt, pē ȟt, | tui . ȟt | Copt. tai.ȟt, tei ȟt, tē ȟt | | Copt. naiȟt, nei ȟt |
| pa . ent | pe ȟt | ta . ent | . . . . . | na . ent | . . . . . |
| p . ent | pent, the, who | t . ent | tent, tȟt, she, who (fem.) | n . ent | nent, those, who. |

Examples (p. 305. seqq.).

tet en (her.u) enȟi emtu hent.ef, Speech of the leaders who (are) before his Majesty.

neter neb, neter.t neb, enti em pe.t, enti em (to), each God, each Goddess, who in Heaven (and) on the earth (is).

p. enti neb, he, who to the Lord (belongs).

a neha. t tui.ent Net. pe, O! Sycomore, [thou] which to Netpe (belongest); i. e. Oh! thou, the sycomore of Nu. t. pe.

[187] Champollion (p. 183.) erroneously considers this word demonstrative.

hna na (ōēri.u) enti n. enti pe (to.u) (na) he em aneχ, with the chiefs, who of those (are) who . . . to the great dwelling of life — for which in the same Inscription (in the Temple of Ibsambul) also stands:

na (ōēri.u) en.na pe to.u, &c. &c., the chiefs of those . . . .

## D. NUMERALS.

### *Indefinite Pronouns.*

Si (compare Copt. sa), *every one, a certain one.*
Neb (niben, nibi, nim), *each, all.*
Si-neb, *each one, each thing.*
Un-neb, *each one, each thing.*
Ki, ke, (ke, ˢke, ˢkē), *another, others.*
Aχet *X*et (ket, χet, fem χeti) *another, others.*
*X*et neb, *all others, every thing else.*

The common method of writing numbers in Egyptian is purely figurative: it is only occasionally that numerals are expressed by letters, in which case they agree entirely with the Coptic. In the compound numbers (from eleven upwards), the order in which the signs of the higher numbers precede the units also shows that the terms correspond with the Coptic, in which the same order is maintained. The numerals not yet identified in the hieroglyphics are here placed in parentheses, to show that they are Coptic forms. As to the connexion between the Egyptian numerals and the Indo-Germanic and Semitic, we give a synopsis of the researches of Lepsius into the subject in 1836. Of the results of these researches it may at least be said that they far surpass in value any previous investigation of the same class, and form an epoch in the higher branches of comparative philology.[188]

[188] Richard Lepsius, two treatises on Comparative Philology; two upon the Origin and Affinity of the Numerals in the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and Coptic languages, Berlin, 1836, 8vo, p. 83—150. In the two articles above quoted from the "Bayerischen Gelehrten Anzeigen," the results of Meyer's system are not very clearly developed. They are recapitulated in a note to p. 943., towards the end of the second article.

1 (uai, ua, uōt, fem. uei, ui, uōt) Ar. v. ahidun, unus: av. alun, primus: Zend. aēvō.

2 (snau, fem. sente, snuti) Root sn: Hebrew, ϫne.

3 (ϫoment, ϫament, ϫamet, ϫomt, fem. ϫomti, ϫomte) Root sm: in the Indo-Germanic languages originally, *t* with the plural form.

4 Ftu (ftôu, ftoū, fem. ftoē, fto) aft (tafte in composition) = πέ-τορα = πε-τορα (1 + 3), compare qua-tuor and qua-ter: Sanscrit *fem.*: cátasras (*fem.* tisras 3).

5 Tu (tiu, fem. tië) = 2 + 3, compare teui Memph: = 50: the sign for 2 at the beginning is lost.

6 (Soū, fem. soo, soë, so) Heb. ϫēϫ, Sansc. ϫaϫ. Formed as the reduplication of the *t* softened down to *s*: the number 3.

?7 Sefeϫ (saϫf, seϫf, saϫsf, fem. ϫasfi, saϫfe) Heb. ϫeba, Sansc. saptan, Goth. sibun, arising from 3 + 4 (as the number is represented hieroglyphically) septem, consequently = s (instead of tr) + p. tm = 3 + (1 + 3). The Egyptian root ϫf.

8 (ϫmun, ϫmēn, fem. ϫmune, ϫmēne, ϫmēni), compare the Root of 3: at the beginning k (instead of kp, p = 1) is lost. Consequently the Dual form of 4.

9 (Psit, psis, fem. psitti, psiti, psite) = pis-t = 4 + 5, compare 50 and 90.

10 (ment, mṅt, mēt, fem.: mēti, mēte).

11 (ment.ūe, mēt.uā, met.uai fem. ment.uēi, met.ui) = 10 + 1, as in German ein-lif (eins bleibt) = eilf.

12 (ment.snoūs, mēt.snoūs, met.snau, fem. mṅt.snoūse, met.snuti) = 10 + 2, like the German tva-lif (zwei bleiben) = zwölf.

13 (ment.ϫoment, mēt.ϫomt, fem. mṅt.ϫomte, met.ϫomti).

20 (djuōt, djōt, fem. djuōte, djuōti).

30 (maab, mab, map, fem. maabe).

40 (hme, hmē).

50 (taiū, teūi).

60 (se).

70 (ϫfe, ϫbe).

80 (hmene, khmene, khamne, khemne).

90 (pestaiū, pisteūi) i. e. 40 (see 4) + 50.

100 (ϫe). According to Birch this sign denotes "the tie of a bundle," i. e. collection.

200 (ϫēt) the evident Dual form of ϫe.

1000 ϫa (ϫo, rarely ϫa): usually, *many, a great number*: as in Greek μύριοι (mile, mille).

10000 teba (sign: the finger, in Egyptian teb) Copt: thba, tba. According to Meyer's note above quoted, the remains of a language in which they counted by the fingers.

When there is no article, the numerals follow their nouns; when there is, they precede it.

*Ordinals* are formed by prefixing *meh*, which, when used by itself, signifies *manifold*. For ex. meh-ϫoment, *the third* (Copt. *mah, meh: mah.ϫomt, tertius, meh.ϫomte, tertia*, &c.). *The first* is masc. *api, ape*, fem. *apet* (from *ape*, head); Copt. *huit*, fem. *huiti*, connected with *ua* (one, a), also *sha* (the dagger) Copt. shaa, and ϫorp, ϫōrp, ϫarep, ϫarp ϫerp, ϫr̀p, fem. ϫorpi, ϫorpe, ϫarpi (Egypt. ϫerp, princeps). Another way of expressing the ordinal is to use the cipher preceded or followed by the vase, according to Birch =*nu*=prepos. *n*, of, and sign of plural, *u*.

*A half* is expressed by *m*, i. e. *me*, (in Coptic *meti*,) medium.

The other fractions, as ⅓ ¼ ⅕ &c., are formed by placing an *r* over the number (i. e. *re* or *ru* portion, Copt. *ra, re*) which expresses the numerator 1, the denominator being represented by the number itself.

## E. THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

The Substantive of the masculine gender is expressed in Egyptian by the pure radical, without the addition of any formative elements; the article pa, pe, pi, by which it is sometimes preceded, has always a demonstrative signification.

All nouns of the feminine gender are marked by a final *t*, the real pronunciation of which, in addition to the well known value of that sign, is still proved by the transcript of certain Egyptian feminine nouns into Greek. For instance: the Egyptian mu. t (vulture and Isis) is transcribed by Plutarch as Μούθ, ter. mu. t (divina mater) as Θερ-μού-θις. In Coptic this *t* shows itself always in the form of a prefix; for instance, t. mu. Lepsius was the first to notice this distinction between the Egyptian and Coptic, for Champollion always transcribes the Egyptian feminine suffix under the form of the Coptic prefix, which is quite inadmissible.[189]

Besides this expression of the feminine gender the flexion of Egyptian nouns comprehends the formation of dual and plural. The former is marked by *ti*, which in feminine nouns is sometimes preceded by *t*, the sign of gender; for example, neter sen. ti, the twin Gods: men. t. ti, the two legs.[190]

189 Lepsius, Lettre, p. 62. Comp. p. 83. 190 Ibid. p. 66.

For the plural there is in Old Egyptian only the ending *u*[191]: Coptic ōū, ōūi, oūe, aui, auei, ēūi, ēüe, eui, euei, iūi, ui, uei, eu, also, oor: all of which express the original form with amplification.

Of simple Adjectives the number is extremely small, for two reasons; first, because many of them are at the same time substantives. It is therefore in many cases difficult to say whether the noun, determining another by which it is preceded, is to be translated as an adjective, or as in apposition, or, as is generally the case in Hebrew, as the genitive of a substantive; for instance, neter net. (Ch. sen.) ti, dei vindicatores, uχ (en)-nub, torquis aureus or auri. The words suten and neter in expressions like suten-tef, king-father = royal father, and neter-mut, goddess-mother = divine mother, are also to be explained as adjectives.[192] The second reason why pure adjectives are so rare is, that a great number of them are at the same time verbs: as aneχ, to live = living, alive: ueb, to be pure, holy = pure, hallowed: neχt, to conquer = strong. There is, however, a small number of words, which are not clearly ascertained to have possessed at the same time a verbal and a nominal signification, and which are besides remarkable for the symbolical form in which they are written; the idea of the adjective (which occurs also sometimes written in phonetic characters) being indicated by the image of an object, of which this idea forms an inherent quality. As, for instance, *small* (phonetically, kui), expressed by a wren, the Egyptian name of which bird is unknown to us — *white* (phonetically, ūbχ, Coptic uōbχ), expressed by a young onion — *red* (phonetically, teχer), expressed by a bird with feathers the colour of fire (the

191 Lepsius, Lettre, p. 66.

192 Champollion (p. 324.) considers it as an exception to the rule, that the adjective follows and does not precede the substantive, which is apparently owing to the respect entertained for these words, God and King.

flamingo probably) — *good* (phonetically, nefru), expressed by a lute.* The Egyptian names of the objects mentioned in all the latter examples are unknown, whilst the symbolical meaning of most of them is tolerably clear. The idea of *furious* (phonetically, kent) is expressed by an ape in an aggressive attitude.

The Egyptian adjective admits the sign of the dual and plural, as well as the noun. But the dual appears to have the form of *ui*. The example quoted by Champollion at least leads to that conclusion (p. 326.).

(The two Gods) her.ui na.ui, the elder, the great.

For degrees of Comparison, as far as we know, there were no separate forms in Old Egyptian. In order to express the superlative, it simply prefixes the adjective to the plural of the noun; for example —

Usire neter naā neter.u
Osiris, God the great of the gods, i.e. the greatest God.

The genitive case in this construction is expressed in the later language by the preposition *en*.

There can be no doubt that they marked the comparative, as they did the superlative, only by putting the noun in the dual number instead of the plural.

The oldest form of the comparative and superlative is unquestionably the double for the former, and triple repetition for the latter, which is frequently met with: for instance, the cognomen of Thoth, great, great, i. e. the twice great or greater, nefru, nefru, nefru, the thrice good, i. e. the best.

## F. THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

### I. *The Absolute Verb* (*Verbum Substantivum*).

In the same way as the personal pronoun which indicates the mere abstract idea of personality without

* Mr. Osburn ingeniously conjectures the name of the lute to have been, nefru, analogous to the Hebrew, nebel, from which the Greek νάβλα.

any special distinction, may be called the absolute noun; the verb, "to be," which indicates the abstract idea of existence without any distinction of special activity, may be called the absolute verb.

The Egyptian language is remarkable for often expressing the verbum absolutum by one of the words which express the absolute noun; which peculiarity may be explained in a philosophical point of view by the inseparable union, and therefore apparent identity, of the two ideas of personality and existence.

The absolute verb or copula (which signifies conjunction, i. e. the connexion between action and agent) may be expressed in Egyptian by the following forms:

1. pa, pu, pui, tui (after the subject), the same for the two genders and three numbers. Pa, however, is merely the original way of expressing "the," i. e. "this," which seems to be nothing but the demonstrative personal pronoun. For example,

   they — my loaves — pa em seri.t ubχ, are of flour white.

   Hence originated the Coptic expression, pe, te, ne, he is, she is, they are. Thus in the Semitic: God *he* good (hu), which is formed from hava (=hajah), he is.

2. er, ar, prefixed, undeclinable, the third person, "is," "there is," or "it is," "are," and the infinitive, to be (Copt. are, ale, ere, ele; comp. *er* in Scandinavian = is), there is.

   ar mehi II em ape.f
   are the feathers two on his head.

3. au, prefixed (Copt. ō, o); sometimes undeclinable, sometimes combined with the different pronominal suffixes in order to express the persons. For example,

   au tu.k ma.t, thy word is truth.
   au.i, I am: au.k, thou art: au.f, he is: au.sen, they are.
   (Compare *au* in *αὐ-τός*.)

4. Un (pronounced unu), Copt. uon, un, seems to be regularly declined like the common verbs. For example,

un.n.f, he has been.

It is often so placed as to be considered simply as a participle: compare ὤν, ὄν, Copt. e. ūn. In Coptic the signification *some one, one*, is preserved equivalent to *unus*, the root of which, the English *one*, and German *ein*, may be compared. In later times ir or iri, to make, to do, also occurs as a copula, but almost always in a particular sense, which denotes its original use; for example, 12 and 12 arouræ are (make, iri) 24 (compare the Arabic *kana*, make).

With this we connect the expression of the affirmative and the negative.

The absolute verb or copula may also be expressed by the mere position of the word. That is to say, the subject precedes, the predicate follows. The predicate or verb may also precede, if the subject is repeated. For example,

ka Her si Hes, rejoices Horus the son of Isis.

The negative copula, i. e. the establishment of non-connexion between subject and predicate is figuratively expressed and symbolically, by two arms stretched out in the attitude of repulsion, underneath which we observe sometimes a finch drawn in a reverse position in order to express thereby the idea of aversion. But it has also a peculiar expression in the hieroglyphics, which in that case excludes all the above-cited designations for the affirmative copula.

The two forms of the negative copula are en, nen, prefixed (Copt. en, ȵ, an, ȵ — an, ȵ, — en). For example,

ne Suten ȵ Kemi iri χa
not a King in Egypt has the like done.

ne s.χet.a (geese) sen, not have I netted their geese.

This is the basis of the negative conjugation in Coptic.

ṅ-tem (Copt. tm, χ. tem) with the personal affixes annexed:

iri ṅ tetf.u nib ṅ tem.sen uh ru.i
make that not snakes all not pursue me.

II. *The Predicative or Qualificative* (*Concrete Verb*).

The Infinitive is the pure root. For example,

Ra neter nâ, ta.k mai Hather sate.u.k
Helios, God great, give to see Hathor thy rays
(i.e. grant that Hathor may see thy rays).

Now this root expresses at once all the persons, whether the subject (pronoun or noun) precede, or, as is more commonly the case, the sentence begin with the verb. For example,

nek χunsu ter tenten nib.u
I Chons pierce through the rebellious all.
ka Her si.Hes, rejoices Horus, the son of Isis.

This is as it were a general present tense, implying the idea of continuity. But there are also forms to represent the distinction between the Present, Past, and Future, as well as the different moods.

1. The Indicative and Conjunctive Moods.

*a*. Present Tense, by adding the pronominal affix to the root.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I, | a (i, ei, u) | we, | en |
| Thou, mas. | ek | ye, | ten |
| fem. | t | | |
| he, | ef | they, | sen |
| she, | es | | |

For example:

| | |
|---|---|
| iri. a — . . . . | I make |
| iri. ek — iri. et | thou makest |
| iri. ef — iri. es | he, she makes |
| iri. en — iri. ten — iri. sen | we make, ye make, they make. |

The Coptic conjugation reverses this, thus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ei. iri | — . . . . . | I make |
| ek. iri | — te. iri | thou makest |
| ef (ere) . iri | — es (ere) . iri | he, she makes |
| en (ten) . iri | — . . . . . | we make |
| teten (ereten) . iri | — . . . . . | ye make |
| u . (se *or* ere) . iri | — . . . . . | they make. |

Here also Champollion has erroneously forced the Coptic form into the Egyptian, contrary to the universal mode of writing in the hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. Lepsius has restored the right reading.[193]

*b*. Past Tense. Between the root and affix *en* is introduced. Thus for example:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| iri. en. a | — or en. u | I have made |
| iri. en. ek | — iri. en. et | thou hast made |
| iri. en. ef | — iri. en. es | he, she has made |
| iri. en. en | — . . . | we have made |
| iri. en. ten | — . . . | ye have made |
| iri. en. sen | — . . . | they have made. |

The Coptic mood is, nai . iri . pe: nak . iri . pe: naf, nas: nan: nareten: naū, nare . iri . pe.

*c*. The Future Tense.. *au. r* (Copt. e) esse versus, like the Italian essere per, is prefixed to the root. The person endings are affixed to au; r may also be omitted. Consequently the Egyptian au. a. r. mai (sono io per amare=amerò) corresponds with the Coptic eiemai *i. e.* ei. e. mai; au. ek. r. mai; and thus: eke, ere: efe, ese: ene: eretene: etetnè: eue. mai, thou, he, she, &c., wilt, will, &c. love.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| au . a . r iri | — au . a iri | I shall make (Heb . a . aseh) |
| au . ek . r iri | — au . ek iri | thou shalt make (Heb . t$^{a}$. aseh) |
| au . et . r iri | — au . et iri | thou (fem.) shalt make (Heb . t. aseh . i) |
| au . ef . r iri | — au . ef iri | he shall make (Heb . j (v)$^{a}$. aseh) |
| au . es . r iri | — au . es iri | she shall make (Heb . t$^{a}$. aseh) |
| au . en . r iri | — au . en iri | we shall make (Heb . n$^{a}$. aseh) |
| au . ten . r iri | — au . ten iri | ye shall make (Heb . t$^{a}$. asu, t$^{a}$. aseh . na) |
| au . sen . r iri | — au . sen iri | they shall make (Heb . j (v)$^{a}$ asu, t$^{a}$ . aseh. na). |

193 Lettre, p. 73.

2. The Optative form, *mai*, which is prefixed to the root (with the hieroglyphic sign of a man or woman raising their hand); sometimes without any further designation; for example,

mai pai, pai ba . a, mayst thou fly, fly, my soul;

or with the affixes; for example, mai. iri. i, may I make.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mai . rem . i | that I might weep | δακρύοιμι |
| mai . rem . ek, et | that thou mightest weep | δακρύοις |
| mai . rem . ef, es | that he (she) might weep | δακρύοι |
| mai . rem . en | that we might weep | δακρύοιμεν |
| mai . rem . ten | that ye might weep | δακρύοιτε |
| mai . rem . sen | that they might weep | δακρύοιεν (σαν). |

In the Coptic, mai is pronounced as mare, male, to which the personal suffixes are added: for example, mari, marek, maref, followed by the root. Thus mari-rime, marek rime, &c. &c.

3. The Imperative Mood (hieroglyphically: a man calling out), *ma* (Copt. ma) is prefixed to the root; for example, from the root *i*, are derived

| | |
|---|---|
| mai . i | come! |
| mai . i . en | let us come, may we come. |

This seems to be an abbreviation of the optative form: or is it to be considered as derived from ma, to give?

4. The Participle (verbal adjective), i. e. the verb raised to the idea of general personality, is expressed in Egyptian by the combination of the verbal root with the pronominal suffixes of the third person, viz. *f*, *s*, and *u* (he, she, and they).

For example: suben, to enlighten — suben . f, enlightening.
Kam n . s . t, Egypt offering to thee (Isis).
(The foes) stut . u, trembling, from stut, to tremble, Copt. eu . stōt.

Some verbs ending with a liquid form the participle by affixing *iu* or *i*; for example,

setem, to hear — setem. iu, hearing
hen, to pray to — hen. iu, praying to
un, to open — un. iu, opening.

Lastly, in this signification *ta* and *et* are affixed to the root, both when it ends with a consonant and with a vowel; for example,

anχ, to live — anχ. ta, living
seneba, to be strong — seneba. et, being strong
se. menχ. to build — se. menχ. et, building
χa, to rule — χa. et, ruling.

The independent (unaffixed) form is *ent*, *enten*, he who, before the root; for example,

ente nahem, the Saviour.

There is no proper form for the Passive, except the participle, which is *ut* (Copt. ut). But by placing this between the root and the affix, conjugation may be formed: for example, aa, to pray to — aa. ut, prayed to — aa. ut. f, he is prayed to. Compare the Latin *t* in the passive participles (amatus, auditus). Birch has also discovered that *i*, added to the root of verbs, expresses the past participle: e. g. mer.i, beloved, from mer; amaχ.i, strengthened, from amaχ; hes.i, sung, praised, from hes. Also *u*: e. g. mes.su, born, from mes, to bring forth.

## G. THE PREPOSITIONS.

### I. *Simple Prepositions.*

1. an, abbreviated en, Copt. en, also hen, denotes

1) The regular genitive case (in English *of*, in French *de*); for example, (the land), en reχi, of cleanliness.
2) The case called instrumental and ablative (comprehending also the case called in many Sclavonian grammars, *factivus*), *of*, *through*: teχa aten. en Suten, castle built by the King.
3) The case expressing intention, *to*: (looking-glass) en mii pe hr, to look at the face.
4) The dative: uten en suten, a libation to the king.
5) The case expressing direction, *towards*, *against*: (Truth justifies Horus) an χeft. u, against the enemy.

2. hem (Copt. hem, hen) in a local sense, originally a noun.

hem . u = *οἱ ὄντες ἔνδον*, the inhabitants. hem . t, the inhabitants (fem): also in the form ahem, ahem . u.

3. am, em, Copt. hem; contraction of the foregoing form.

1. In (in a local sense); neχt em ter. u neb, conqueror in all lands; neter. u haak. u em mii. f, the Gods delight in contemplating him (*ἐν ὁρᾶν αὐτόν*).

2. *Through* (in the sense of an instrument, instrumental); for ex. (to till the field), em hebe, with the plough.

3. *To* (intentionalis); em sχau het, to rejoice the heart.

4. er (the sign of the letter r, the mouth), Copt. e. Compare the Hebrew l.

1. Dative case: er fent. ek anχ reχi, to thy nose (is given) pure life.

2. *Towards* (expressing direction): ti. n. n. ek ken er sari, neχt er mehet, we have granted thee victory towards the south, to be powerful towards the north.

3. *In* (in a local sense): ta. t ba. ek er pe χa . ek. em. eaau, I (Goddess) give thy soul (to be) in Heaven, thy body in glory.

4. *To* (intentionalis): ru . a er tet, rat. a er χem, my mouth to speak, my feet to walk.

5. em . . . er = *from . . . up to*, is written and pronounced as a phonetic sign, but originally was connected with the idea of mouth, ru.

5. api (head).

*Upon* (super) ter un . a api tete, whilst I was upon the world.

6. hr'a (Champollion and Lepsius, ho, face, Copt. hra), Copt. hra in e hrai, e hrēi, super. Comp. Hebrew פנה.

1. *On* (super) men hra herī χa neb . . .
firm on the war-chariot, like the Lord . . .
rir en Tefnu hra men. rat. s.
the child of Tefnu on her knee.
em suten hra ka . t Her.
to rule eternally upon the throne of Horus.

2. *Above* (i. e. more than): (he gives me many years)
hra remp. u ente anχ
beyond the years which life has.[194]
ta. ef nek ha.u hra ha.u em remp. u
he gives thee circles of years upon circles of years of years.

3. *To* (before the infinitive): mena hra renen.
nurse to suckle (or bring up).

4. In the sense *out of:*

5. s.her, hra bebe.t aru, to drink of the stream of the river.
With the suffixes: hra.a, hra.k, hra.f. Copt. e hrak, &c.

7. ker (Birch, kar) (hieroglyphically: a footstool, or the side rails of a chair), *under*, Copt. ha, χa.

kar rat. i, under the feet=the Hebrew expression, at the stool of thy feet.
kar teb. ti, under the sandals.

Also in the sense of *with;* for ex. (the royal dignity will last) ker. ef ha χrut. u.f, with him and his children.

With the suffixes; ker.a, ker.ek, ker.ef; in both meanings. In Coptic, perhaps, eχrēï, ȵχrēï, *under*.[195]

8. χar, χer, *to*, *towards*, (versus) Copt. χaro.

tet . . . . χer Amn Ra
speak . . to Ammon Ra.
enek i . i χa. rek, I come to you (Copt. χarok).

Hence, *up to;* in the formula χer tete, to all eternity.
With the suffixes; χe.ri, χe.rek, χe.ref (Ch. Copt. χaroi, χarok, χarof).

The original vowel is seen in the form χera.k, χera.n, to you, to us, which probably was pronounced like χara.k, χara.n. In Coptic, according to Champollion, as the probable form, χaren.

9. χa, *according to* (secundum).

χa (order) en tef.ef, according to the order of his father.

10. hna, *together with* (comp. Copt. hōn, to add to), retains the pronominal suffix.

[194] Champollion here assumes ente=en the sign of the genitive case: just as Salvolini did in the first line of the Rosetta stone; but this is inadmissible.

[195] Ch. p. 408. gives χarm, harem, as the probable Coptic form.

hna.k, with thee.
hna.f, with him, &c.
(struggle of Horus), hna Set, with Set (Typhon).

*Her*, in the same sense, is only used in later times, for example, on the Rosetta stone. Likewise with the suffixes her.a, her.ek, her.ef, with me, thee, him, &c.

11. ma (locus, vice), *instead.*

(Osiris takes the empire), ma tef.f Amn, instead of his father Ammon, Copt. e pma.

## II. *Compound Prepositions.*

1. ha (ku)=Copt. ᵈjō, head. In Coptic ha means *under, against.*

ha-ᵈjo signifies coram, before.
ha api.s, before her (before her head=face).

2. Compounds with hra (face).

*a.* en hra (Copt. na hren), in facie, in face of, like the Hebrew, al pne, takes the suffixes, as well as the latter.
en hra.k, before thy face, before thee, Copt. na hrak.

Also strictly in the original sense: iri.n.a.hennu en hra.k nefru, I have prayers made before thy beautiful countenance (God).

*b.* hra het (facies cordis, in corde), *within, in* (Ch. p. 467., comp. 488.).

*c.* hra-api; Copt. e hrai e ᵈjō, super caput=*over, upon.*

uben ra hra api a.t.et
beams the sun above dwelling thine (of the wife).

Properly=upon the head. Thus:

s.men terχ hra api.k χa Amn
he fixes the helmet on thy heäd, like Ammon.

(I have laid my arms) hra ku.k Hesiri=on thy head, Osiris.

With the suffixes; hra ku.i, hra ku.k, hra ku.f=Copt. e hrai e ᵈdjōi, e hrai e ᵈjōk; on (above) me, thee.

*d.* hra hru, *upon, above.* Comp. Copt. hirō, hiren (see 1.), in the sense of *against;* for example, ha-rok, against thee; hra hru hemsi.t, on her throne.

em neχt apep neter na hra ru.sen
when (himself) raises the great God against them (eos).

With the suffixes; hra.ruk, hra.ruf, as in the Coptic; hirōi, hirōk, hirōf.

*e.* hra pe, the same; *on, over;* literally, face of heaven. hra pe hemsi, upon the throne.

Amn Ra neter naa hra pe neter.u neb
Ammon Ra, great God above all gods.

Retained in the Coptic hi tpe, above, over.

*f.* hra hru pe, the same.

hra ru pe hemsi, on the throne.

*g.* hra hra ru, a similar reduplication, in the same sense *of, on, over.*

With the suffixes; hra hra ru.k, over thee.

*h.* hru hra (comp. the Coptic huru, to despise, neglect), negligens faciem, *besides* (in the sense of *not reckoning*).

Suten s. ubenet Amn a.t ϰa Seb en pe, hru hra iri.n.ef em he naa; the King has embellished Diospolis (Thebes) like the mountain of the Sun in heaven, besides what he has done (built) in the palace.

3. em (?bsah) (to) (a Phallic figure; literally, in pene, comp. Latin penes), *before, in presence, in face of.*

Champollion read the word emto, after the Coptic, emto, emtho, in the same sense, which Peyron most inadmissibly derives from "emtho, presence," a word not in use. Champollion's explanation would be perfectly satisfactory if the *tu* sound could in any way be annexed to the sign.[196]

With the affixes, for ex. em . . . f, coram eo, before him, like the Coptic pe.f emto.

4. Compounds with ha (or, with the feminine sign, ha.t), hieroglyphically, the forepart of a lion, in anterioribus=*before*, ante, coram, like the foregoing form.

*a.* hem ha, or em ha. Coptic, hē, thē.

*b.* er ha (he.t), (literally, versus anteriora), the same; Coptic, e thē.

*c.* ker (footstool) ha (he.t), the same; Coptic, ha thē.

With the affixes, ker ha.t.a, ker ha.t.ek, before me, thee; Coptic, ha tahē, ha tekhē.

5. ker peh (hinder part of a lion), *behind* (in a local sense), Copt. pahu, phahu.

[196] Phallus is in Egyptian han.

6. Compounds with sa (hieroglyphically, the top of a quiver; Ch. sa, in Copt., part), *behind, after.*

*a.* em sa, Coptic en sa. The Coptic form seems to correspond with the later Egyptian: en.s.

With the suffixes: em sa.a, em sa.ek, behind me, thee. Coptic, ṅ sōi, ṅ sōk, &c.

*b.* hra sa, the same.

Likewise in the sense of time: after.

hra sa ter, after the world.

7. er ma, versus locum, in loco, vice, *instead.*

er ma.k, versus locum tuum = versus te, Copt. e pema, e mau, ṅ mau (generally used as an adverb).

8. er her, reduplication of the form *her*, in the same sense, *with*; is the same as the simple form, only a later use of it.

er, her.a, er her.ek = her.a, her.ek, with me, thee.

## H. THE ADVERB.

### I. *Adverbs denoting Space.*

1. ma (place, see prep. 10., comp. Hebrew ma-kum, the place ?), *here.*

er ma (Copt. e pema, e mau), versus locum, where (ubi).

2. hra pe (facies cœli) (Birch, hra), *above.* Hence,

er hra pe (versus faciem cœli), upwards
em (*or* en) hra.pe (de facie cœli), from above.

3. er ha.t (see compound prep. 4.), *before.*

4. er (ḳefa) (ibid. 5.), *behind.*

5. em, neχt, (in forti), *before.*

6. er sa (comp. prep. 6.), *behind:* Coptic, ṅ sa.

### II. *Adverbs denoting Time.*

1. as, *then* (in *Hebrew* as), also, *as* (quum); and supplementarily in the sense of ecce, *Lo!* like the Coptic is, eis.

(Darius ordered me to go to Egypt) as hent-suten . ef hem Arema: then was his Majesty in Aram (Assyria ?).
(The arrival of his Majesty King Cambyses occurred) as kah . u neb hna . f as all countries (were) with him.

2. as.tu, generally as.t, the same; *there, see there.*

as . tu ka ubχ ha . t suten hent . f, see there, or then, (goes) the white ox before his Majesty. Copt. ⁿjen, eχ ⁿje.

3. ter, *since, as soon as.* Coptic, entere, quando.

(He appeared not in the contest) ter maa . n . ef suten hent. f, as soon as he saw his Majesty.

4. χeft, *as soon as, since, when;* unknown in Coptic; probably χef . t (χef. tu ? Perhaps connected with the Coptic χeb, other, different ?)

5. χaa (Coptic χa), *up to.*

6. haū neb (Copt. hoū niben, hoū nim, haū nibi, nim), *daily.*

7. em pe haū (Copt. m̀ phoū, m̀ poū, *and without* m̀), *on this day*, i. e. *to-day.*

8. sef (Copt. saf, sef, sab), *yesterday.*

9. heh haū, er heh haū (Copt. (e) hah en hoū), (per multos dies, i. e. the whole life upon earth, for the whole lifetime), *long* (diu), *always* (not in the sense of *eternally*).

9*a*. er neheh, for ever.

9*b*. eneheh, for ever.

10. tete or ke-te corresponds with the Coptic tka, eternal, for eternity. Likewise tete tete, like the Coptic, eneh en eneh, comp. in sæcula sæculorum, εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Sometimes preceded by the preposition en, em, er tete eneh, *for ever.*

11. χaa.tet, *to eternity.*

12. Lastly, also χaa heh haū tet, usque ad (in) sæcula sæculorum: and haū χa tete, hodie ut semper, hodie ut in æternum. (The concluding formula of several inscriptions.)

13. ne (sign of negation), sep (Copt. ṅ u sop an), = *never.*

### III. *Adverbs denoting Manner.*

1. ϫa, ϫe, *like as* (comp. prep. 9).
2. ϫa enti, *precisely as*, de la même manière que (relative reduplication).
3. ϫa ϫa (written with the sign of reduplication), *in like manner.*
4. em u t. u t, with the same signification (Copt. enouet, nouot).

### IV. *Adverbs denoting Number.*

Repetition; time, preceded by sep, or, em sep, in Coptic, sop, sōp, sap, sep, sp̀, soop, sōōp, after the numeral.

ftu em sep (Coptic ftoū ṅ sop), four times.
sep (ϫoment) em her, three times a day.
sep (snau), twice (the sign of repetition, bis).

## I. WORDS USED FOR THE CONNEXION OF SENTENCES (CONJUNCTIVES).

### A. *Connexion between the Nouns or agents of two sentences.*

1. Relative Pronouns.

*a.* pa entet (see above pron.), *he who:* the following noun has then its suffix as in Hebrew.

neter pa entet hra . f em tesem
the God, whose countenance (that) of a he-cat (is).

*b.* The relative pronoun, but expressed by the personal pronoun as in Hebrew.

χet neb n̈efru ueb anχ . t neter am sen
every other thing good and pure, and life divine through them.

Suten neter . u s . ϫa . f
the King of the Gods, (who) him on the throne placed.

2. Relative Particles.

entet, *id quod*, to express the object in the sen-

tence, comp. ὅτι (ὅ,τι). The final t in this word seems to be the sign of the feminine gender, which, as in Hebrew, appears also to denote the neuter.

B. *Connexion between the Verbs or actions of two sentences.*

I. Connexion, conjunction, is very often not expressed at all (asyndeton).

1. au, Copt. auō, *and* (comp. og in Danish=German auch, or Hebrew ve ?).
2. ha, Copt. hō, *and, also.* Salvolini (Rosetta Inscription, p. 99,) compares ha, the member, in the sense of ipse (like persona, Coptic, ho).
3. her, the same; comp. Copt. hi.
4. ker, the same.
5. kī the same, Copt. ke.

II. Consequence.

1. kar, Copt. ˢke, ˢkē, ᵈje, *consequently, verily:* comp. ke, other.
2. hra enti (facies ejus quod), *because, for:* comp. διότι, parceque.
3. ka enti (sub eo quod), *therefore.*

(Pronounce my justification before Osiris)
hra . enti iri . na-ma em (Egypt)
because I justice did in Egypt.

III. Disjunctive.

kes (in the hieratic texts), *either, or.*

## K. INTERJECTIONS.

a, ha, hu, hi, o! ah! ha!

## SECTION V.

### THE WRITING OF THE EGYPTIANS.

### INTRODUCTION.

The invention and development of the art of writing is the second great historical fact of the primeval period in the department of language, and the third and last in the general course of early history. Although more recent than language or religion — the previous existence of both of which it implies — writing is yet unquestionably an inheritance transmitted to the Egyptians from their remote patriarchal ages; for on the monuments of the 4th Dynasty, i. e. of the beginning of the 5th century of the empire, we find the same system already matured and perfected, which we meet with on the monuments of the Tuthmoses and Psammetici. Even the names of the Kings of the 3rd Dynasty, of the 3rd and 4th century of the empire, exhibit the same system, and it is in this Dynasty that the only mention occurs, in the fragments of Manetho, of any improvement in the character. No one, however, acquainted with the artificial and complicated nature of that system, and who reflects on the tenacity with which the Egyptians adhered to their institutions, will believe for one moment that, in the first two or three centuries of the empire, they employed an essentially different style of writing. But this system of writing must likewise have had a history and a development — and indeed an Egyptian one — it must have been brought to perfection in that same valley of the Nile, by the same race of men, in the course of earlier centuries, in the same form as those primeval monuments now exhibit it to us.

There is, however, another fact, and one of the

highest importance, to corroborate this argument. We may venture to assume that the hieratic character is nothing but the earliest contraction of the monumental, i. e. the hieroglyphical, invented for the use of the papyri and of common life. Its high antiquity is undoubted. It is found on certain fragments of linen, which appear to be part of the external linen wrapper of the body of King Nantef, portions of which still adhere to the gum or varnish lining of the wooden sarcophagus of this King in the British Museum. Some of these fragments having been detached, well formed hieratic characters, apparently part of the ritual, were discovered upon them. Nantef is the head of the 8th Dynasty. The inner part of the sarcophagus of Mentuhept (the fourth King of that Dynasty), copied by Wilkinson, was also covered with a hieratic ritual. M. Prisse* has published the names of three Kings of the 3rd Dynasty (An, Ases, Senefru), found in a papyrus. Here we want the proof of its being a contemporaneous monument. But certainly the hieroglyphics hastily sketched on the stone-marks of the Pyramids of the 4th Dynasty contain the principle of the hieratic character.

There seems therefore to be no reasonable doubt of the fact, that the empire of Menes, with which our chronological history begins, possessed writing in a state essentially as perfect as it did language and mythology. If then we exhibit this system in the form in which it appears on the earliest extant monuments of the Old Empire, we may venture to assert that we have thereby brought into notice what is essentially one of the great records of the ante-historical time, and have added our mite to its elucidation. Throughout our remarks, therefore, this primitive epoch must be kept especially in view. The discoverers of the Egyptian character

* Revue archéol. t. ii. p. 13.

could not do otherwise than commence their researches at the other end, by deciphering the Greek and Roman names, through the hieroglyphic and demotic signs. But this retrograde method is at an end, now that the alphabet is discovered, and any attempt to follow it up must henceforth be held wholly inadmissible, as an anachronism in science. While many still seem persuaded that the latest Roman names must remain the only certain groundwork for further researches, the monuments already interpreted prove that these names bear on their own face evidence not only of misapprehension but of wilful alteration and corruption, such as would have created universal horror among the hierogrammatists of the old Pharaohs. The case is certainly different where Coptic philology is concerned. It is precisely from the latest monuments that light is to be expected on the gradual formation of the modern Egyptian, as Schwartze's profound work demonstrates.

But in the study of the ancient language, the opposite course alone can from henceforth be considered the correct one. It is also the only historical course: an historical exposition must set out from the beginning. The restoration of the chronology, the foundation of which has been laid above, and the more detailed evidence of which will be supplied in the following books, places us even, if we be not greatly mistaken, in a position to establish generally the true import of the hieroglyphic texts, with much greater certainty than it would have been possible to do by reversing the order here preferred. The writing of the Old Empire, strange as it may sound to many, is better authenticated than that of the times of the Ptolemies and Romans.

We look, however, the more confidently for success in our efforts, by adhering to the method indicated in our preliminary remarks, which teaches us how to discover in the fact itself the mode, and, where possible, the law of its production.

The question we propose to solve by pursuing this

method is, whether the different elements of the Egyptian system of writing are of cotemporary origin? and, if this be answered in the negative, which are the more ancient?

But before answering these and similar questions, we must endeavour to trace the origin and progress of modern hieroglyphical discovery, as in itself one of the most remarkable phenomena in the intellectual history of our species.

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## A.

### HISTORY OF MODERN HIEROGLYPHICAL DISCOVERY.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TEXT OF CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA.

#### I. THE DISCOVERY OF THE ROSETTA TABLET. — THE GREAT FRENCH WORK ON EGYPT.

IN August, 1799, a French officer of artillery, by name Bouchart, while engaged with certain works on the redoubt of St. Julian, at Rosetta (Reschid), discovered the fragment of an oblong square slab of black syenitic basalt. It bore a triple inscription: the upper one of the three was in hieroglyphics, the lower in Greek, while that in the centre was in a character which the Greek text itself describes as the enchorial or popular. The Greek text showed that the tablet contained a recognition of the highest honours of the Pharaohs in the person of Ptolemy Epiphanes, by the priesthood assembled at Memphis. The value of the monument was at once perceived, and after having been copied, it was set apart and packed up. The victory of the English at Alexandria, and the surrender of the city, placed it in the hands of one of the most distinguished and zealous scholars of the day — Mr. William R. Hamilton, author of the "Ægyptiaca," then with the British army as Commissioner of the government. The trea-

sure was despatched to England, and thus, by a fatality no less singular than striking, deposited in the British Museum instead of the Louvre. This seemingly insignificant stone shares with the great and splendid work, "La Description de l'Egypte," the honour of being the only result of vital importance to universal history, accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt. That grand conception, the early forecast of a young hero — the colonisation of Egypt by Europeans, which Leibnitz had proposed to Louis XIV., and Bossuet, as a passage in his Universal History proves, urgently recommended — had wholly failed, and seemed destined to disappear from the page of history, like a stroke upon the waters, without leaving a trace behind it. After a bloody and fruitlessly protracted struggle, upon which millions of treasure, and unnumbered hecatombs of human life were sacrificed, the cradle of civilisation, the land of monuments, was again unconditionally surrendered to the dominion of barbarians.

From the state of the contending parties any reservation in favour of their Christian fellow-worshippers could hardly be expected. Science, however, was honoured in England and in France, and even in the army of Napoleon was worthily, nay brilliantly, represented; yet it is an undeniable fact that, since that conquest, a greater number of monuments have been destroyed than in the previous centuries of Moslem rule. Under these circumstances, then, we may consider that splendid work on Egypt as a sort of sin-offering for all the blood which had been so vainly shed on her soil. The men of science in the suite of the conqueror, during his possession of the country, were actively employed, and that work, the foundation of which was then in reality laid, will remain to all times a crown of never failing laurel both for him and the French nation. In spite of its long delayed publication, and the tardy completion even of the earlier

portion of the Antiquities (1809—1818)[197], the monuments it contained, and the learned commentaries by which they were accompanied, were what once more aroused the general attention of the European public to Egyptian research, which had been previously all but abandoned. This collection comprised not only the most important monuments of Egypt, but also the great funereal papyrus, and other Egyptian records of the highest value, and in a singularly correct form, considering the then existing state of our knowledge of either the signs or characters. But the riddle of the sphinx still remained unsolved. The monuments were still so mute to the French Egyptologers, that they often classed those of the lowest period as the most ancient, the earliest as the latest—respectively. Their hieroglyphical studies, in spite of a methodical arrangement of the characters, barely reached the point to which Zoega had arrived in the preceding century; and now that the papyri were authentically before the world, all hope of their decipherment appeared to have vanished. It was not that work, therefore, but the Rosetta stone, which in reality unloosed the tongue of both monuments and records, and rendered them accessible to historical investigation. This stone was the mighty lever by means of which not only the treasures of that work were to be made available for art and history, but which, by the light it shed on the mysteries of the Egyptian language and writing, was to enable science to penetrate through the darkness of thousands of years, extend the limits of history, and even open up a possibility of unfolding the primeval secrets of the human race. Let this then be a lesson, never to despair of the result of any grand conception,

[197] The details are as follow:—Antiquités, 1809—1818. État Moderne, 1809—1822. Histoire Naturelle, 1809—1826. Carte Topographique, 1828. New edition, 1828—1831, in 12 vols., containing the plates, with 24 vols. 8vo of text.

of the success of any noble undertaking; but, above all, never to contemn or overlook even the most seemingly trivial and unpromising object within the range of primitive monumental history.

### II. THE FIRST STEP. — THE ROYAL NAMES, AND THE ENCHORIAL ALPHABET. — SYLVESTRE DE SACY, AKERBLAD.

The history of Egyptian hieroglyphical discovery has led to many disputes and much bitterness, which has afforded the intellectual conceit of the day a convenient cloak for its own inactivity, and the educated world an excuse for its own ignorance. History must consign to oblivion whatever is merely accidental or personal, however indispensable the knowledge of it may be to the historian himself. The real history of a great discovery, however, is scarcely less instructive than the discovery itself — and for this reason, because the discovery depends essentially upon the method which the penetrating genius of the discoverer selects in fond anticipation of his object. The grand point in every discovery is the mental determination to undertake the solution of a problem from a correct survey of the nature and laws of the object to be investigated. The proposal of such a question is often equivalent to its answer, and yet no one ever succeeded in discovering that answer by pursuing the beaten path.[198]

Zoega the Dane, in his very learned book on the

[198] The most complete account of the progress of hieroglyphical discovery is to be found in Schwartze's work, already quoted in one of the foregoing sections, and to which we here once for all direct attention. This work is the first in which a complete set of hieroglyphic types has been employed; a grand undertaking, carried out under the author's own superintendence, by Mr. Ambrose Barth, who, in promoting the advancement of every thing connected with science, has deserved so well of his German fatherland, and one which does the highest credit to the German book trade, and the industry of German artists. On the whole, the hieroglyphics convey their Egyptian character very accurately; but in this respect Champollion's Grammar is the most perfect model.

obelisks, had, immediately previous to the Egyptian expedition (1798), undertaken an analysis of the Egyptian language and writing from a twofold point of view: as illustrated on the one hand by the tradition of the Greeks — on the other by the Coptic dialect — and with some success in each case. His Coptic researches afterwards brought to light, for the first time in 1810, a rich collection of Egyptian MSS. of the first centuries of Christianity. He was the first who in the work above cited, completely established the distinction between the hieroglyphics and the purely symbolical representations, engraven like them, and so frequently confounded with them. He perceived likewise that their number was limited, and even defined it with great exactitude. He confidently maintained that they contained signs of articulate sounds, in spite of the determined prejudice existing in favour of their exclusively symbolical and mythical import, and for these he invented the name of phonetic signs.[199] Barthelemy had already suspected that the numerous Rings on the monuments contained the names of Kings. Zoega considered this a very plausible conjecture. Who would not have supposed that starting with such lucid views, either he himself or his successors, the editors of the French work (who, however, seem not to have known of his existence), must have discovered the truth on which they pressed so closely?

As engraved copies of the Rosetta stone became common in Europe — for which object the English scholars had provided without delay — its decipherment appeared to philologers a problem capable of being solved. Heyne and Porson, by restoring and interpreting the Greek inscription, facilitated the task. Strange to say, those who first directed their attention to the two Egyptian texts started upon the utterly groundless assumption, repudiated by Zoega, that the sacred or

[199] De Obeliscis, p. 439. Comp. p. 454. and 522. seqq.

hieroglyphic character was purely symbolic. To this assumption they superadded another equally baseless — of the purely alphabetical nature of the enchorial text. The consequence was, that all immediately concluded the language in both inscriptions to be the same, but written in two different ways. This was the third error. Hence many of them adopted the equally arbitrary notion of an identity between the enchorial character of the monuments and the hieratic, as exhibited in several of the old papyri, principally those representing funeral processions and trials of the dead. This was the fourth error.

Setting out with such conjectures, they could at best succeed in gaining but a very incomplete knowledge of the enchorial character, that, namely, appropriated to the popular or vulgar dialect. This dialect, as we can now prove, was the Coptic, as yet free from admixture of Greek words, and is found in documents of the time of the Psammetici. It is distinguished from the sacred language not only in the individual words, but also in many forms of declension. The sacred language, on the other hand, is the language of science, and of literature. As being the language of the monuments, it is the only record of contemporary history, as well as the only witness of the primeval, historically undefined existence of the nation. Nothing, therefore, of real historical importance could be elicited by pursuing such a course.

All hopes of success, however, either in deciphering enchorial inscriptions, or in the interpretation of the language in which they were written, necessarily depended upon the method of investigation. And here two courses presented themselves. The simple or preliminary course would be that usually resorted to in the interpretation of secret writing. The first object in such cases is to ascertain the number of the signs, the next to distinguish recurring groups, the third and last

to explain them by the language they are supposed to embody, according to the assumed or ascertained sense of the inscription. But the sense was here in substance at least ascertained. The presumption that the language was the Coptic or some kindred dialect of the Egyptian, was too natural not to be at once adopted and followed up by all competent inquirers. The other is the strictly philological method, that of investigating the value of the individual signs, and by means of them restoring the words and grammatical forms. It was the first of these two paths which was pursued by the successful decipherer of the inscriptions of the Sassanidæ, we mean Sylvestre de Sacy, that great man who brought Arabic philology, neglected since the time of Reiske, to its true historical position, and whose name we cannot mention without, in common with many of our countrymen, offering our tribute of veneration and gratitude to his memory, both as an instructor and as a man. This great scholar saw clearly that the only certain basis of interpretation must be to identify the proper names which occur, and for the most part several times, in the inscription. In the year 1802, in a letter to Chaptal, the Minister of the Republic, himself a distinguished cultivator both of philological and historical science, he pointed out the three groups which contain the names of Ptolemy, Berenice, and Alexander.

The acute Swedish philologer, Akerblad, succeeded, however, in advancing considerably further. His letter addressed to De Sacy in the course of the same year shows that those groups are capable of being decomposed into letters. By means of them and thirteen other groups, among which are the Coptic words *Chemi*, Egypt, *Phuro*, the King, *Nierphēui*, the Temples, *Ueb*, Priests, he formed an alphabet for almost all the letters of the enchorial character. He did not agree with De Sacy in considering this character as the

demotic of Herodotus, but supposed it to be the same as the hieratic. Here then the first great step was made, ingeniously and successfully, towards deciphering the demotic alphabet; and although some of his conclusions were erroneous, and others incomplete, still his method was strictly critical. But little further progress, however, could, under the circumstances, be expected from any such course; for Akerblad had as little idea of the existence of symbolic signs in the enchorial, as he had of phonetic signs in the hieroglyphic character.

To an Englishman belongs the immortal honour of both those discoveries, which he also followed out with equal acuteness and perseverance, and to a certain extent demonstrated. This was the second great step towards deciphering the hieroglyphics.

### III. FURTHER RESEARCHES INTO THE ENCHORIAL CHARACTER. — DISCOVERY OF PHONETIC HIEROGLYPHICS. — THOMAS YOUNG.

Thomas Young, a learned physician, who had already obtained a durable celebrity by his discoveries in mathematical and physical science, had also been led, especially after the year 1813, by the publication of the Mithridates of Adelung and Vater, of which he wrote an able review[200], to direct his attention to the great Egyptian problem of the day. His acute mind was not contented with studying the enchorial inscription. He contemplated also the deciphering of the hieroglyphic character, and applied to both texts a method, in which, and in his mode of following it out, we recognise rather the sagacity of the experienced mathematician, than the native genius of the philologer. He endeavoured to divide the two Egyptian texts into groups, upon the basis of the Greek inscription. He prepared himself for this task by acquiring a knowledge of the Coptic tongue, and adopted Akerblad's alphabet

[200] Quarterly Review, 1813.

in his analysis of the enchorial text. He differed, however, in one important point from that critic, inasmuch as he assumed that this character contained symbolic as well as alphabetic signs. He endeavoured to subdivide the hieroglyphic text into paragraphs by comparing its recurring groups of characters with the words or sentences repeated in the Greek text, and with the enchorial signs to which they were supposed to correspond. So rapid was the progress of his researches, that, as early as November, 1814, he was enabled to offer "A conjectural Translation of the Egyptian Inscription of the Rosetta Stone."[201] It appeared in 1816 without his name, together with two letters to De Sacy, dated August and October, 1814. In these he states that he possessed, indeed, a previous superficial knowledge of Akerblad's alphabet, but had succeeded in deciphering the tablet by a totally different plan, namely (as he says), without concerning himself about the value of the characters of which the particular groups consist. That it was true also that he agreed with Akerblad in regard to sixteen characters, but had found them out in his own way — that the inscription likewise contained symbolic signs, and about 100 different characters. The results of the researches hitherto made are summed up in his second letter to De Sacy, as follows: nineteen letters of Akerblad's, twelve of his own, to which is added a star as the sign of the end of a proper name forming the thirteenth. He then gives fifty groups of words, the first three of which are those indicated by De Sacy, and analysed by Akerblad — then follow the sixteen words which the

[201] Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries — as an Appendix by a learned friend to a communication of Boughton of the 19th May, 1814. Young's share of it (i. e. nearly the whole) was published (but still anonymously) in the Cambridge Mus. Crit., No. VI., which appeared in May, 1816. From this article we learn the date of the translation itself.

Swedish scholar discovered and in part analysed: the rest are his own. To these he adds 150 more groups, for which he found the corresponding words in the Greek inscription, and in some cases pointed out the Coptic word. The interpretation of these groups of words is, in part, completely wrong, and in no instance supported by philological analysis.

In the correspondence carried on in the course of the following year (1815), with both De Sacy and Akerblad, (the latter of whom had continued at Rome the researches commenced at Paris, but without extending the range of his discoveries[202]), Young, undoubtedly, displayed the greatest acuteness, combined with admirable perseverance, in increasing the materials for investigation: he had not, however, succeeded in effecting any essential improvement in his method. His happiest suggestion was the following. He found that the European collections contained a number of papyri, which, from the identity of the figurative representations at the head of the individual sections, are obviously portions of one and the same Book of the Dead. The great French work on Egypt offered him the most complete MS. hitherto known of this kind. Now this, like other MSS. of the same book, is written in hieroglyphics, whereas the others are executed in a character which at first sight appears the same as that of the centre inscription of the Rosetta stone, and has, in reality, some signs in common with it. The collation of these records was certainly a most fortunate idea, although his mode of following it out, being itself erroneous, necessarily led Young into great errors, and could in no case tend to the accomplishment of his object. His next step, however, was quite in a right direction—the assumption that the character on the stone, and the one in the hieratic papyri, exhibit traces

[202] Mus. Crit., No. VI.

of their derivation from the hieroglyphics, by the gradual formation of a running hand. But from this point onwards he went completely astray. These two hypotheses, with the previous one, of the existence of symbolic signs in both the hieroglyphic and the cursive character, became the groundwork of two fallacious inferences. The first was, that the hieratic character of the papyri, and the enchorial of the stone, are the same, but with this difference, that the second exhibits a still greater corruption in the sign.[203] He endeavoured, indeed, with great ingenuity and partial success, to translate back the passages of the hieratic papyri and enchorial inscriptions into the hieroglyphic forms from whence they derived. But as regards the clue which the comparison of the hieroglyphical and hieratic MSS. in some degree furnishes to the decipherment of the former character, so completely had he lost it, that he goes the length of asserting that "not one single group in those hieroglyphical papyri can be recognised on the stone."[204] In 1816[205], he even went so far as to deny the existence of an alphabetic element in either the hieroglyphic or the hieratic character. Yet he still held the hieratic to be not only the written character of the same language, but also essentially the same mode of writing it. So little in

[203] Letter to Sylvestre de Sacy, August 3, 1815. He calls the hieratic papyri imitations of hieroglyphics, adopted as monograms or verbal characters mixed with the letters of the alphabet... "The only remaining hope appears to be, that we may be able to interpret the Old Egyptian MSS. in general by means of the hieroglyphics."

[204] "It is remarkable that not a single group has been observed (viz. in the hieroglyphic MSS. of the Book of the Dead) that affords a word distinguishable upon the Rosetta stone."

[205] Letter to the Archduke John of Austria in the Mus. Crit., No. VII. (Dec. 1821). By comparing the hieroglyphic MS. of the great Egyptian work with others "in the running hand," it is established "that the characters agreed throughout with each other in such a manner as completely to put an end to the idea of the alphabetical nature of any of them."

fact was he able to turn to account his theory of a connection between the hieroglyphic and the cursive character, considered as a gradual corruption of the hieroglyphic signs, that he expressly declared in 1816, "that nothing more could be discovered in this cursive character than a sort of syllabic writing for proper names."[206] So firmly were these views impressed on his mind, that his closer and more philological limitation and definition of them, in his treatise of 1819 on the language and writing of the Egyptians[207], which, however, formed an epoch in the inquiry, led him in many points still further from the truth, and in no instance to any certain or philologically accurate result. Afterwards, indeed, he was led clearly to perceive the difference between the hieratic and enchorial writing, chiefly by a more careful collation of the demotic papyri; but he calls the latter a second corrupt form of the hieroglophics, the hieratic character being the first.[208] He gives no proof of this; indeed his method neither aims at, nor admits of, any strict philological demonstration; but, besides, the assumption is incorrect. It is as impossible to deduce and explain the demotic from the hieratic character, as it is false to define it to be purely alphabetical, as Akerblad has done.

There was, however, one very happy result of his speculations embodied in this treatise, and which, by the impression it made upon Champollion, led to the greatest discovery of the century, the alphabet of the Old Egyptian language and character. But it would be a very false view of the matter to suppose that he

[206] Ibid. "A loose imitation of the hieroglyphic characters may even be traced by means of the intermediate steps in the enchorial name of Ptolemy (on the Rosetta stone). At the same time it can hardly be denied that something like a syllabic alphabet may be discovered in all the proper names."

[207] Supplements to the former editions of the Encyc. Brit., vol. iv. Dec. 1819.

[208] Ibid. p. 54.

arrived at it by a scientific process, or upon any principle of inductive analysis. His continued comparison of demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic groups—for these and not their individual elements were the sole data for the exercise of his inventive faculties—led him, indeed, to the inference that the Rings on the Rosetta stone and other monuments contained the names of Kings, which, as we have seen, had already occurred to Barthelemy and Zoega. In that treatise he arranged some twenty of these names, and among them that of Ptolemy, which occurs in the hieroglyphic text of the stone. The name of Berenice, which is there wanting, he found in the copy of an hieroglyphic inscription on the doorway at Karnak, where the two are mentioned together as the "Saviour Gods." He endeavoured to decipher these two names hieroglyphically, but with such incomplete success, that, of their thirteen signs, he attempted to explain but eleven, and of these eleven, he guessed eight more or less incorrectly. How could it be otherwise, when his speculations were based on no certain or definite value of the individual hieroglyphics! The element of truth contained in the discovery was eclipsed again by the preponderance of error. His sagacity in connecting the name of Ptolemy on the stone with the Ring at Karnak led him to the former; the latter was the necessary consequence of a faulty method. This prevented him from ever contemplating the possibility of a purely phonetic alphabet, although he suspected a "certain kind of syllabic system," in itself a very obscure and uncritical expression. He was equally unconscious of the existence of several signs for one sound, the so-called homophone signs, the real key to the hieroglyphic characters, although the hieroglyphic MSS. of the Book of the Dead, which he collected, might have led him to infer it.

But, lastly, his hieroglyphic alphabet, as conceived by him, was no alphabet for the language, but only for

writing the proper names, and, indeed, only the foreign names; a supplementary expedient in short, similar, as he himself observed, to that in use among the Chinese, in aid of a system of writing devoid of phonetic elements.

On the publication of Champollion's alphabet, in the autumn of 1822, Young made a vain attempt to appropriate this discovery to himself. He took his stand on the names of Memnon, Sesostris, and others, whose Rings he had traced on the monuments with great sagacity, but without having guessed their meaning even in one single instance; for in some cases they belong to totally different kings, and in others do not give the name of the king which he had conjectured. But, lastly, neither his own knowledge, nor hieroglyphical science in general, were in the slightest degree advanced by this sort of guessing at names as yet undeciphered. Young had begun with guessing, and ended with identifying two important Rings out of about twenty; but he had actually deciphered and discovered nothing at all. The only further advantages resulting from his researches were confined to the enchorial or demotic character. Of this he edited several specimens, deeds of sale, and the like, and latterly was occupied upon a dictionary of the language, which appeared after his death.[209] Neither in the interpretation of these documents, nor in the dictionary itself does he give any more satisfactory account than formerly either of the words explained, or his method of deciphering or reading them.

The first attempt at strictly philological investigation in this department was Kosegarten's interpretation, while Young was still living, of the names and titles of several of the Ptolemies, contained in a bilinguar papyrus in the collection at Berlin, out of which he formed

[209] Th. Young, Rudiments of an Egyptian Dictionary in the Ancient Enchorial Character. London, 1830. 8vo.

the beginning of an alphabet, and discovered several grammatical forms.[210]

Since the appearance of this work, M. de Saulcy has published, as I understand, a book on the demotic system; but up to this moment (April, 1847) it has not reached the British Museum. A work on the hieratic character is expected from M. Ampère. Hitherto less progress has been made in these two characters than in the hieroglyphics. It is only by applying to them the same method as has been employed in the latter, that any important success can be anticipated. Documents in both these dialects are not wanting in Germany, since, through the efforts of royal zeal and munificence, the Berlin museum, in addition to its previous collection of demotic papyri, has now been enriched by others of no little importance in the hieratic character.

### IV. THE HIEROGLYPHIC ALPHABET. CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE.

JEAN François Champollion, surnamed Le Jeune, as younger brother of M. Champollion-Figeac, was born in the neighbourhood of Grenoble in 1790, and appeared from his earliest youth to be the destined instrument of forwarding Egyptian research. Fascinated by the charm of this land of wonders, and the renown of Buonaparte's great expedition, when a youth of seventeen, he laid before his teachers at Grenoble in September, 1807, a plan of his treatise on the geography of ancient Egypt, with an introduction and map, as a specimen of the first part of a comprehensive work on the language, writing, and religion of the Egyptians. With these pages in his hand he presented himself to the principal men of science at Paris, and

[210] I. G. L. Kosegarten, Bemerkungen über den ägyptischen Text eines Papyrus. Greifswalde, 1824.

after three years of research, especially under the guidance of De Sacy, he, in September 1810, commenced printing his introduction to the above work, which appeared in 1814. In it he mentions cursorily some corrections and completions of Akerblad's alphabet of the enchorial inscriptions[211], and gives a short sketch of his own comprehensive and systematic researches into the Coptic. A grammar and dictionary of that language, which he then projected, maintained ever afterwards its reputation among Coptic philologers.

These early labours of Champollion show that he had, following up the method of Akerblad, made considerable progress in the decipherment of the enchorial inscription, and nearly succeeded in discovering the symbolic signs which occur in it.[212] It is clear that he, as well as his contemporaries, notwithstanding Zoega's arguments, considered the hieroglyphics to be a purely symbolic character. A further research in the same direction furnished him with the fact, that the character of the hieratic papyri was formed from the hieroglyphic, as a running hand. This led him to the conclusion, as expressed in a paper laid before the Institute at Paris in 1821[213], that the hieratic character is *also* symbolic, and not alphabetic. Champollion, no less

[211] P. 23. *tûeb*, priestess; *ēp*, tribute; *mes*, to beget; *ennuti*, godlike. P. 41. *ti-scheri*, daughter, where he explains the symbolic sign as a "standing abbreviation." He recognised the rest of the name of Arsinoe after that of Kanephora, and read *Tēcknō* for Diogenes (Akerblad had read *Tiokne*). P. 103. *Rem-cheme*, men of Egypt, i. e. Egyptians, from the Sahidic *kēme*, Baschmuric *kēmi*, Memphitic *chēmi*, Egypt. P. 106. On the omission of the vowels in the Egyptian (i. e. demotic) inscription. P. 362. *Mephi*, Memphis. P. 265. *Man-alekṣantros*, place of Alexander, i. e. Alexandria.

[212] See the example quoted from p. 41. in the last note.

[213] De l'Ecriture Hiératique des anciens Egyptiens, par M. Champollion le Jeune, ancien Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Académie de Grenoble (from which office he was removed on account of his political opinions). Explication des Planches, 1821. Fol. 7 pages of text.

than Young, was led to this more accurate view upon his own independent grounds, although each had information through De Sacy of the other's researches, and although both were animated by a warm spirit of emulation. The denial of any phonetic element in the hieratic character was a natural conclusion from false premises, which Champollion shared in common with the rest; whereas Young was led to an approach to the truth, merely by an assumption foreign to his own system, and one from the very first inseparably clogged with error.

This truth Champollion, in the following year, encouraged evidently by Young's attempt to analyse those two Rings, concerning the import of which no doubt could exist, succeeded in actually discovering—but by a very different method, and one peculiar to himself. His immortal letter to Dacier, of September 1822 (published in December of the same year), shows that he required but to shake off his prejudice as to the exclusively symbolic nature of the hieroglyphics, in order to perceive the real state of the fact.

As there was this discrepancy in their method, we do not consider ourselves justified in saying that Champollion did but improve upon Young's discovery —for he had from the commencement adopted the opposite course and followed it up, free from the narrow views of Akerblad, and with more good faith and depth of reasoning. He had, moreover, given up the study of the demotic character, seeing that Young's ingenious comparison of it with the papyri must introduce uncertain elements into the inquiry. Of the hieratic character he had then formed a clear conception, and was drawn by it to the hieroglyphics, as the true point from whence the inquiry should have commenced.

Having thus been led to perceive that the hieroglyphics were the true key to the enigma of Egyptian writing, he further discerned in the Royal Rings, so

many of which occurred on the monuments, both in the European collections and the great Egyptian work, the certain data both for establishing an alphabet, (not as among the Chinese, a mere auxiliary expedient adapted to the spelling of foreign names, but an organic system of writing for the whole language)—and also for distinguishing its individual elements and testing their value when distinguished. The idea of homophone signs among those elements, i. e. of different figures representing one and the same sound, combined with a strictly philological method of reasoning from the certain and positive to the doubtful or unknown, soon supplied him with data, which could not but result in the discovery of the alphabet, and the whole hieroglyphic system. All these views were foreign to Young as well as his predecessors.

A circumstance seemingly fortuitous, but which nevertheless was a necessary consequence of that zeal for scientific research with which the European public was now animated, especially in regard to Egypt, combined to favour his happy idea as to the importance of the Royal Rings. As early as 1816, the well-known French traveller, Caillaud, the discoverer of Meroe, had made a fac-simile of the Greek inscription upon the pedestal of the small obelisk of Philæ, in which occur the names of one of the Ptolemies and his sister Cleopatra. Mr. William Bankes had since that time transported the obelisk itself to his residence in Dorsetshire, and circulated among his friends and the learned societies copies of its hieroglyphic inscription. Young was acquainted with this monument, as well as Champollion, but failed to perceive its use or value.—Champollion, by comparing the two Rings, found the key, *because he sought for it.* He recognised the Ring of the Ptolemies corresponding with the one deciphered by Young. He assumed that the other would correspond likewise with the name of Cleopatra, and must

consequently have the signs *l*, *o*, *p*, *a*, *t*, in common with it. His conjecture was confirmed. By means of the two he obtained twelve signs. By applying these to the other Royal Rings of the Egyptian work, he discovered upon a monument at Karnak the name Aleksantros (Alexander), and thus obtained three new signs. The inscription illustrated by Young in 1819 gave the Rings of Ptolemy and Berenice, and assisted him in discovering the homophone signs for *k* and *s*, and subsequently, the *b*. Following out the same method, he was very soon in a condition to bring out his Egyptian Hieroglyphic Alphabet, the extension, confirmation and application of which followed three years afterwards in his Manual of Hieroglyphics[214], where he frankly and candidly admits his mistake of the year 1821, and the merit of Young. The two points which in the researches of Young mainly contributed to the discovery of the alphabet were, first, his adoption of, and steady adherence to, the principle, that all Egyptian writing originated in the hieroglyphics, and must therefore necessarily contain symbolic signs, and not only the alphabetic elements which Akerblad had discovered in the enchorial character; secondly, his attempt to apply that principle to the names of the Kings. Champollion's egg of Columbus was this. Discarding all other methods, he sought the key to the whole process of decipherment in the hieroglyphics, and that to the decipherment of the phonetic signs in the Royal Rings; and by the discovery of the homophone signs he prepared the way for the gradual completion and correction of his entire results. From that moment the whole hieroglyphic research lay in his hands. Young's method became completely useless, but his researches had awakened the zeal of his countrymen

[214] Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens, 1824. 2d edition (which also contains the letter to Dacier) 1828.

(Salt, Essay, 1825; Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. 1828), and paved the road, as it were, to further discovery.

The entire results of Champollion's researches are embodied in his work on Egyptian grammar, published (1836—1841) several years subsequent to his own premature death, which took place in 1832. It assumes the existence of 232 signs in the Egyptian alphabet: of these he distinguishes 36, as being of the time of the Decline (the Greek and Roman period); 4, as belonging to a secret character which he supposes to date from the early part of the New Empire; and the same number as "Initial Hieroglyphics," i. e. such as, according to him, were only used—phonetically—at the beginning of a word. Thus he had remaining a primitive Egyptian alphabet of almost 200 signs. The modification of these, as well as of the symbolic signs of the hieroglyphic system into the hieratic character, he has completely proved; the demotic being entirely set aside by him, as in no degree representing the ancient language.

### V. CHAMPOLLION'S FURTHER RESEARCHES, AND HIS SCHOOL — ROSELLINI, SALVOLINI, LEPSIUS, LEEMANS.

Those who judge the researches of Champollion merely by the portion of them given by him to the public may, perhaps, see reason to reproach him, however undeservedly, with never having distinctly explained the groundwork on which his alphabet is based. Even his posthumous grammar does not supply this deficiency, otherwise than by such casual proofs as may be contained in the examples by which, in the course of the work, he illustrates his rules of language or orthography. We have, however, already intimated in our general introduction to the history of Egyptian philological research the two courses by which he sought and obtained this groundwork. The one consists in comparing

the recurring forms, which are written wholly or in part, sometimes in alphabetic, sometimes in symbolic characters, and in both cases frequently with different signs. These signs must, therefore, have the same signification. The second process, by collation of the various extant funereal papyri, while no less certain, was productive of still more important results. These documents contain, for the most part, substantially the same text, but in a great variety of character. Thus, as a knowledge of the language was indispensable to the discovery of the character, any further progress in its decipherment was dependent in its turn upon an increase of our knowledge of the language. For it is only by a right understanding of the text that a similarity of signification or sound, in the various written groups, can be ascertained; and both require to be accurately distinguished. For the sense might be the same, and still the expression selected different. Repeated comparison and confirmation can here alone lead to complete certainty.

Champollion adopted the latter course, and pursued it steadily and with incredible success, as we ourselves can testify, since the year 1826, and as his own earliest writings authentically show. He had gradually compiled an hieroglyphical dictionary, in which he carefully entered every addition to his stock of words, and which was almost daily enlarged and improved during his residence in Egypt.

Ippolito Rosellini followed in his master's footsteps, and the brotherly intercourse and reciprocal communication of their daily labours, as testified in the touching lament of Rosellini for the loss of his master[215], is most creditable to the memory of both. An early death prevented the one and the other from bringing to perfection

[215] Tributo di Riconoscenza e d' Amore reso alla onorata Memoria di G. F. Champollion il Minore, da Ippolito Rosellini. Pisa, 1832. Quarto.

and enjoying the fruit of so many laborious and successful researches, although Rosellini's great work, as well as Champollion's grammar, offer numerous proofs of the solidity and success of their joint method. It is, however, the hieroglyphical dictionary which establishes authentically the critical value of the individual phonetic and determinative signs, as interpreted in the grammar, offering at the same time a complete synopsis of the purely symbolic signs. It is easy to understand why both should have reserved the publication of their works to the close of their career, because every day must have furnished new corrections and additions to their stock. We have already mentioned in the foregoing section, that Champollion's dictionary is now complete.

Francesco Salvolini, the shrewd Italian philologer, brought up at Paris under Champollion, appeared also destined to make great advances in the same direction. He died young, however, and his memory is stained by a charge of embezzling some important papers of his master's, the proof of which was established at his death. The merit, nevertheless, of the first portion of his researches into the hieroglyphic alphabet, and the hieroglyphic inscription of Rosetta (1836) must not be overlooked.[216] His analysis of the phonetic alphabet contains the first public demonstration of its principles, and his explanation of the Rosetta stone is the first philological interpretation of an Egyptian text. He also produces additional evidence of the value of Champollion's signs, and of nearly an hundred others added by himself, which he found on various monuments and the papyri.

[216] Analyse grammaticale raisonée de différens textes E'gyptiens, vol. i. Texte hiéroglyphique et démotique de la pierre de Rosette avec un volume de planches par François Salvolini. Paris, 1836. 4to. He had previously published two letters on the notation of dates: Première, seconde Lettre sur la notation des dates. Paris, 1834. In the year 1835 he published the Campagne de Rhamsès-le-Grand (Sesostris) from the Papyrus Sallier.

His researches, however, it is to be regretted, are too often deficient in critical caution, or sound philological judgment. Instead of attempting to explain the enigma of a pure alphabet of 200 signs, with only 15 sounds, he increases the difficulty not only by swelling the above number to nearly 300, but by starting a principle which, if well founded, would put an end to all clear or specific research in this department. Champollion had asserted, although without proof, that the figures selected as alphabetic signs were those of objects, the names of which commenced with the sound to be indicated. In the case of many of these signs, as (aχem) the eagle for *a*, (ro) the mouth for *r*, this was easily demonstrable from the Coptic, or the hieroglyphic language itself. It was reasonable then to adopt it as a fundamental principle, and the more so, that in the Semitic, Runic, and Irish alphabets, the names of the letters appear to indicate a similar connexion between the image of the object indicated by those names, and the form of that letter to which they are respectively allotted. But Salvolini has a second axiom, which he words nearly in the following terms — "Every hieroglyphic may indicate, in the first place, the sound with which the object represented by it begins — and secondly, also the initial sound of a word, the object of which it is the symbol. Thus, the vulture may not only designate *n*, because the Egyptian word for this bird (nurheū) begins with *n*, but *m* also; for the vulture is the sign of maternity, and mother is called *mu, mut.*" Salvolini terms this a happy flexibility of the hieroglyphic system. Certainly the idea of mother is expressed symbolically by a vulture: but if this were sufficient to establish the phonetic use of the sign for *m*, as well as for *n*, we should be involved in a most fatal confusion, and all the absurdities of a cabalistic character. Besides, there is no one proof adducible of this assertion; and as regards the example in question, the vulture in Old Egyptian is not phonetic at all, but

only indicates *mu-t*, which is both vulture and mother. It became phonetic and alphabetic as a sign for *m* merely in the later epochs.

In the year 1834, Richard Lepsius, a young German philologer, gifted with a genius for the study of the monuments not inferior to that of Rosellini, and with much more natural acuteness and critical tact — furnished, besides, with that comprehensive knowledge of language peculiar to the German school, commenced, although not himself a pupil of Champollion, following out, from his own independent resources, the path opened up by that great master. He had already in the same year announced his vocation to the higher branches of linguistic science, and his acquaintance with classical, Indian and Germanic philology, by a treatise, received in Germany and France with great approbation, upon written character, as a means of investigating language. Thus prepared, he began in that year to turn his attention to hieroglyphics. By a happy fatality, and one which doubly redounds to the honour of German science in this department, it was the Royal Academy of Science at Berlin which furnished the young scholar with the means of dedicating himself to those pursuits; that institution which Leibnitz founded in the country of La Croze, Jablonski, and Vignolles, with especial reference to the study of language, as a means of restoring the genealogy of mankind. Not long afterwards Lepsius succeeded in effecting a brilliant discovery at Paris. He perceived that by far the greater part of the characters in Champollion's alphabet were not purely phonetic, i. e. not capable of universal application. Rejecting such as are either only used phonetically in certain words, or for peculiar combinations of sounds (of which he discovered eleven), he had remaining 34 purely alphabetic signs, which he identified as corresponding with the 15 Old Egyptian letters. By this means the hieroglyphic alphabet was not only corrected, but illustrated. A

pure alphabet of 200 signs were difficult to comprehend. The existence of two signs on an average for each sound explains itself by the necessity, which the monumental nature of their writing, and their own symmetrical turn of mind imposed on the Egyptians, of employing, sometimes a horizontal, sometimes a perpendicular sign, sometimes a long, sometimes a broad figure, in order to give an artistic shape and finish to each group of words. Lepsius at the same time still further extended the principle introduced by Champollion, by separating all the signs which first occur with phonetic power in the time of the Ptolemies and Romans, from the old signs.

This closes the history of hieroglyphic discovery: for in the alphabet published by Leemans, in his valuable work on the Egyptian monuments of the Leyden museum, owing to the absence of all illustrative evidence, we are the less able to judge what amount of progress may have been made by the learned author. We are, however, very doubtful whether such evidence can be adduced.

### VI. THE TEXT OF CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA.

THE principle of hieroglyphic writing had barely been discovered, when its opponents threw themselves under the protection of the ancients. One party endeavoured to prove that what was actually demonstrated was impossible, because ancient (and indeed modern) writers had asserted the reverse. Others looked for comfort in the fact of the ancients having spoken clearly enough of an hieroglyphic alphabet, and of Clemens having expounded with great minuteness the whole system, in the same passage, from which they, or persons like them, had repeatedly proved the contrary. This is indeed quite in keeping with human nature. No sooner was America discovered than the enemies of Columbus found facts enough tending to disprove the existence of such a coun-

try, and a few years after Hervey discovered the circulation of the blood, one of those English physicians, who had denied that discovery and attacked it with great vehemence, showed that the thing had been clearly alluded to in a verse in Proverbs. In our case, the fact discovered was certainly both known to and testified by the ancients. Pliny, in a passage (given in the Appendix of Authorities, C. II. 1.) upon the Obelisks, drily, but distinctly asserts it — "They are dedicated to the Sun-God; that their inscriptions declare; for the signs engraven on them are Egyptian letters." The passage of Clemens, to which we could allude but cursorily in treating of the sacred books, has since the late discoveries received very different interpretations. Letronne, Goulianof and Lepsius have been the most successful in their efforts to illustrate its obscurities; the latter especially, by his correct explanation of the celebrated expression, "the first elements," which no one before understood. By this phrase the Greek writers simply and plainly meant letters, in contradistinction to syllables, a word signifying originally a combination (of letters). All previous interpretations, however, leave one part of the passage wholly unexplained, namely, that which treats of the so-called *Anaglyphic signs*. According to Letronne and Champollion [217], these signs form an altogether distinct kind of representation by symbolic figures, and consequently no portion of the hieroglyphic system. De Sacy shows this to be impossible, without, however, suggesting any other interpretation, and Goulianof builds on it an exclusive system of secret characters, which, did it exist, would destroy the whole value of Champollion's discovery. We have already intimated our own views

[217] Précis du Système Hiér. 2d edition, ii. 378. seqq. Compare with Sylvestre de Sacy, Journal des Savans, Mars, 1825. Lepsius, Lettre, p. 17. seqq., and Appendix A — De Goulianof, Archéologie Egyptienne, 3 vols. 1839, vol. i. p. 213. seqq.

upon this point in the first section. We hold the whole assumption of special anaglyphic signs to rest upon a philological misunderstanding. In order to establish these views, we shall now give, in the first place, a translation of the passage, referring for the original text to our Appendix of Authorities, C. III. 1.

"The Egyptians teach as the first branch of education that kind of writing which is called epistolographic; secondly, the hieratic, used by the sacred scribes; and last of all, the hieroglyphic. This latter is divided into two classes, one of which is expressed directly (kyriologically) by letters (literally, first, or simple phonetics), the other is symbolic. The symbolic (hieroglyphic character) represents the object either directly, by imitation (kyriologically), or by tropes — or is expressed altogether allegorically, by means of certain enigmas. Thus, to indicate the sun, they make a circle; for the moon, a sort of crescent-shaped sign. These are examples of the direct (kyriological) method (of hieroglyphical writing). But they make use of the tropical method when they apply and transfer objects to something else, according to a certain analogy, sometimes by confounding them together, sometimes by altering them in various ways. Thus in writing the books which celebrate the praises of their kings in theological myths, they use the hieroglyphic character. Of the third method, which is expressed by enigmas, let this serve as an instance. While they designate the other planets on account of their spherical motion by the bodies of serpents, they represent the sun by the figure of a beetle (Scarabæus)."

We agree with Letronne[218] that the epistolographic

[218] Lepsius' arguments against this are very ingeniously stated in the Appendix A to his Letter. He understands the contrast in the expressions of the Greek writers between the sacred and popular signs to mean, that by the former, the hieroglyphics, by the latter,

character, which was taught the first, and which is used on the Rosetta stone, as being that of the country, (enchorial), is the same called by Herodotus and Diodorus the demotic. Champollion's last work indeed recognises the latter to be the character of the vulgar language. This, as we have seen, was the name by which the idiom used in writings upon private and domestic affairs was designated, as distinct from the language of the sacred writings. It is this same language which afterwards, from the period of the Christian era, when it began to be written with an alphabet composed for the most part of Greek characters, was called Coptic. In the epistolographic character we find commercial letters and all the transactions of mercantile life exclusively written, and we have monuments in this character as far back as the time of the Psammetici.

After the enchorial writing, the students, as they advanced, next learned the hieratic character. This, like the other, was formed by transmuting the hieroglyphics into a running hand, and consisted of a mixture of phonetic and symbolic signs. The latter, however, occur more frequently in it than in the enchorial. They were both written in horizontal lines from right to left. It is an error, which Champollion admitted late in his career, and particularly in his posthumous work, to take the enchorial character to be a running form of the hieratic. They were both, on the contrary, derived from the hieroglyphic, quite independently of each other; a fact, the explanation of which may perhaps be found in what we have already said respecting the fundamental difference between the Theban and Memphite dialects. From the former, as appears to us, sprung the sacred language—from the latter, the common dialect of the country. The main difference

non-hieroglyphics (comprehending both the hieratic and enchorial) are intended. Meyer has also sided with Letronne.

between the two characters consists, in the living language being written in the former, which served for all purposes of ordinary life; while the latter was limited to matters connected with religion and religious knowledge, under the immediate superintendence of the priests, whose property its name indicates it to be. Whoever learned the hieratic, must have learned the sacred language, and consequently have commenced his education as a priest. It could never therefore hold anything but the second place in the educational system of the Egyptians.

But the sacred language might also have been written in the hieroglyphics of the monuments, by reducing the engraved or painted signs to mere linear characters. For the Book of the Dead, published by Lepsius, clearly proves that the Sacred Books, or at least a portion of them, were very commonly written in such linear hieroglyphics. The name hieroglyphic denotes sacred engraved signs. Herodotus in fact mentions them in these very words (II. 166.); and though he says in another passage (II. 124.) that on the stone mole of Cheops "animals were engraved," he may have meant by that hieroglyphic inscriptions, as well as purely pictorial representations. The science of hieroglyphics therefore, as taught in the Egyptian schools, consisted in learning to read and write those hieroglyphic characters of the Sacred Books which were borrowed from the monuments, in the same manner as the pupil had been taught to read and write the enchorial and hieratic. Consequently, when Clemens talks of hieroglyphics, we must certainly understand him to include in them the hieroglyphics of the monuments; but the immediate practical object was to understand the Sacred Books, written in linear hieroglyphics, and to acquire a facility of writing the characters themselves.

The first division, therefore, of the hieroglyphics, is

that into phonetic and pictorial characters. The former Clemens calls simply letters. He says nothing further concerning them, as they were well known, and similar to those of other nations, although they form a very important element in the whole hieroglyphic system. He passes on at once from them to the second kind, the pictorial, which represents objects in contradistinction to sounds. Clemens calls it on that account the symbolic, because it gives the sound, which in his view is the real aim of writing, but in an indirect manner through the medium of objects. He divides it into three parts. For in the first place, the object itself may, as we now have actual proof, be represented in Egyptian by a figure of very palpable import. This then is the direct (kyriological) representation of the object, as the phonetic is the direct representation of sound. Such are the disk, for the sun, and the crescent for the moon, hieroglyphics still retained amongst the astronomical signs. But the Egyptian writing has a far greater number of signs which represent the object more figuratively, and consequently more or less conventionally. Thus a man lifting up his hands represents a person praying. The majority of the hieroglyphics, indeed, are purely symbolic and conventional: a cubit, for example, signifies Justice, an ostrich-feather, Truth, a lute, the idea of Good, the lower part of two legs in the act of walking, a progressive (transitive) action. Lastly, the eye (iri) designates the words "child" and "to make." We see at once from these examples, that Clemens expresses himself properly, when he says, in order to give a clear idea of such symbolic signs, as contrasted with the purely and directly pictorial, "that they apply pictorial signs to objects of different import, and bring them as it were under another category (i. e. transfer them, or express them metaphorically as we should describe it), for they sometimes interchange them, at others modify them in various

ways." Hence it is, for example, that they take a part for the whole, the instrument containing for the object contained (as a milk-pail for milk), and use many other metaphors, to be examined more closely in the sequel. In this way the signification of the terms employed by Clemens appears to us to be completely established.

He mentions, likewise, a kind of enigmatical character, or secret writing, in which, for example, a serpent designates the planets on account of their spherical motion, but the scarabæus the sun, probably because of the analogy between the round lump which it rolls before it, and the circular form of the ecliptic. Clemens calls this character the allegorical, and very properly; for the distinction between symbol and allegory is, that the former represents the intellectual object itself by a direct image, the latter conveys the idea of the object only through the medium of a logical notion. The examples in Clemens are the best proof that such a secret writing is as foreign to the Sacred Books as to the monuments. The serpents and scarabæi occur on the papyri as well as monuments, but the scarabæus never betokens the sun, nor the serpent the planets. The allegorical writing was an artificial one, a late application of the hieroglyphic system, originally, perhaps, for astronomical and astrological purposes, similar to our own planetary signs, and afterwards cabalistically developed. Clemens, therefore, was right in noticing this enigmatical character, in connexion with the hieroglyphics; but he never could intend to represent it as a real subdivision of the ordinary hieroglyphic writing — properly so called — which is composed entirely and exclusively of the three elements he had previously enumerated — the phonetic, hieroglyphic, and symbolic signs. His object was to give an example of the manner in which this hieroglyphic character was used, as a whole, the parts of which he

describes before explaining the secret character. It is a fact that we find none but the Sacred Books written in hieroglyphics. His statement, therefore, that certain theological writings are written in such monumental or engraved sacred signs, is to be considered as a concluding remark upon the real, universal hieroglyphic character, the acquirement of which was preliminary to understanding and writing the Sacred Books. He does not say, "in hieroglyphics," because in them he had included the secret or enigmatical character, but "in anaglyphs," which, as well as the former word, originally designated engraved pictures, either serving as written characters, or as ordinary portraits of objects.[219]

The expression of Clemens, which certainly is not very intelligible at first sight, necessarily refers, in its literal acceptation, to *writings*, and, in the spirit of the context, to such as were written in the hieroglyphics previously described, and not, as usual, in one of the running hands. Thus much at least is clear, that he means books which contained theology, and myths, in praise of their kings. Now we have seen that one division of the Sacred Books contains the praises of their mythical kings, namely, Osiris and Horus, as we also find later details of the processions of Osiris in Diodorus, and several other Greek writers. Clemens, therefore, cites these, instead of naming the Sacred Books in general. The Book of the Dead is a proof that there were other portions of the Sacred Books written likewise in hieroglyphics.

In this way we trust we have explained categorically the meaning of the passage. For here, again, we are no longer called upon to investigate unknown or lost facts by means of the testimony of the ancients, but, on the

[219] Ἀναγλύφω is essentially the same as ἐγγλύφω: to engrave *upon* a thing is just as correct as to grave *in* (*ingrave*) it; ἀναγράφω, ἀναγραφαὶ is the regular designation when mention is made of registers of the Egyptian kings.

contrary, by facts now brought to light through hieroglyphical discovery to understand those testimonies, to explain and justify them. We do not deny that Clemens might have expressed himself better and more clearly; but it is sufficient to establish any sense for words which otherwise can have none at all.

It is not till after this observation that he proceeds to add something about the secret character, which he had already mentioned by name. It certainly must have been an element in their educational system, and doubtless the last—for every cabala implies a complete knowledge of that character which is to be used for secret purposes. It was the secret character of the priests. At an earlier period, indeed, an enigmatical character may have existed; for example, in the titles of kings. Still the traditional pronunciation of many of these is evidence that the signs employed were pronounced in the usual way. In the choice of homophonous signs, particularly in the foreign names of kings, they may have given a preference to such as contained an allusion to the regal dignity. But the signs of the enigmatical character here treated of by Clemens had likewise another totally different power, quite foreign to their ordinary signification. Both his examples prove this.

The work of Horapollo[220], dating from a comparatively recent age, also clearly proves the existence and nature of this secret character. While few of the explanations it offers are confirmed by the monuments, the greater part are contradicted both by them and by the Book of the Dead. The explanations themselves are little better than arbitrary subtleties, or false, cabalistic mysticism, the simple and historical meaning being palpable and

[220] See the learned edition of Leemans, Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica, Amstel. 1835, 8vo; and that illustrated by Cory with very characteristic hieroglyphics: The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous, by A. T. Cory, London, 1840, 8vo.

obvious, while the very hieroglyphical representations which he describes are chiefly borrowed from that secret character, and consequently do not apply to the monuments and books.

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## B.

### THE EGYPTIAN CHARACTERS.

#### INTRODUCTION: PLAN OF AN HISTORICAL EXPOSITION OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF HIEROGLYPHICAL WRITING.

A LANGUAGE so perfectly developed in all its parts as was the Egyptian in the state in which we already find it on the contemporaneous monuments of the oldest empire of the Pharaohs, would seem, as remarked in our previous section, but ill adapted to a pure alphabetic character, as containing a great number of homophonous words, with so many different meanings, that each must be regarded as an independent root. But if we could succeed in obtaining a glance at the foundation of this fabric, in finding the strata from which it has grown up in the course of time, and thereby perhaps approach nearer to the very causes of this high state of cultivation, the older language would appear still more difficult to express intelligibly by phonetic signs. It requires a higher and more comprehensive view of the origin of language to prove that what appears to us its most natural, or only natural, manner of writing, was in early times the least congenial, or even most repugnant, to the human understanding. As singing is older than speaking, the solemn dance as a form of social movement older than walking, pantomime older than words, and to adopt an idea and expression of Meyer's [221],

221 See Meyer's articles, quoted above.

as the word itself, in its primitive form, is nothing but an oral and audible gesture, by which man endeavoured to imitate the impression of any phenomena, in the same way as (especially in southern countries) he still tries to imitate them by visible gestures of the body; the oldest writing must likewise have been a representation of objects and not of sound. It will here suffice to call attention to the fact, that even in a system so complete as that of the Egyptians, a system, in which the use of phonetic signs was more frequent than any other, it was impossible entirely to banish pictorial representations, which exists even in the demotic character. At this stage of the language, accordingly, the variety of accents and of gestures may originally have assisted the speaker. The art of writing converted these vague and imperfect signs of speech into a durable image.

It was under this impression that both Champollion and Lepsius considered the phonetic element as the latest. But no one ventured to inquire how a written character could exist without it. We may suppose, and so perhaps Champollion thought, that the monuments themselves tend to the conclusion, that the first step was pure picture writing, like that of Mexico. This however were a fallacy. For representations of this kind, consisting almost entirely of figures of objects, similar to artistic representations in low relief, are first met with in the New Empire, in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, when the style of hieroglyphic writing became gaudy and artificial. The Old Empire knew nothing of the kind. We cannot therefore expect to authenticate the above assumption by means of the monuments.

We may however hope to substantiate it by adopting the method which, prior to the chronological period, looks neither for years nor monuments of years, but for epochs and monuments of epochs. The success of this attempt is of the utmost importance in our present inquiry. The great facts of the primeval period of Egyp-

tian language, writing, and religion, are of universal importance: but history will gain nothing by these facts being known, unless they be themselves recognised and represented as history, in their origin and in their connexion with each other. In the present state of the question our simplest mode of arriving at some really historical conclusion will be briefly to pass in review the essential nature and requisites of a figurative character, and then compare them with the individual elements of the system of hieroglyphical writing as known to exist.

The first requisite is the exposition of visible objects. For these we find simple portraits: a man, a woman, a calf, indicating, even when accompanied by phonetic hieroglyphics, nothing more than the objects themselves. The mere representation of such natural objects, as for instance, an antelope, an ass, and the like, does not require any additional feature to explain it. But there are many objects which are more difficult to specify, particularly where only written in linear hieroglyphics. For example, how is a child to be represented in contradistinction to a grown-up man? How is a temple to be made distinguishable from a dwelling-house? or milk and wine from water? The solution of these, the most simple questions relative to the original pictorial hieroglyphics, requires, as it were, a second stage of that creative power of invention and artistic ingenuity of the human mind, which in its first stage gave birth to language. Every image of a word, as well as every word itself, is an invention and a work of art. The scene is merely changed from the province of sound to that of form, from the musical to the plastic art. Whilst with regard to language we see the Egyptians occupied in developing simultaneously with that of their own ideas, the legacy they received from primeval Asia, in regard to writing we see them occupied in inventing and executing a creation of their own. The pure and

characteristic genius of Egyptian art appears in this, its first and most original creation, no less brilliant than in the architectural monuments of later periods, the pyramids, the labyrinth, and the temples of Thebes. Every conception in this pictorial writing is simple, philosophical, poetical, constructive (as regards the grouping of images), and lastly, practical, in its application to literature. A human figure, holding its finger to its mouth, represents to the Egyptian the sucking child, in a mode as easy to understand as to trace. A man in the sacerdotal garb, looking upwards in the attitude of prayer, towards a sacrificial vase pouring forth libations, at once suggests the character of priest. A square, the lower side of which is open in the middle, conveys the idea of a dwelling-house; when combined with the sign of a god, it denotes a temple (the house of God). In these last two instances we perceive the origin of two very fertile agencies in producing that simplification and concentration of ideas, necessary to the art of writing, namely, abbreviation and composition. A female figure, forming with bent body, and head and hands hanging down, a sort of arch, represents the vault of heaven, in the painted and engraved monuments. In a more abridged form the same object is represented by a horizontal line with a dipping at each end. Milk and wine, two objects which it is impossible to pourtray without colours, and difficult even with them, the Egyptian easily expresses by the vessels in which each of those liquids was usually contained, the thing containing being written by a sort of plastic metonymy, instead of the thing contained. Both vessels exhibit very graceful forms, which show that this branch of the fictile art was highly cultivated among the Egyptians when the signs were invented. A similar vessel preceded by a bee indicates honey. In an equally clear and artistic manner fire is indicated by a flame rising from a censer. In a still more simple way water is represented by three zigzag lines, one above the

other. These, in the linear character, which is already more conventional, became three straight lines. But in general the Egyptians in composing and abbreviating their images showed a wise economy. Had they pursued this method of composition exclusively, they would have run the risk of producing a character like that of the Chinese, with explanatory keys: that is to say, a system, the most awkward in itself, and tending to cramp the mind within mere conventional and fortuitous forms. But Thoth was more ingenious, and had more extensive views, and, consequently, was more free than Fuh. The same artistic mind which the Egyptians exhibit in the representation of physical objects, we also discover in its application to those of a metaphysical nature; that is, in actions and objects representing certain invisible phenomena, impressed upon the human mind by its contact with the external as well as internal world. The word, night, for instance, the Egyptian represents under the idea of the starry heaven, and, consequently, by the image of heaven, united with that of the stars. Thirst, to thirst, thirsty, (ab, ebu) they express by the image of water (the zigzag lines), combined with that of a calf (ab) above or at one side, and facing in an opposite direction. White, they express by a tuberous excrescence, which Champollion supposed to be a white onion; red, by a bird with feathers like fire. An outstretched arm, with an offering like bread, conveys the idea of to offer, to give, a gift; in the abbreviated form it is represented simply by bread, or the sacrificial cake. In expressing to open, by a door, the analogy of the language is fully kept up, for the root (un) has both these significations. A drawing of a road with trees on each side signifies movement, progression. The palm-branch betokens the year, and its points the divisions of the year or of a cycle of years. A cubit (as the standard measure) and an ostrich feather represent truth and justice (originally the same

word); the latter, it is said, because the feathers of this bird are distinguished by their equality (Horap. ii. 118.). Good and beautiful were expressed by a kind of lute or guitar; not, probably, because good is the spiritual euphony and harmony of life, but because the words for good and for lute were the same. The selection of the eye as the representative both of itself, of the idea of doing (creating), and of child (son or daughter), appears likewise to have been suggested by the homophony of the word *iri*, which denotes both eye and creating. In order to indicate a verb denoting movement, two legs are employed in the act of walking. This figure conveys, in a way as simple as it is evident, something like what, in the grammatical language of Europe, we denote, in a wider sense, but under the same image, by the term, verb transitive.

The two last examples, the eye and the two legs, deserve closer examination. We see in them the two principal ideas through which the Egyptian writing appears to have advanced, preparatory to the discovery of the phonetic system; viz. the principles of homophony and determination. The principle of determination consists, at first, in the distinction between the individual and the *genus*, and then, in the explanation of the image of the first by means of the accompanying image of the second. In the Egyptian system of writing, as developed on the monuments, it is used very extensively and with the greatest ingenuity. The discovery, explanation, and systematic arrangement of the so-called determinative hieroglyphics, which are in general merely generic, is one of Champollion's most successful and talented efforts. But in this complete system of written characters we generally find the determinative signs following the phonetic, as if by way of complement, illustration, or definition, of some kind or other. For this reason most of the previous commentators on the subject have thought it necessary to assume that the

determinative signs were invented after the phonetics. The first objection to this hypothesis is that it is at variance with the general, and, as we believe, well-grounded assumption, that the pictorial hieroglyphics are the most ancient character—as a pictorial character without determinative hieroglyphics would scarcely deserve the name of a character. Moreover, if we adopt this hypothesis, how do we account for the circumstance of the Egyptians, even when their system had been brought to the highest stage of perfection, still using determinative signs after the pictorial hieroglyphics, which are, to say the least, quite as intelligible? Thus the sign, by which the preceding image is identified as belonging to the genus of four-footed animals, is found after the figure of an ass or a goat[222]—representations, which are clear enough in themselves, and preceded, moreover, by their names in phonetic characters. Our assumption is the only one which appears to offer an explanation of this singularity. Those generic signs, before the invention of phonetics, were in very many cases quite indispensable. Hence they came to be adopted in writing, and the practice was still retained, even after the phonetic character had rendered pictorial representations unnecessary, and in cases such as those alluded to absolutely superfluous. In the earlier stage it was doubtless of the greatest importance to define as much as possible by their genus the pictorial representations of words, many of which were still very conventional. At all events the phonetic character might have existed without such signs more easily than the pictorial. Among these determinative signs we include all the grammatical signs. A short stroke indicates a noun masculine, to which the sign of the *segment*, the representative of the letter *t*, the feminine termination, is added when the noun is femi-

[222] Champ. Grammar, p. 83.

nine. Two arms extended, with the palms downwards, express the negation of the sentence they precede. The dual and plural number are expressed by two and three lines, respectively, and the personal pronoun of the person speaking or addressed, or the subject of conversation, by the figure of a man or woman. This is all we learn from the monumental character. We cannot discover from it what the pictorial distinction was between the second and third person, and between them and the first, as all the signs denoting those ideas are phonetic. It is most probable, therefore, that the idea of distinguishing between them did not occur to the Egyptians prior to the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics.

We now come to the consideration of the second of the two principles contained in the use of the two hieroglyphics denoting *iri*, to make. This principle consists in depicting an object (generally a metaphysical one) by the image of another, with which its name is homophonous, although this homophony implies no identity or connexion between the meaning of the two words. It was this more particularly by which the national mind was led on from the mere observation of the object to the sound of the word, which could not fail ultimately to result in the invention of phonetic hieroglyphics.

The intermediate stage between this and the last step in the process of discovery—the invention of alphabetic letters — was the invention of syllabic writing. The fact of this transition is proved by the existence of the hieroglyphic system of a certain number of syllabic characters, which were retained after the discovery of the alphabetical, as co-existing with them. We include in this category one half of those signs which Lepsius has rejected from Champollion's alphabet, as being only restricted phonetics, or appearing only in certain groups. In analysing this alphabet, he distin-

guishes between purely phonetic signs, the number of which he fixes at 34, and about 60 others, to which he gives a restricted or conditional phonetic value. We would propose, in treating the subject historically, to divide these signs into two classes. More than half of the former are those which are sometimes accompanied, sometimes unaccompanied by a phonetic sign. Where it exists, the pictorial hieroglyphic usually precedes it, and appears as the first letter or first syllable of the whole word, all or some of whose other phonetic elements follow. Thus the word, nefru, good, may be expressed sometimes by a lute (guitar), sometimes by a lute with an *r* following it, or both *f* and *r*. Sometimes the pictorial sign is preceded by the phonetic, in which case the latter alone would seem to indicate the pronunciation. Sometimes even the pictorial hieroglyphic stands in the middle of the phonetic signs, to which the determinative sign may be added. Thus, necht, strong, is sometimes written only by its pictorial sign, a branch of a tree, sometimes only with its three letters, n, $\chi$, t. This sign, however, is very frequently found also after *n* followed by $\chi$ and *t*.

Now we think that it will be necessary in our analysis, which proposes to exhibit their gradual development, to distinguish all signs of this kind, as being signs of a mixed nature, the supplements of which imply the existence of an alphabetical character, from the other restricted phonetics. These we shall call syllabico-phonetic signs, or syllabic hieroglyphics, which (as already observed) we consider older than the alphabetical, and from which those mixed groups differ in not having a real syllabic value, i. e. in not being capable of indicating the sound of the word which they represent without an exclusive reference to the one object denoted by this word.

As to those hieroglyphics which we may really call syllabico-phonetic, they exist in Egyptian in considerable

numbers. In Lepsius's scheme they amount to about 60, and with the assistance of Mr. Birch, we have been enabled to make a large increase to their number. We shall give in our list all the signs of which we think the reading is proved.

In these remarks the historical order of the hieroglyphic signs has been established. We think, in the first place, that we have proved, from the nature of the language, and the conditions of the character, the later origin of the phonetic signs in general, as compared with that of the pictorial signs; and, secondly, that we have discovered the steps by which the pictorial, as well as phonetic hieroglyphics, were gradually formed.

As regards the pictorial signs, we may distinguish from those which represent the object itself — and which we may on that account call symbolic — such as serve to determine the genus or species either of the symbolic or of the phonetic groups which precede them. These we shall term determinative pictorial hieroglyphics, and we believe them not to have been pronounced. As for the symbolic pictorial hieroglyphics, they may be classed as representing a direct or indirect meaning. The phonetic signs which form the second great class, are subdivided into syllabic and alphabetic, of which we have stated the former to be the older. In favour of the gradual development of the alphabetic signs out of the syllabic, we had, in consequence of researches already made, an argument in the fact, that in the time of the Ptolemies and Romans, many signs were used as pure phonetics, consequently alphabetically, which occur at an earlier period not phonetically at all, or at least merely syllabico-phonetically. Champollion had already remarked a similar tendency to the phonetismus of pictorial characters in the monuments of the 20th Dynasty; and Lepsius[223] had called attention to

[223] Lettre à Rosellini, p. 34.

the mode of writing the name of a foreign general on the monuments of the great Empire. The individual sounds of this name are indicated by hieroglyphics, which otherwise only occur as pictorial signs.

But convinced of the truth of our assumption, we determined to consult the monuments of the Old Empire, from the 4th to the 12th Dynasty, to see whether they do not thus early offer instances of gradual advancement in the phonetic element. Mr. Birch kindly undertook to examine all those in the British Museum in order to ascertain this, and the conjecture has been fully confirmed. Many of the thirty-four signs, to which Lepsius reduced the Old Egyptian alphabet, have on those monuments merely a syllabic and not an alphabetic value—two of them, indeed, do not exist at all on any monument of that date in this country.

The third great division of the hieroglyphics, lastly, consists of those which comprehend images, like the branch of a tree and the guitar, and which may be called phonetico-pictorial, as exhibiting a tendency to pass from the stage of mere pictorial value, to that of an initial letter.

If we add together all the signs that belong to these three classes, we get about 700 hieroglyphics. Before the publication of Champollion's dictionary they had not been counted since the time of Zoega, who rated them at about 960. Champollion estimated them at 800. No general list, moreover, had been made of the deciphered hieroglyphics until that work appeared: for Champollion in his grammar, as well as Wilkinson and Lepsius, had only given a list of the alphabetical signs.

The synopsis of the hieroglyphics, with which the dictionary ends, contains 750 signs, while the work itself gives 567. In the latter, all the representations of the same object (man, for example) are comprised

under one number; in the synopsis, on the other hand, compound signs (groups) are introduced with them. Neither of the two methods seems to us correct. A simple sign is the only one which can properly be reckoned as a distinct symbol, except where the amalgamation of the two produces a new and simple idea (for instance, the combination of heaven and a star which represents night). Again, no sign which represents the same object, and expresses precisely the same idea as the preceding one, ought to be reckoned separately. We are justified, on the other hand, in making two distinct representations of a god in a sitting and a standing posture, for they may have two different significations. The hawk for instance, when placed on the symbol of gold (Gold-Hawk), must be reckoned separately, because he never appears in this particular title of the Kings represented in any other manner. The phonetic signs, of course, must be introduced and reckoned separately; for, although the hieroglyphic may be the same, the meaning is different. Even those of the pictorial signs which are at the same time phonetico-pictorial must be counted twice.

If then we count only the ancient hieroglyphics upon this principle, we shall hardly find more than 700 signs. But if we add to them those which were used in later times, and especially under the Romans, as phonetics—of which there are above 90—we may venture to call the whole number together about 800.

This then is the first attempt that has been made at a brief and systematic arrangement of the whole of the hieroglyphics hitherto deciphered, that is to say, of about eight ninths of all the simple hieroglyphical signs. While we trust that it may be the means of facilitating the learning of the Egyptian characters, its main object has been to represent as clearly as possible the strata in that marvellous masterpiece of the olden time of

Egypt, which forms not less than language, and in a strictly national sense even more than it, a great fact in primeval history.

The tables, by subdividing the first class into two parts, exhibit the following quadruple classification:

A. Signs of Objects, whether simply objective (figurative), or conventional (symbolic). This class we will venture to call Objective Signs. Their individual arrangement is in the main that adopted by Champollion, in 1821, corresponding with the principal divisions of the natural world:

1. Celestial, or cosmic, objects.
2. Human figures.
3. Animal forms.
4. Plants.
5. Stones, metals, &c.
6. Objects of art.
7. Unknown objects.

In order not to encumber our pages unnecessarily we have not marked these divisions, which are almost self-evident, upon the tables, so that the numbers run on uninterruptedly through the whole series of objective signs. They amount, exclusive of the different phases of the same sign, which are given as exceptions, to about 400.

B. Determinative Hieroglyphics. Under this name we comprehend not only those images which indicate the genus or species of the preceding sign, but also those which exhibit the so-called grammatical determination of the preceding word: for instance, its gender and number, if a noun—if a verb, its voice. Thanks to the deep research and kindness of Mr. Birch, we are enabled to give about 120 of these signs.

C. Phonetic Signs. The syllabic signs were intended to come first here according to their historical order. But as they occur on the monuments as frequently with

as without their alphabetical complements, and since, therefore, a knowledge of these alphabetical hieroglyphics is requisite in order fully to understand them, we have given the precedence to the pure alphabet. We mean, of course, that of the old character before the time of the Romans. Their number amounts, in consequence of the augmentation which they likewise received from Mr. Birch's labours, to above 70. The number of the pure phonetic or alphabetic signs is nearly that which Lepsius makes it, 36.

In this alphabet, those hieroglyphics which are marked with a dagger (†) are such as continued to be syllabic signs down to the 12th Dynasty, whereas they are used on the numerous monuments of the 18th and 19th Dynasties strictly phonetically, i.e. alphabetically.

There are a few which we do not meet with as phonetic signs on the monuments of the first twelve dynasties in this country, or in other published collections, these we have marked with an asterisk (*). It may be mere accident that they do not occur on any of these monuments, and we simply wish to notice the fact that we have not found them on those of the Old Empire.

D. This division comprises certain hieroglyphical groups, consisting of an objective sign, followed by one or two (very seldom three) phonetic hieroglyphics, which represent the sound of the corresponding word, generally its last letter. Thus the objective sign appears to express the first element of the word, although in reality, as Lepsius was the first to show, it represents the object itself, and may be used objectively without any phonetic complements, and may also be preceded by the first element of the word. Thus the lute, which by itself is pronounced *nefru*, *good*, is generally followed by f, or f and r; and sometimes placed between n and r. In like manner, the crux ansata, signifying life, is often followed by n and ☥,

which in that case form its phonetic complement or key. This portion of hieroglyphical writing is evidently the youngest, for it presupposes the existence of the phonetic system. Still it is met with on the most ancient monuments. The number of these conventional groups is limited; we give 57, which we believe to be complete.

We have added the Egyptian numerals by way of Appendix to this table, as well as a copy of a passage in the Inscription of Rosetta, with both the texts, and a transcript of the hieroglyphics into the hieratic character, the comparison of which was first made by Lepsius.

A second Appendix to this book contains an explanation of the tables, as well as authorities on which the different readings rest; all arranged by Mr. Birch in the most succinct and synoptical form. In this manner we hope to be able to combine an introductory sketch of the whole hieroglyphical system, at once brief and intelligible, with the character of an historical work. For our main object in this Exposition, as well as in that of language and mythology, is to lay before our readers not conjectures but facts, and that historically. We do not offer isolated antiquarian observations, but try to develope the general structure of language, and the whole system of writing and of mythology, in order to point out how far they are the great and primeval work of the Egyptian mind. We attempt to conquer for the history of Egypt what we claim for history in general, the period antecedent to that point where history is generally supposed to begin. We endeavour to give an historical view of the great facts of Egyptian life in the ante-chronological period; and to show, as far as possible, the successive strata of development which they exhibit.

## SECTION VI.

### THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

### INTRODUCTION.

#### THE THREE ORDERS OF GODS.

THE name and hieroglyphic of the son and successor of King Menes are derived from the god Thoth (Hermes), represented by the Ibis. Among the Kings of the 3rd Dynasty we have a Mares, i. e. one given by Ra, Phre (Helios); towards the close of the Old Empire, a Pat Athyres, or one dedicated to Aphrodite, Hathor; two named after Phtah, Vulcan, and several who derive their names from Ammon, the King of the Gods. Hercules also has given his name to one at least of their old Kings. The Great Gods, consequently, to the number of whom those above mentioned belong, existed at that early period in the mythology of the Egyptians. We find another proof of this in the recurrence of the images and names of the same gods, written both pictorially and phonetically, on the monuments of the Old Empire, exactly in the same manner as they occur on those of the 18th Dynasty. Osiris and Nutpe, for instance, are found on the coffin of Menkeres. It is needless, therefore, to offer any further proofs of the truth of our assumption, that the mythological system forms a part of the national heritage on which the civilisation of the empire and people of Menes was established. The Temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, built by him, is mentioned by later annalists: at this very hour the remains of the Temple of Thebes exhibit the name of the great ruler of the 12th Dynasty. But as to these temples, as well as the worship which was celebrated in and about them, we know little—nothing at all as to

how it was conducted in the primeval time. It will be difficult, indeed, in spite of the echo of the legends of the golden temples of Thebes with her hundred gates, ever to ascertain any thing of the time when the Egyptian empire was still limited to the frontier of the Thebaid. One fact, however, may be gathered from these traditions, that the separate Egyptian states, which existed prior to the empire of Menes, had their temple-service regularly organised, and that they were in possession, consequently, of all the arts which are implied by the existence of such a service.

Our object, however, is not to unravel legends and myths, nor shall we indulge in idle speculations upon a subject which we can never fathom. Our purpose rather is to establish beyond the possibility of doubt the great and astounding fact, that the empire of Menes, on its first appearance in history, possessed an established mythology, i. e. a series of gods, some of whom were genealogically connected, some entirely foreign to each other. Our aim in describing these deities must consequently be this, to distinguish as much as possible—as we did when treating of the language—the original from the more modern elements, the traditionary portion from its subsequent history. An historical disquisition has certainly to deal only with facts, but it must endeavour to demonstrate the principle from whence they spring. Now the especial importance of the primeval history of Egypt to us, in regard to mythology as well as language, is the circumstance, that it is the only history of the old world which admits of any authentic investigation. Even here the difficulties are very great—in all other histories they would seem to be insuperable. Mythology and language stand in a very different position. In the latter, changes are introduced slowly and in a marked manner (if no violent external influences be brought to bear on it); old forms of speech are re-

tained for centuries together with the modern idioms; in a word, as long as writing exists, the principles on which language was formed in very remote ages may be handed down to the latest posterity. In the history of religions, however, the new form of worship necessarily expels the older, and endeavours to expunge every trace of its existence. Honours, often names even, are transferred to new gods, in the spirit of the old religion, and new myths are invented in order to obliterate the remembrance of the earlier. The profound spirit of modern philosophy has even proved that it is the characteristic of several mythological divinities to be invested at one period with functions and attributes totally opposite to those by which they were distinguished at another. The first result which the discovery of the ancient names of the gods by the side of their images produced, was, consequently, of a contradictory and destructive, rather than of a restorative nature. The only certain conclusion seemed to be, that the Greeks had little correct tradition, and that the moderns had in most cases misunderstood and overlooked that little. We find, moreover, in the funereal papyri a variety of mystic forms and names of divinities, of which there is no trace in the temple worship. It is a serious flaw in Champollion's Pantheon, a work which upon the whole is certainly the least satisfactory of all his labours, that he was not sufficiently cautious in introducing such deities. The researches and explanations of Wilkinson are much more sober and critical. He published at Malta, as early as the year 1828, a synopsis of the Egyptian divinities—a work now very scarce.[224] A more detailed and improved account is given in the fourth and fifth volumes of his "Manners and Customs," and in the sixth the pictorial represent-

[224] Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1828. P. I. Pantheon.

ations, but unfortunately without mentioning the monuments and records from which they are obtained. This omission is to a certain extent supplied by Rosellini's splendid work. Death, alas! hurried him away before he had time to add the text to his mythological illustrations, though, as above stated, they have been published posthumously. Science has since been indebted to Mr. Birch, the distinguished curator of the Egyptian collection in the British Museum, who is so repeatedly mentioned in this work, for very important and accurate notices upon this subject. The first part of his "Gallery of Antiquities" contains a series of remarkable representations of images of the gods from that grand museum, with explanations and illustrations such as might be expected from one so deeply versed in Egyptian lore—more especially as regards the peculiar type of each deity, and the antiquity of the delineations.[225] The fourth and fifth numbers of the series of Egyptian monuments in copperplate, which Leemans, the curator of the museum at Leyden, is publishing, likewise contain most acceptable additions to Egyptology.[226]

Of the earlier researches, those of Jablonski, Zoega, Creuzer, and Prichard even, valuable as they are in many other respects, we have been able to make but little use, although their writings must always command that consideration and respect which is due to their acute observations and sound scholarship. By deciphering the hieroglyphic names of the images of the gods, we have learned the true facts, and thereby established a sound basis for Egyptian mythology. It is impossible any longer to doubt how their deities were named and represented at different epochs.

[225] The Gallery of Antiquities, selected from the British Museum. Part I. Egyptian Art, Mythological Illustrations, 1842. Part II. Historical Illustrations, 1843, 4to.

[226] Monumens Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités du Pays Bas, publiés par ordre du Gouvernement par le Dr. C. Leemans. Fol.

We think, indeed, that we can now go a step farther, and investigate a point on which Wilkinson has already displayed considerable ingenuity — the restoration of the Orders or Classes of the Egyptian divinities. Herodotus was informed that they were divided into three distinct Orders, and the monuments give us the genealogy of the greater part of them. We may thus, perhaps, be led to the discovery of the strata in this sublime portion of primeval Egyptian history. The method we pursue is this. In the first place, we pass over all such representations as occur only in the funereal papyri, and not on the monuments; and, in the second, everything peculiar to the Ptolemaic age (especially the worship of Serapis). Lastly, we discard all the representations which exhibit no individual type, and endeavour to reduce all those which do to their most ancient and predominant form.

Historical tradition, however, must be the basis of our system, and we therefore exclude all doubtful and suspicious sources of information, from Diodorus to the Neo-Platonists, and the last of the Hermetic Books. Our only authorities will be the genuine Egyptian registers, and the statements of Herodotus. There is evidently a certain connexion between his three Orders of Gods, the monumental genealogies of the Egyptian divinities, and the Dynasties, that is, series, of Gods.

The Turin Papyrus, in conformity with Egyptian usage, gives, as well as Manetho's work, a series of Dynasties of Gods before the Rule of Mortals. The succession of these Dynasties must necessarily rest upon a mythological system, which, whatever may be its value as to the historical development of Egyptian religion, must at least be as old as Ramesses.

The first three Dynasties, as we have seen, are obliterated from that Record; the fourth (according to Seyffarth) was that of Seb (Chronos), or (according to Salvolini) of Osiris: the fifth, Osiris or Isis. In neither case can the actual fact be now fully ascertained.

The sixth exhibits Set, the seventh Horus (probably the elder), the eighth Thoth, the ninth Ma, the tenth a god designated by a hawk (probably the younger Horus). With the thirteenth reign a new series commenced. It would seem from a calculation in the papyrus following the name of Horus, according to which 23,000 years had elapsed since his reign, that this event formed a break in their mythological system. Such is the whole substance of the information derived from the Turin Papyrus.

According to the epitome of Manetho's genuine work[227], given by Eusebius, he established the following succession —

Vulcan (Phtah).
Helios (Ra).
Agathodæmon (Num, Chnubis).
Chronos (Seb).
Osiris: Typhon (Set): Horus.

These are followed by a series of subordinate gods, whose names Eusebius has omitted. The work of the Pseudo-Manetho neither deserves nor admits of being consulted.

The two series possess this common feature, that the deities of the Osiris Order have older gods before them, and younger or inferior gods after them. In both Chronos-Seb is the immediate predecessor of Osiris, the chief of that Order; it is very possible, therefore, that the three erased from the papyrus were the very three mentioned by Manetho.

This at once seems to elucidate the passage in Herodotus[228], where he states that the Egyptian gods formed three Orders. The first consisted of eight, among whom, according to the Mendesians, was Pan the god of Chemmis or Panopolis. In another place he avers that

227 Appendix of Authorities, II. p. 5.
228 II. 145. seqq. Comp. c. 4. 43. 46. and 156.

the goddess of the floating isle of Buto, whom he calls Latona, and who is therefore considered as the mother of Apollo and Diana, belonged to the first Order.

After them came the twelve gods descended from the preceding eight. The Egyptians, he says, were the first who fixed the number of their gods, as well as that of the months of the year, at twelve. Hercules was one of these twelve gods.

The gods of the third Order were their descendants; to these Osiris belonged; Horus his son was the last god who reigned over Egypt; the date of his reign was 15,000 years before Amasis, that of Hercules 2000 before Horus.

Among all these deities, Osiris and Isis *only* were worshipped throughout all Egypt.

There can be no doubt that Herodotus's series of primary, secondary, and tertiary gods, represent the Mythological Dynasties of the Egyptians; the discrepancy is, that he calls the Osiris dynasty the youngest; his authorities, therefore, must have considered the later dynasties as heroes or demi-gods.

With respect to the number of which he makes the first two Orders to consist, it is clearly twenty. Neither can we admit, with Jablonski and Hirt, that, even according to the letter of his observations, the first eight were comprised in the twelve of the second Order. The Egyptian monuments, however, remove all doubt on that point. If we exclude those of the Osiris Order, who were not, as Creuzer supposes, three, nor as Hirt imagines, five, but seven, there remain about twenty deities, however strictly we reduce the various representations to the same individuals, who are merely typified under different forms.

The monuments also really describe the Osiris Order as the third; for Seb and Netpe (Chronos and Rhea), from whom it is descended, evidently belong to the second.

Herodotus's remark, that Osiris and Isis are the only

deities worshipped throughout all Egypt, would intimate, perhaps, that the two Orders of eight and twelve were composed of different gods in different parts of Egypt, for according to him the number was fixed, and he expressly states it to be twelve. If, therefore, we find more than twelve deities in the second Order, this is only a proof of the correctness of Herodotus's remark. We shall include in the number twelve those who seem to have been worshipped the most universally and with the highest honours.

The first Order was obviously composed of gods of different provinces. Ammon and Chnubis, its first two deities, belong to the Thebaid: then comes Phtah of Memphis: after him, Neith from Sais in the Delta: lastly, the God of the Theban Panopolis. Thus far there can be no doubt as to the names and origins of the deities of this Order. The cosmogonic position which they had in common is also authentically recognised in the case of all here mentioned. The only point, therefore, on which there can be any doubt, is, who were the remaining three deities. By establishing how the first Order was constituted, we shall perhaps get a clue to the deities who belonged to the number twelve, the descendants of the oldest gods.

According to the principles laid down, however, our first object will be so far to discover the local origins of the deities of all the three Orders, as to distinguish between those of Upper, and those of Lower, Egypt. For language, mythology, writing, and history, all combine in recognising this division of the country in the dark ages prior to history. We shall then endeavour to ascertain in the case of each of these two great divisions, whether the series formed out of them be again represented as formed by the combination and amalgamation of different local deities. Whatever be the result, we hope, by following this method, to establish the fact, that, during the epochs of primeval history, mytho-

logical strata are as clearly discernible as those of language; perhaps we may also lay the foundation for working out the further development. This can only be done by means of a deep study of the monuments and "Book of the Dead," pursued on the clearest principles and with historical judgment. It implies, therefore, considerable progress in Egyptology. It is naturally foreign to our purpose to enter into the subject — as far as it can be treated at the present moment — with any other object than that of discovering which were the original elements. Here again we must expressly warn our readers against a misunderstanding into which Egyptologers, from Champollion downwards, seem in danger of falling. He was perfectly right in considering it a matter of great importance to notice those groups of gods which are ordinarily found together. Now as a principal god is very frequently met with in the temple-representations, conjoined with two others, in his letters from Egypt he formed out of these a series of so-called Triads — an idea, which Rosellini and even Wilkinson have taken up, and carried out still further. Upon this, it is first of all to be remarked, that these groups often vary, and further, that they are not formed of gods of the same Order, so that they can furnish us no sort of assistance in restoring the three Orders. We must also protest, in the name of philosophy, against the abuse of the word, triad. Three times one certainly make three, but not a trinity complete in itself: still less a trinity which is at the same time a unity. The true idea, which must be considered as the origin of the formation of triads, certainly lies much deeper, and is assuredly not to be found in this manner upon the surface. This is especially the case, if, as has been the practice hitherto, we do not distinguish any epochs, but consider the representations of a period of 3000 years (during which two immense revolutions in the

religious sentiments of the Egyptians can be historically demonstrated) as forming one single original system. The very threads, moreover of the Chronology have not yet been arranged, nor the reading of the names satisfactorily established—so that the mere preliminary steps towards clearing the ground are not yet taken.

Our attempt, then, to restore the three Orders of Herodotus, and reduce them to their oldest demonstrable form, is the first recorded in the annals of science. Wilkinson, indeed, admits their existence, but has limited himself to proving that eight was the number of which the first consisted. This he supposes to comprise the following deities: Kneph—Amun—Phtah—Khem—Sat—Maut (Buto?)—Bubastis (?)—Neith.[229] In his earlier works he had included Helios (Ra) instead of Bubastis, but afterwards omitted him, because Amun is already called Amun-Ra. In our restoration Ra is included, and we differ also from him in some few other particulars.

Although we do not profess to be able to restore the second Order with the same precision as the first and third, we still trust that the following arrangement will prove correct upon the whole. The first general view of the system is as follows—

*The Eight Gods of the First Order.*

I. Amn, Ammon, "the concealed God," the God of Thebes.

II. Khem, Chemmis in the Thebaid, "the husband of his mother," the generative God of Nature, the God of Panopolis.

III. Mut, the Mother (Buto), Leto (Latona), Goddess of Buto in the Delta, the Temple-Consort of Khem and Ammon.

[229] Manners and Customs, iv. 227.

IV. Num, Nu, Knēph, Chnubis, the ram-headed God of the Thebaid.
V. Seti, in Coptic, Sate, "ray, arrow," the Consort of Knēph.
VI. Phtah, the Creator of the World, sprung from the mouth of Knēph through the Mundane Egg—the God of Memphis.
VII. Net, Neith, the Goddess of Sais in the Delta—without descent: "I came from myself."
VIII. Ra, Helios, the God of Heliopolis (On) in the Delta.

*The Twelve Gods of the Second Order.*

A. The child of Ammon:
I. Khunsu (Chōns), Hercules.
B. The child of Knēph:
II. Tet (Thoth), Hermes.
C. The children of Phtah:
III. Atumu, Atum, Atmu.
IV. Pecht (Bubastis), the Cat-headed Goddess of Bubastis, Artemis.
D. The children of Helios:
V. Hat-her (Athyr), Aphrodite.
VI. Mau.
VII. Ma (Truth).
VIII. Tefnu, the Lioness-headed Goddess.
IX. Muntu, Munt (Mandulis).
X. Sebak, Sevek, the Crocodile-headed God.
XI. Seb (Chronos).
XII. Nutpe, Netpe (Rhea).

*The Seven Gods of the Third Order.*

I. Set, Nubi, Typhon.
II. Hesiri, Osiris.
III. Hes, Isis.
IV. Nebt-hi, Nephthys, the sister of Isis, "the Mistress of the House."

V. Her-hēr, Arōēris, "Hor the elder," the God of Hat, Apollinopolis, hence Her-het.
VI. Her, Horus, child of Isis and Osiris "Her-pa-χrut," Harpokrates, i.e. "Horus the child."
VII. Anupu, Anubis.

Appendix: *The Four Genii of the Dead.*

1. Amset.
2. Hapi.
3. Simutef.*
4. Keb-snauf.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE EGYPTIAN DEITIES.

All the gods are characterised by the beard hanging down from the chin. In general, they hold a sceptre surmounted by the Kukufa-head. This sceptre is called *tam* (*ʿjam*), and is considered the emblem of power. The goddesses carry a sceptre surmounted by a lotus-flower (emblem of sovereignty); on the pictures they frequently have wings, and are always clothed. Their common hieroglyphic sign is an egg or a snake. The gods as well as goddesses often carry the whip and crown of the Pharaohs. The latter is called χen; with the article prefixed, and the nominal suffix *t* at the end, it was pronounced in later times like P-schent, and is so written by the Greeks. It consists of two parts. According to the pictures, the lower one is red, and called on that account Teχer; the upper one, white (abχ) or χet. The gods and goddesses have moreover the Royal snake (the uræus, basilisk), as a frontlet, like the Pharaohs.

The name "God" is sometimes expressed by a hawk, Her, Horus, which is likewise the name of a particular god.

* On a coffin in the Bibliothèque Royale, where the phonetic name of this god occurs, he is called Tua-mu.t-ef.—*Birch.*

## A.

### THE EIGHT GODS OF THE FIRST ORDER.

#### I. AMN, AMN-RA, Ammon, Ammon-ra.

WE learn from the Old Egyptian monuments that Ammon and Kneph were really two distinct deities. The former is the God of Thebes, the latter of the Thebaid: the Greeks call the ram-headed god, Ammon and Zeus: on the later monuments we find Jupiter Ammon, Cenubis in Elephantina, Amenebis in the Oasis.

The most direct proof of their being distinct is, that in the olden time they were sometimes found side by side in the same temple; in that of Medinet-Habu, for instance, erected by the great Ramses. But a closer examination shows that in the complete system they represent two cosmogonic principles, totally different from each other.

His common title is Amn-Ra Suten neter-u (Ammon-Ra, King of the Gods), from whence the Greek form in the bilinguar Stele of Turin and in the Casati Papyrus: Ammonrasonther. He is almost always called on the monuments simply Amn-ra, Ammon-Helios (God?). He alone has the title *hek*, "the Ruler;" to him the first mystic region is dedicated. He is also called the Lord of Heaven, Lord of the Thrones, Horus (God, Hor) of the two Egypts. He had shrines in Thebes, the city of Ammon (Diospolis) Meroe, and all Nubia. His original form is that of a man. His type is the human form in contrast to Kneph, the ram-headed god. Our representation of him is that in which he is found in the old shrines of Thebes; sitting on his throne, holding life and power, on his head the badge peculiar to himself, of two high feathers on the lower Crown or *Teχer*, with a long string or cord hanging

from it behind down to his feet. In the pictures, when coloured, he is azure blue (Champ. i.). Whenever he is represented on the top of the obelisks (the Pyramidion), it is exclusively in his human form. In the hieroglyphical character he is symbolised by the obelisk itself. The name, Amn, however, is often annexed also to the ram-headed representation, both that with the so-called Ammon's horns (curved downwards), and that with the extended horns[230], like the Egyptian sheep; on the Temple of Ibsambul in Nubia, for instance, the work of Ramesses; and this ram-headed representation (Champ. ii.) is found even in Thebes. Coins of the time of the Ptolemies have the effigies of the ram. As this denotes the incorporation of Ammon with Kneph, so the representation with the hawk-head alludes to his early union with Ra, or Helios, the independent personal existence of whom, however, is clearly announced on the monuments and inscriptions. Ra appears before Ammon as the ministering god: he presents to him the Kings of Egypt to whom Ammon is giving (anχ) life.

The Greeks rightly considered Ammon as Zeus, and the highest god. According to Manetho's interpretation, which is deserving of attention, his name signifies "the concealed God[231]," "concealment:" we have also the root, *amn*, for "to veil," "to conceal," now actually before us in the hieroglyphics. The manner of writing Men, instead of Amen, for Ammon

230 Rosellini, Mon. del C. iv. Comp. li.

231 Plut. de Is. et Os. p. 354. D. We have given the first half of the passage in the first section, where we treated of Manetho's theological writings. Plutarch then proceeds to say, Διὸ τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν τῷ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὄντα, προσκαλούμενοί καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, Ἀμοῦν λέγουσιν. Comp. Iamb. de Mysteriis, viii. 3. p. 159.: ὁ γὰρ δημιουργὸς νοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προστάτης καὶ σοφίας ἐρχόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀφανῆ τῶν κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶσσαν λέγεται.

is new. We do not, therefore, at all events, import a modern philosophical idea into Egyptian mythology by considering him as the hidden, not yet revealed god. He stands incontestably, in the Egyptian system, at the head of a great cosmogonic development. Amn, Ammon, without any addition, is his original name; therefore he is so written in the Rings of the 12th Dynasty. Thebes is called after him the seat of Ammon: his hieroglyphic sign, lastly, is read Amn, not Amn-ra.

But the destination of the obelisks was, according to Pliny's authorities, connected with the worship of the sun, and the word probably contains in it (as he says it does) *ra* (*la*), the sun.[232] The obelisk at Heliopolis, a work of the 12th Dynasty, is also sacred to Ra. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, if almost all the extant monuments, at least from and after the 18th Dynasty, give the name of Ammon with the addition of Ra, although we find the name Amn alone in those old names of Kings, as well as in the old papyri.* The mystical names of Amn given in the "Book of the Dead" (164, 165.) are said to belong to the language of the Negroes.

But Wilkinson has made an observation which is perhaps of importance to history generally, and at all events points out the oldest change which can be authentically proved in the mythological system of the Egyptians, in regard to most of the representations

[232] Uben-ra-uben-la, sunbeam. Birch has found tχn, moreover, as the name of the obelisk, on those of Amyrtæus (523, 524.) and in the Anastasi Papyrus. The one in the British Museum is given under this figure in the ideographical signs. The former, therefore, was either the older sacred name or an epithet.

* Birch observes that on a tablet in the British Museum (No. 332.), where worshippers of the sun's disk are represented, probably of the time of Amenophis IV., these words occur: — uben en ra em ap.t amen, the light of the sun is the Amen of Thebes. On a basin (No. 108. Brit. M.) of the Ramesside epoch Amun is designated as "existing (typified) at the commencement."

which give the name Amn-ra. He remarks[233] that whenever the name of Amun-ra occurs in monuments previous to and during the reign of Amenōphis III. (Memnon), and even in the Royal Rings of Amenōphis III. (Amenhep.t), the name of Ammon is *new*. This is particularly obvious in the beautiful monuments of the British Museum. We there see in the celebrated statue of that King, on the spot where the name Amn now stands, that the surface of the granite has been chiseled off, in order to obliterate the signs which had been engraven on it, and to place in their stead the three well-known hieroglyphics of the name Ammon. In another passage of the inscription, where Amn-ra is mentioned, the same alteration has taken place in those three signs, but (which Wilkinson does not remark) *ra* stands upon the old surface. The same is observed in all the monuments in the Museum which are older than that Amenōphis; for instance, in the beautiful sculptures of the time of Tuthmōsis III. On the contrary, Amn-ra is recognisable as the original writing on a representation of this deity (as the Phallic God) in the time of King Horus, the immediate successor of Amenōphis III.

No one will pretend to explain this by asserting that the mode of writing the god "Amn" has been changed since that time. For, as we have already remarked, Ammon is written with the well-known phonetic hieroglyphics on the monuments of the 12th Dynasty. Another god must formerly have stood in his place, therefore, in those names of Amenōphis of the 18th Dynasty, as well as in the newly engraven signs of the obelisk. Wilkinson has thrown out the conjecture that this god was Khem, the Phallic God, the Pan of Herodotus. If so, we certainly must assume that the three Kings Amenōphis of the 18th Dynasty were called in their lifetime Khem-hep.t, instead of Amn-hep.t.

[233] Manners and Customs, iv. 244. Comp. 63. and the Materia Hieroglyphica (1828), Pantheon, p 4.

It also follows that the sculptures of Amn-ra, in which the name Amn-ra has supplanted a previous one, were all Phallic, as the only representations of Khem are Phallic. Any other view of the case involves us in inextricable contradictions.

In transferring the functions and identity of Khem to Amun, we have also the oldest authentic evidence of that system of amalgamation, which creates the great difficulty in the historical representation of the Egyptian deities — namely, the transference of the characteristics and titles of other deities to such as, in their original signification, had no connexion with them. Ammon, for instance, in those Phallic figures, has always the title of Chemmis (Pan), "the husband of his mother." But we must first notice this god himself.

### II. KHEM, PAN, the God of Chemmis (Panopolis).

Khem, read *Uta* by Lepsius, is called in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, that have not been altered, a Phallic God, enveloped in swathes; out of which one arm is protruded and upraised, brandishing the flagellum, the sign of lordship: the other hand holds the Priapus.[234] This word is never written phonetically, but only hieroglyphically, that is, with the sign, which probably signifies "bolt," from the root, *khem*, "to lock up." His title is Kamut.ef, "the husband (Bull) of his mother."

We instantly recognise here the God of Panopolis, which city is called in Egyptian, Chemmo[235] (El-Khemin). Stephanus of Byzantium gives the following description of this Deity of Panopolis: — "A great statue with the Priapus exposed, holding in the right hand the

234 An emblem of continence, according to Horapollo, ii. 7.

235 Diodorus, i. 18. Khebti on the tablets of the Kossayr road, (Burton) E. H. pl. 357.: on which tablets Birch observes that after the name of Khem the word Khebti, the common name of the town of Koptos, is frequently found.

flagellum directed towards the moon: they call it the figure of Pan."

By means of this description we may easily correct Herodotus's mistake in calling the Mendesian God after the name of the province of Mendes, and in considering the goat, who was the living, deified, animal-symbol of the god, as a representation of him. In his account of the God of Papremis, likewise, "who did violence to his mother," the truth is now become apparent.

There is a representation which differs entirely from the ordinary type, not Phallic [236], in which a god appears with the principal badge of Osiris, holding the ploughshare (*mer*), the sign of sowing, with the inscription, *Kah-mut* (sign of the Phallic God) *utet-ra*, that is, "husband of the mother, begotten by Helios." We introduce this representation merely as a proof of later amalgamation.

The votive figures, some of which belong to the primeval time, are dedicated to that old Khem on the road to Kossayr. Greek inscriptions on the more modern of these representations call the god, the Pan of Thebes.

He is often found in Panopolis, as well as in Sehag (Athribis or Crocodilopolis), in company with a lioness-headed goddess.

The statement, preserved in the epitome of Manetho, that the worship of the Mendesian goat, consequently of the symbol of Khem, was introduced under the 2nd (the Thinite) Dynasty, is of the highest importance.

### III. NUM, NU, Kneph, Chnubis.

The ram-headed god of the Thebaid is called on the monuments Num, Nu; the former therefore is to be considered as the complete way of writing it. Plutarch says [237], the original, immortal god, is called by the in-

236 In Wilk. Pl. 26. (M. vi. 2.). 237 De Is. et Os. c. 21.

habitants of the Thebaid, Knēph. Here *k* is the prefix of *n*, as in Canopus from Nubi, and in many other words. The *ph*, however, seems to be the Greek mode of expressing the Egyptian *m*, which probably was aspirated. The word Chnubis differs from Kneph only in the accidental admission of the inherent vowel *u* instead of *e*, and of *b* instead of *p*. As spelled on the Gnostic monuments of the Basilidians, it would sound like Chnumis. According to Plutarch [238] and Diodorus [239], the name of the Egyptian Zeus signified spirit (πνεῦμα), which of course can only apply to Kneph. At Esneh (Champ. Grammar, p. 302.) he is said to be "the breath of those who are in the firmament." His derivation from the Egyptian root *nf* (Copt. nef, nibe) = to blow, to breathe, is therefore very tempting. Birch [240], on the contrary, maintains that the hieroglyphic literally signifies "water" (Copt. nūn), with which etymology may be connected one of the titles of Kneph, under which he was worshipped in Elephantina, that of the Lord of the "Libations," or the "inundations." He conceives the animal figure which very often precedes or follows the name, and sometimes indicates it by itself [241], not to be the ram, but the (bearded) he-goat=bai, the phonetic of *bai*=soul, spirit. It is in this image that he recognises the expression of the idea "spirit," which the ancients found in the name of this god. How then could those writers say that it is the *name* of Kneph which signifies "spirit?" We must therefore hold that the ram or buck is the figurative meaning, as it occurs likewise in the name of a king of the 4th Dynasty, and assume that the roots *nef* and *num* were originally connected. The Arabic *nef*=breath, com-

238 De Is. et Os. c. 26. As he had previously explained Ammon to be the hidden god, he clearly cannot have meant the same here by the Egyptian Zeus.

239 I. 12.

240 Gallery, i. p. 9., seqq.

241 Ros. M. del Culto, li.

pared with the Hebrew *nūf*, to flow, in Greek *νέω*, *πνέω*, makes such a connexion in our opinion still more probable. At all events, to consider "water" the cosmogonic principle here, is in no way authentically demonstrable.

As the human form and the badge of the feather are the distinguishing marks in Ammon, so the ram's head with the double horns, both those extended like a goat's, and those curved downwards, as well as the snake, probably the Uræus or Basilisk, the sign of power, are the characteristics of Kneph. In the pictures his colour is green, as that of Ammon is blue. In Esneh he is represented with the feathers of Ammon; but distinguished from him by the snake on each side, and the absence of the lower crown.[242]

Herodotus mentions (ii. 74.) that the horned snake is sacred to Zeus, and that its mummy is buried in his temples. There is doubtless a connexion between the consecration of it to Kneph as one of his emblems, and its more general signification as the emblem of the deity in the hieroglyphics. The patron deity of the Egyptians, whom the Greeks called the "good god," Agathodæmon, and whom we find over the doors and windows of the temples, as well as on their furniture, does not, however, seem to be a direct representation of Kneph.

According to Wilkinson the worship of this deity is universal in Ethiopia, particularly beyond the second Cataract, and in the vicinity of Meroe and Napata. In Esneh his name occurs as Num-ra, similar to that of *Amn-ra*. This representation is of a later Roman period. The one given by Wilkinson (Mat. Hier. viii. B.) in a disk, with the scarabæus (type, signifying afterwards world) by its side, has an affinity with it.

Our representation is a copy of his Plate 21., with

242 Ros. M. del Culto, li.

the two modes of writing it on different monuments. Birch remarks, that the gifts offered to him, as well as the presents promised by him, are less valuable than those which belong to Ammon, from whom Kneph is also distinguished by being at the same time a God of the Lower World.

His most important remark, however, is, that Kneph, as creator, appears under the figure of a potter with the wheel. In Philæ, a work of the Ptolemaic epoch, he certainly is so represented, making a figure of Osiris, with the inscription, "Num, who forms on his wheel the divine limbs of Osiris, who is enthroned in the great hall of life." He is likewise called there Num-ra, "who forms the mothers, the genitrices of the Gods." In a representation of the time of the Roman emperors he is also called "the Sculptor of all men." In the monument at Esneh, of the same date, he is said to have made mankind on his wheel, and fashioned the gods, and is called the God "who has made the sun and moon to revolve under the heaven and above the world, and who has made the world and all things in it." * These representations confirm the correctness of the view as to the cosmogonic import of this primitive God of Thebes in the Egyptian mythology, down to the Ptolemaic epoch. Porphyry and Rufinus state that Phtah sprang from an egg which issued from the mouth of Kneph. We shall see, under Ra, that this most important cosmogonic symbol is supported by high authority, a representation in the Ramesseum, where it is said of Ra that "he moves his egg in heaven." The mundane egg is so universal a form of the creation of the visible world, that it is unnecessary to say more upon it here. The hieroglyphics prove that the Neo-Platonists were not the first who laid this egg, but we have no proof of its original application to Kneph. We have, therefore, no monumental authority

* Ros. M. del Culto, pl. xlix. Champ. Gr. p. 306.

for the original development of the cosmogonic series which was represented in the Ptolemaic and Roman period by Amen, Khem, and Num, the three Theban divinities, as the concealed god, the generative, sowing god, and the creative spirit.

In order to have a complete idea of this (early or late) Theban system, we must consider the cosmogonic principle of the Thebaid as it is typified in the female form.

IV. *a.* AMNT (Amente). *b.* MU . T (Mut.)

V. *a.* ANK (Anuke). *b.* STI (Seti, Sate), the frog-headed.

We have five names but only three individual representations of the female principle in the demiurgic series of Upper Egypt. We will examine, in the first place, the forms connected with Ammon.

Here we meet first of all with a goddess who occurs very frequently on the old monuments of Thebes, and who is marked as the female Ammun AMN-T, Ament. She wears the lower crown, and is called "the enthroned in Thebes." Her name, according to the Coptic rendering in that version of the Bible, and according to Plutarch, is *Amenti*, *Amente*, *Amenthes*, as an expression for the Lower World. But, according to the monuments, she no more represents the idea of Persephone, than Ammon does that of Dispater. Nothing is proved but her Theban origin and connexion with Ammon.

The female principle is much more developed in connexion with Khem. We have no hesitation in combining him with the second name of the goddess, Mut, which otherwise we cannot connect with any separate personification. Almost all the great goddesses, especially Neith, Pecht, and Isis, have her name as a title. But we have also the representation of a goddess with a complete royal crown, who is called "the mother," and the only one, too, as far as we know, in the old

monuments, who has the title of "Mistress of Darkness."[243] We give this representation after Wilkinson, with two inscriptions.

It seems the most natural view to say that she is the wife of Khem, the god who has the title "husband of the mother." This, again, receives confirmation by the statement of Herodotus, which is now very easily explained (ii. 155., comp. 75. 83.). Not far from the Sebennytic mouth there was, according to him, a great city called Buto, which contained a very celebrated shrine—the Temple of Buto or Latona, consisting of five blocks of stone, brought there from Elephantina. Each of its sides was 60 feet high and wide, and the block which served for the roof six feet thick.[244] Here was the oracle which the Egyptians held in the very highest estimation. Close to it, in a broad lake, was the island of Chemmis, which was said to float. Herodotus saw in it a shrine of Apollo (Horus), i. e. the son of Buto. Here Latona was said to have concealed and brought up the son of Isis, according to others, Apollo and Diana (Bubastis, Pacht).

Now Chemmis is clearly nothing but the name of Khem. Buto, again, is assuredly the name of the city: it may be, however, that the identity between the two names, Sebennytis and Semmuth, may induce us to admit the absolute identity between Buto and Mut.

According to Herodotus (ii. 67.), the shrew-mouse (mygale, mus araneus) was sacred to Buto, and their mummies were buried in the city of Buto. The animal passed for being blind, and was, therefore,

[243] *Axerer*, as Birch has conclusively proved; the word occurs with the determinative sign of Night.

[244] Wilk., Manners and Customs, vol. iii. p. 330. seq., calculates the weight of the whole at 5000 tons; but there were 5 blocks, so that each must have weighed 1000 tons, almost the weight of the pedestal of Peter the Great's statue at Petersburgh, which is calculated at about 1200 tons.

dedicated to the Mother of the Gods, because "Darkness is older than Light," as Plutarch says.[245] The fact of this mouse being worshipped in Athribis, the city of the lioness-headed goddess[246], proves a connexion between them, as well as that representation.

The character of Mut seems, therefore, that of a primitive goddess, the conceptive principle in the cosmogonic system. The oracle and prophecy agree very well with the idea of such a mother (Gē, Dē-mētēr). There is also another proof of the Theban origin of this representation—its very frequent occurrence at Thebes with Ammon-ra, who, as we have seen, took the place of Khem.

The consort of Kneph is a goddess represented in a primeval form, wearing the lower crown, and upon it a peculiar head-gear. Birch considers the stalks, which are in the form of feathers, and spread out like a fan, to be hemp stalks. The appellation sounds like Ank, and the Greek inscription near the Cataracts calls her "Anukis, which is also Hestia." Thus we have the pronunciation and the meaning. Not only does this translation show her to be a primeval goddess, but also her position in that representation. She comes immediately after Kneph and Sati, and precedes Osiris, Seb, and Thoth. She has even the upper crown, encircled by two horns (consequently, like Sate). Her wings are bent under her, and cover the lower part of the body.[247] She is never, like the other deities of the second Order, called the Daughter of Ra or any other god. The proof of her very old Theban and Egyptian origin may also perhaps be found

[245] From the inscriptions on the pedestals of the bronze figures of this animal, one in the British Museum, the other belonging to Dr. Lee, it would appear that they were sacred to Horus, lord of the region of *χem*, "the closed region," "or region of annihilation."—B. Plut. Symp. iv. Qu. 5.

[246] Strabo, xvii.

[247] Champ. Panth. Anuke.

in her name, which seems to be identical with that of the Phœnician Athene, Onga, Onka, who was also worshipped by the Thebans and Gephyreans.[248]

The second goddess who must be mentioned here is the frog-headed goddess "Hek," whose name is the hieroglyphic of frog, with the addition of "Mistress." The representation with the head of the frog reminds us of a similar one of Phtah, of whom we shall shortly have to speak. She appears upon a monument of the 12th Dynasty in the British Museum as companion and consort of Kneph.

The third and last is Seti (arrow, sunbeam), the goddess with the arrow (Copt. Sate). She is represented with the upper crown and full pschent, which is encircled by cow's-horns. She accompanies Kneph in the Ex-votos at the Cataracts and in the island of Sete, now Sehéle, between Philæ and Elephantina.[249] She is also sitting by him on a sandstone tablet from Thebes, formerly in Lord Belmore's possession, now in the British Museum (Champ. xix. n.). In the quarries of Elephantina, where there are inscriptions of the time of Caracalla containing the names of Jupiter Hammon, Cenubis, and Juno, those in the Egyptian language contain that of Sate. In a Latin inscription at Syene discovered by Belzoni, Jupiter Chnubis and Juno Regina are mentioned. There is also a statue at Philæ, dedicated to Chnuphis and Sati, by Ptolemy II. Euergetes. Sati is presenting Amenoph II. to Chnuphis in the temple dedicated to him in Elephantina; consequently as his *ministra* as it were (Champ. xix. 19. a.). On the oldest monuments (of the 12th Dynasty), however, there is by the side of Chnumis a goddess with the frog's head, whose name sounds like Hekt (the Queen). As we do not find her, however, in the great temple representations, we consider her as a symbolical form of Sate.

[248] Pausan. ix. 12. Comp. Creuzer, Symbolik.

[249] See Letronne, Rech. p. 341. 480.

Her emblem is the crown — as a general rule, only the upper (white) one, the symbol of the upper hemisphere, in the physical acceptation of later times — with two cow-horns coming out of its sides. As "daughter of Ra," she would more properly belong to the second order; but this may be a later addition, and Ra herself certainly belongs to the eight oldest deities. Horapollo (i. 11.) contrasts her (Hera) with Neith (Athena), in reference to the two sides of the hemisphere. She rules over the upper, as Neith rules over the lower firmament.

She appears as a waiting-woman in the remarkable representation of Wilkinson (Mat. Hier. xvi. B.), which show a connexion with the myth of Isis-Horus.

### VI. PTH, Ptah, Phthah, Vulcan.

Pth, expressed in Coptic Ptah, in Greek as Phtha, appears on the monuments with Chnuphis and Neith, and he is clearly connected in the complete Egyptian system with them both. We shall consider first of all his hieroglyphic peculiarity. His ordinary mode of representation is as a god holding before him with both hands the so-called Nilometer, or emblem of stability, which is combined with the sign of life, and Kukufa-sceptre. He wears on his head a cap peculiar to himself; his flesh is green; a string comes out of the drapery in the neck, from which is appended a bell-shaped tassel, or counterpoise of a collar: but immediately under the breast commences a mummy-like envelope, which fastens tight round the whole body down to the feet, so that the hands only appear out of it.

The Nilometer is admitted to be the symbol of stability, duration. Among his titles, the most conspicuous are, "the Lord of the gracious (beautiful) countenance," and "the Lord of truth." The goddess Truth (ma) is

standing before him as his daughter.[250] The form of the pedestal also on which we often find him (the cubit, ma) expresses the character of truth. Still, according to Herodotus's statement, this was not the temple representation in the great shrine of Ptah at Memphis. It was a dwarfish figure, like the Phœnician idols, the Pataikoi, on their ships. We find such figures of Ptah in the form of Pataikoi[251]—a word which corresponds in all its consonants with Ptah[252]—under several types as little amulets, and also in the funereal papyri. Ptah is represented in them almost always with the skull-cap of a priest, like the pilos of Vulcan.

In the Pataikos form he is sometimes found without any further distinguishing mark (Champ. viii. 1.); sometimes on a crocodile with a scarabæus on his head, holding two snakes, Ptah-Sokari (viii. 2.); sometimes as the letter *a*, with the scarabæus, and the inscription *ter* (cheper) (viii. 3.); sometimes as the Phallic God, holding the Priapus in his hand, and raising the other as if to seize the flagellum. Sometimes the feet are turned quite inwards, and in the Ritual Ptah is twice represented as bow-legged or bent-legged, which may or may not assimilate with the lame Hephæstos. Sometimes the head is double, that of a man on one side, and of a hawk on the other; inscription, Ptah Sokari (viii. 4—6.). There is a similar Pataikos in Birch's work[253] with a bald head, as these hideous figures are described by

[250] Wilkinson, xxiii. 5. Birch, p. 13.

[251] Champ., Panth. viii.

[252] Ptah has no Egyptian derivation, nor even any analogy with any thing. PTX, "to open," in Hebrew, differs from PTH only in being more strongly aspirated. Ptah is the great *Revealer*, the great Cabir, in Egyptian ūn, ūūn. How Movers (The Phœnicians, i. p. 653.) can derive the name from παράσσω, is as inexplicable as that so circumspect a critic as the investigator of the historical contents of the Books of Chronicles could make such unsound, unmethodical, untenable attempts at false, mystic, and allegoric interpretation.

[253] Gallery, Pl. 7. fig. 18.

Epiphanius, who, however, is mistaken in calling them Harpocrates.

The representation as *Phthah-Sokari*, and *Ptah-Osiri* (likewise a later combination), with the hawk-face, upper crown, and Ammon's feathers, and in human form, in which case he has sometimes all the ornaments of Ammon, sometimes only the skull-cap (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xix.), is probably only an embellishment of this idol. He is then called Sokari-Osiri, or Ptah-Sokari-Osiri. We give one of these numerous idols from Wilkinson (xxiv. 2.). Similar representations in the funereal papyri have the inscription *Ptah-Sokari-Osiri* by their side. The god Sokari-Osiri is Osiris, the Lord of the Lower World. As such he is called Ptah-Tatanen.[254] In this signification he has frequently the goat's horns, the disk of the sun, and two tall feathers. In one of these representations at Philæ (of the time of the Romans), he appears simply with the skull-cap, sitting, with his legs free, on a potter's wheel, and forming an egg.[255] The inscription runs — Ptah-Tatanen, "the father of the beginnings, moving the egg of the sun and moon, first of the gods of the Upper World." He is also said, on a tablet of the 18th Dynasty (Br. Mus. 286.), to "adjust the world in his hand," or "by his hand."

Hence we may venture with Horapollo and Plutarch[256] to consider the scarabæus, one of his symbols, the image of the world and its creation, as well as the frog and other symbols of the development of man. In an inscription given by Champollion (Gr. Eg., p. 314.), Phthah is called "inventor," or rather creator, "of all things in this world." At all events Iamblichus is right in saying in the well-known passage "the god

254 Birch, Gallery of Antiquities.
255 Ros. Mon. del Culto, xxi.
256 Hor. i. 10. Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 10.

who creates with truth, is called Ptah." Lastly, also, the idea of the formation of the mundane egg by Ptah must be admitted to derive from an Old Egyptian symbol, although we find it applied originally to Ra, and not to Ptah.

The representation of the god with the scarabæus on his head (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xx.) and the name *Ter-ra* (Cheper-ra), or even that exhibiting a scarabæus-headed god with the same inscription (Champ. xii. 13.), is to be explained by the scarabæus and frog being the symbols of the creator of the world. A god with the sun's disk and Uræus (Wilk. xx.) is simply called *Ter* (Cheper). In all these we cannot do otherwise than recognise a form of Ptah.

This is no less clear in the representations of the frog-god, a god with the frog head, whose appellation is *Ka* (offering, the arms upraised), "the father of the fathers of the gods:" an epithet given also to the Nile.[257]

The frog-headed goddess[258], appears in the monuments of the 12th Dynasty as the companion of Kneph, and may therefore be a form of Sate; at all events she is no independent goddess.

His principal temple was at Memphis, built by Menes contemporaneously with the city, and afterwards enlarged and embellished by succeeding kings. Herodotus and the later Greek historians saw it still in all its pomp in their time.

### VII. NT, Nēith, Athena.

Neith belongs to Ptah, and is found by his side. The name is said to signify "I came from myself."[259] Isis is often so called. In as far as the Creator of the world too is considered in his original acceptation, as the *minister* or *ministra*, the organ of God, the female representation

257 Wilkinson, xxv. Comp. iv. 256., Horap. i. 25. 258 Ibid.

259 Ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς (Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 62.).

—of this principle is a very natural one. This is Neith, Athena. She is again the same creative principle, but, as being the conceptive element, is considered as female.

Her hieroglyphic sign (Wilk. Mat. Hier. vii.) is a symbol, which has certainly been somewhat precipitately considered a shuttle, out of fondness for comparing her with Athena: for it is not found in the representations of weaving exhibited on the primeval tomb of the 12th Dynasty.[260] Still *nat* is the Coptic word for loom. The Egyptians wrote the name NT, the Greek transcript, Νηίθ, gives us its pronunciation.

She has always the lower crown, and sometimes the shuttle, or a hawk on her head. She also carries a bow and arrows in her hand, and we have chosen this representation for our plates.[261] It has the superscription *Net*, Neith. In Egyptian mythology the old female Power of the Thebaid was merged in Neith, the goddess of Sais, and the name also was consequently transferred to her.

Her titles are Muth, the Mother, the Mistress of Heaven, the elder Goddess her.t (hēr). In Champollion (23.) she is holding a Kukufa-sceptre instead of the ordinary one of Lower Egypt, and is styled "the great Mother," "the mother of Helios, her first-born." In like manner she is called "the Cow, who has produced the Sun." She seems here to be entitled "the mother of the Sun," as, according to Iamblichus, she was called in Sais. As mother of the living she also appears (Champ. 234.) nursing two crocodiles.

According to Clemens[262] her great shrine in Sais had an open roof like that at Onka in Thebes of Bœotia, with the far-famed inscription "I am all that was, and

260 Ros. Mon. Civ. xli. Comp. Text M. C., vol. ii. p. 14. seqq.
261 According to Wilkinson, Pl. 28. 1.
262 Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 155.

is, and is to be; no mortal has lifted up my veil[263], and the fruit I bore is Helios."[264]

In Ptah and Neith the Deity completed its manifestation as the Soul of the World; and they both entered directly into the Theban representation of the first principles.

### VIII. RA, Phra, Phre, Helios.

We have already considered Neith, the goddess of Sais, in her capacity of mother of Helios. The name of this, her first-born, the shining, and nurturing prototype of the creation of the earth, is Ra, with the article, and written by the Greeks, according to the Memphite pronunciation, Phra or Phrē, corresponding to the Hebrew transcript Phra. He must be considered as one of the old gods, because a great part of the succeeding Order is stated to be derived from Helios. In confirmation of which, in the Dynasties of the gods, Ra succeeds Ptah as his son.

His usual type is hawk-headed, although, as an exception, he is also found with a human face[265], as Horapollo[266] describes him, with the Sun's disk on his head, encircled by an Uræus. The colour of his flesh in the pictures is red, like that of the Sun's disk.

His cosmogonic nature[267] is established in the representation in the Ramesseum, which Birch has cited and explained, where the great Ramesses is sacrificing to him, as "the Lord of the two Worlds, who is enthroned on the sun's disk, who moves his egg, who appears in the abyss of Heaven." We have therefore here his creative power, as it operates by the intervention of the

263 Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 9., who refers this to Isis, in accordance with the enthusiasm which the later writers had for her. He says, moreover, her statue in Sais had the inscription, &c.

264 Proclus, lib. i. in Tim. p. 30.

265 Wilk. xxviii. 3. Pl. 4. 2.

266 I. 6. ἱερακόμορφος.

267 Birch, Gallery, p. 24. See Burton, E. H. Pl. lvii.

all-nourishing power of the sun upon the earth. Thus far, therefore, the god of Heliopolis (On) is developed in the Egyptian system mediatorially, like the Cabiri. The second Cabir is the generative power of nature, considered as a generative personality.

### RECAPITULATION OF THE FOREGOING ENQUIRY.

We have seen that the gods of the first Order possessed one general attribute, that of revealing themselves—in other words, a creative power or principle. The mythological system obviously proceeded from "the concealed god" Ammon, to the creating god. The latter appears first of all as the generative power of nature in the Phallic god Khem, who is afterwards merged in Ammon-ra. Then sprung up the idea of the creative power in Kneph. He forms the divine limbs of Osiris (the primitive soul) in contradistinction to Ptah, who, as the strictly demiurgic principle, forms the visible world. Neith is the creative principle, as nature represented under a female form. Finally, her son Ra, Helios, appears as the last of the series, in the character of father and nourisher of terrestrial things. It is he, whom an ancient monument represents as the demiurgic principle, creating the mundane egg. As early as the 15th century B. C., Ammon is called Ammun-ra, "Ammun, who is Helios," consequently the beginning and end of the cosmogonic formation. We are unable, however, to prove that the whole cosmogonic system, as exhibited on the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman epochs, is the primitive one, or that of the 18th and 19th Dynasties.

If, however, we go back to the origin of the deities of this order, different starting-points open upon us. We see here also how the Egyptian was gradually formed out of different provincial elements, which at length were merged in two only, those of Upper and Lower

Egypt, though they still leave behind them many traces in the forms of provincial worship. Ammon, Khem, and Kneph belong to the Thebaid; Ptah, Neith, and Ra to Lower Egypt. If we go still deeper into the analysis, we find the worship of Ammon (the primeval god in human form) established principally in the Thebaid, and most particularly so in the city of Ammon. That of Kneph (the ram-headed) was more frequent in Ethiopia, to the south of Elephantina; that of Neith and Ra probably originated in Sais and Heliopolis. Ptah, lastly, is the union of the influences of Upper and Lower Egypt. The primeval shrine was at Memphis, but its builder was a mighty prince of Upper Egypt, Menes of This. Now we have two wholly distinct representations of Ptah, the artistic Egyptian, and the rude Pataikos form. They are co-ordinate without being intermixed. The Temple god of Memphis is still the naked, unformed Pataikos; but Ptah, the god worshipped in all Egypt, is represented out of Memphis with the skull-cap, the sceptres, and mummy wrappings. We can hardly be wrong therefore in considering the former the primeval god of the province of Memphis; the latter, as the Upper Egyptian artistically finished idea of the same god, introduced by the Thinite prince, for this form of Ptah is closely connected with the deities of Upper Egypt.

We think it indispensable to have a correct idea of these historical distinctions. The complete mythological system of the Egyptians was an amalgamation of the various provincial forms and rites. But, in offering this opinion, we would at the same time protest against the hasty conclusion, that this national arrangement was an arbitrary one, by which ideas, originally quite distinct, were worked up artificially into a system. We forget that the Egyptian never could have made these different forms harmonise, had not each province found the complement of its own feelings and ideas

in those of its neighbours. The case is precisely the same with the formation of a national language out of the provincial elements of the intellectual energies of one and the same people. Admitting a common starting-point, and the feeling of a common origin, the identity of the object of intellectual impulses must necessarily produce a similar whole, the parts of which are reciprocally, although not intentionally, the supplements of each other. Thus it was with the Old Egyptians. Their language shows that all the provinces comprised in the duality of Upper and Lower Egypt contained the same people, whose mental development was, therefore, necessarily of a similar character. Thus the idea which pervaded the whole nation was stamped with a provincial impress, till by degrees the most powerful of these conformations ejected the others, after Menes had founded the united empire of Egypt. This, however, could only happen in consequence of a primitive unity, a common foundation. Thus only could every Egyptian find in every other Egyptian mind his own individual sensations. Upon a closer investigation, therefore, the demonstrability of the various local origins of these mythological forms is only a proof of the force and unity of the idea which was working in the minds of the people.

Herodotus expressly states that twelve, the number of their gods, was sacred, taken probably from the twelve months of the solar year. Eight, the number of his first Order, is certainly not an astronomical one, and may be partly conventional. Its constituent parts, also, may have been different in different provinces.

Counting Ament, Mut, and Anuke as one, and distinguishing the two representations of Ptah, which are totally different, we can trace ten separate individualisations. We might also count twelve here. At all events, twelve is the number assigned by Herodotus to the divinities of the second Order, which we now proceed to explain.

## B.

### THE TWELVE GODS OF THE SECOND ORDER.

IN giving an historical exposition of these deities, our remarks can be condensed within a much narrower compass. All we have to do is so to illustrate these twelve gods, as clearly to show the descent of each from one of the first Order, and the internal connexion amongst them all. The character of the whole Order is, derivative, secondary, and at the same time instrumental existence, analogous to that of the Cabiri. The connexion between Helios, the last of the first Order, and the deities contained in it, is quite obvious from their planetary or more generally astral import. The idea of divinity is considerably mixed up with the feeling of the power of nature in this Order, and has a material tendency; the result of which is, that it is not purely cosmogonic like the first, and yet not completely terrestrial or psychological like the third.

### A. *The Child of Ammon.*

#### I. KHUNSU (Khunsu), Chōns.

The frequent junction of Khunsu and the primeval god on the monuments of Thebes is direct proof of the connexion with Ammon. Birch, however, has quoted an inscription in the British Museum, where Khunsu is expressly called "the eldest son of Ammon." It is also found on a tablet discovered by General Vyse in the quarries of Tourah (Mons Troicus), of the date of the 18th Dynasty.

The type is that of a moon-god, but, as Birch[268] has correctly remarked, in a double form: with the hawk-head, as we give it after Wilkinson (Pl. 46.), or as a youthful Ptah, with the Horus lock of the young

[268] Gallery, p. 8.

gods.[269] In one representation[270], the subject of which is not quite certain, he is lion-headed. Another, in which type Khunsu is holding the palm-branch of the Panegyries, and, like the Egyptian Hermes, is marking the years with the stylus, exhibits an approach towards the highest moon-god, Thoth. Here he is called *Chunsu nefru ḥep.t*, the good of the offering, or, the best of the offered: also "the God of two names" (sarcophagus of the queen of Amasis). He bears the same title when represented as Ptah, where he has the flagellum and sceptre of Osiris, as god of the Lower World. He is often found with Amun and Mut, also with Tefnu, the lioness-headed goddess. He appears very rarely to have had a shrine devoted expressly to himself.

The name is only found written in phonetic hieroglyphics. Birch reminds us of the Coptic word *Chons*, to chase, strength, power.

It is easy to prove that this is the same god whom the Greeks considered the Egyptian Hercules. According to all the ancient lexicographers, the Egyptian name of Hercules was Χώνς. This explains the translations of Eratosthenes: "Hercules, Harpocrates, Semphucrates, Sempsos (instead of Pemphos), the Heraclide." The name Semphucrates indicates a connexion, in later times, between Chons and Horus. For Chunsu-pa-χrut corresponds to Her-pa-χrut, i. e. they are both a type of the youthful god, the sun-god, for which reason they have both the Horus or infantine lock. In a myth, the date of which, however, cannot be proved, the Egyptian Hercules appears as the sun-god. He entreated permission to see Zeus (Ammon, Ammun-ra), who revealed himself to him in the guise of a ram. He then retired into Libya, where he was slain, precisely as Horus was in the old myth. As Thoth travels round with the moon, so does Hercules with the sun

269 Comp. Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. xxiv. Incorrectly spelled in Champollion's Pantheon, Ooh-en-sou, New Moon.

270 Wilk. Mat. Hier. x. B.

(Plut. c. 4.), and Chōns had the same connexion with the moon, as the sacred bull of Osiris, the moon-bull Apis, had with the sign of the period of twenty-eight years.

According to Macrobius[271] the worship of Hercules was primeval among the Egyptians. He makes him the slayer of the Giants or rebels (see example from the Ritual, given above, p. 294.). Herodotus expressly states that he belonged to the twelve gods of the second Order. All these combinations constitute the character of a mediatorial, subsidiary god, who, in his development, sometimes approaches Horus, sometimes Thoth.

### B. *The Child of Kneph* (?).

#### II. TET, Tet, Thot, Thōyth, Hermes.

Tet, written with the Ibis and the letter T, which has the sign of reduplication after it, in Coptic, Thōut, in Greek Thoth, is the most important of all the Cabiri. His sign is the Ibis; and his name, to judge from the Coptic, may be connected with the Egyptian root for "word (λόγος)."* He is the scribe of the gods, and called Lord of the Divine Words," "the Scribe of Truth," "the Great-Great" (twice great), "the guardian of the pure souls in the Hall of the two Truths"[272] (on account of his signing the sentences on the souls of the dead), "the self-created, never born"*; lastly, "the Lord of Schmūn" (Hermopolis), literally, "the Lord of the Eighth Region." This reminds us of the well-known Cabir, Esmun, of Phœnicia and Samothrace, the eighth brother of the seven sons of Sydyk, the god with the eight rays.[273] He is the god of *Ses* or *Sesen*, "the eighth region," and of Oshmunāin[274], Hermopolis

271 Saturn. i. 20. 272 Lepsius, Todtenbuch, preface.

* On a tablet, No. 551. in the British Museum, of the age of the 18th Dynasty: cheper tesf nen? mesut. f.—B.

273 Gesen. Mon. Phœn. Pl. 39. Movers, Phœnicians, p. 527. seqq.

274 Champ. l'Egypte sous les Pharaons, i. 292. Ros. Mon. del Culto, x. 2.

magna, in the southern frontier of the Heptanomis. Without anticipating the fifth book we would merely remark here, that the antiquity and size of that city, at all events, in connexion with the hieroglyphics, is good authority for the name and its meaning in Egyptian. In Pselcis, Dakkeh in Nubia, he is called the Thoth of Nebs, land of the date-palm (nūbes); also Pen-nbs, Pannubes[275], in a temple built for him by Ergamun, king of Ethiopia, a contemporary of Philadelphus. The Greek inscriptions there call him *Pautnuphis*. According to Wilkinson he is styled, in a temple at Samneh in Nubia, son of Kneph (?). Sometimes the moon's disk on his head is his distinguishing mark, in allusion to his planetary nature (as he is also called the Lord of the Moon). Sometimes the ostrich feathers (sign of Ma, truth,) and the stylus, with the writing-tablet (also with the branch of the Panegyries), alluding to the Lord of Amente (Hades), and his position in the trial of souls. We give the ibis-headed portraiture of him, as being the most distinctive; that with the human head also occurs[276]: he is likewise delineated as an ape (Cynocephalus), which may be compared with the designations of the genii of Amente. His connexion with the third Order is indicated by another title, "Begetter of Osiris," the date of which, however, we cannot guarantee. It is of the highest importance to know that the designation, "Lord of Hermopolis," which is a very frequent one, particularly upon the mummies, occurs at least as early as the 18th Dynasty. Champollion[277] assumes that the zone between the earth and the moon, where the souls tarried after death before they passed into new bodies, had eight regions, as the earth has four. We are unable, however, at present to submit

275 Wilk. v. 13. Comp. Pl. 46. Champ. (Lettre x. p. 150.) has *Pahitnuf*, the good-natured, at variance with the hieroglyphics.

276 The former from Wilk. Pl. 45. Comp. other representations, Champ. 30. Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxvi. seqq. xxx.

277 P. 30. B. in the Pantheon. Comp. Stob. Ecl. i. 52.

the "Book of the Dead" to critical examination, or to distinguish the oldest from the more modern elements. The connexion between Tet and the moon may allude, according to Wilkinson, to the primitive use of a lunar year. The ancients had already remarked that the moon in Egyptian was masculine, not feminine, as the Greeks and Romans generally made it. Still we have no right to suppose a particular moon-god, separate from Thoth. We meet with a deity called after the moon (Aah, Copt. Ooh, Ioh), either as a mere personification, or as Thoth, in whom the agency of the moon and nature became a living principle. We find him so represented in the tombs of the Ramesseum, opposite to Phre; a similar representation in Dendyra is probably symbolical. According to Champollion he is often seen in the train of Ammon, and then he is Thoth. He makes him green, with the four sceptres and cap of Ptah, by the side of which, however, is a sort of Horus curl, the infantine lock, as child or son. In the inscriptions there is usually only the crescent, but on one occasion the sign *nuter* (god) is added. In the tombs a moon-god is represented sitting on a bark, and holding the sceptre of benign power, to whom two Cynocephali are doing homage (see Horap. i. 15), followed by the crescent and Nuter god. Lastly, the same god is found in a standing posture, worshipped by two souls and two Cynocephali.

For the consort of Thoth, a deity who appears as the scribe of the gods, and designated as "Mistress of the Writings," we are likewise unable to assign any precise position.[278] We agree with Birch in reading her name Sfχ, i. e. seven, seven horns, by which sign the word is always followed. She carries on her head a pole with five rays and two horns over them, or with seven rays and the two horns. Lenormant and Lepsius read the name Saf, Saf-re, "yesterday."

[278] Wilk. Pl. 54.

### C. *The Children of Ptah.*

III. ATMU. IV. PECHT (Bubastis). — IMHEP. 𓅱 (Imuth).

As the cosmogonic principles gain ground, the number of their children or attendants increases, they being the organs by which they are revealed. We have three children of Ptah-Vulcan, two of whom we can show to be primeval.

#### III. ATMU, Atumu.

This god is only known to us from the monuments. When simply Atumu, his personal distinction is the full crown; as Nefru-Atumu (the good, the Atumu, a designation probably of no great antiquity, as god of the Lower World) he carries on his head a pole with the lotus flower, or two feathers (Wilk. 47, 48.). He is represented in this work in the latter form, because he is particularised by the feathers in the hieroglyphics. His connexion with Pecht is obvious, partly because he very often follows this daughter of Vulcan, partly because the same name is given him in the tablet of the Ramesseum, where "an offering to Ptah with all the names" is represented.[279] In the Book of the Dead, ix. c. 17. y. 55, 56., he is called Nefer-Atum, the son of Bast or Pecht, the other name of the lioness-headed goddess.

In the Temple of Gournah (dedicated to Ammon by Seti I.), Atum and Munt are leading King Ramesses into the presence of Amun, to whom he is about to dedicate the temple.

The Ark of Sokari generally accompanies his sign in the great processions of the gods (for example, at Medinet-Haboo, Wilk. Mat. Hier. 65.). In the same writer

279 In the last part of Burton's Excerpta Hierog. Pl. lvi., now very scarce.

we find four representations given of him, each time standing, generally with life and power, and the full crown or bare-headed. On two occasions his attire is the lotus flower; and once a black doll, the hieroglyphic which seems to be a variation of the knot, or symbol of life, is standing by his side; once he has a remarkable plume, and a counterpoise of a collar suspended from it. In these last forms he is always called *nefru*, the good. His other titles in those four representations are, Lord of the Worlds, of the Country *Peten*, King (Hyk), Pupil (iri) of the Gods. Champollion gives a copy of a mummy-lid on which he is represented sitting, green, hawk-headed, with the sceptres of Osiris, and large head-gear. Behind him is Ma, winged, green, with a red disk of the sun on her head; the wings encircle the throne. In a similar representation (26. A.), the same god is exhibited with life and power, the flagellum of Osiris upon his knee, and the full crown, with the name of Atum.

In a third representation (on wood, 26. B.), we find him likewise sitting swathed like Ptah, but party-coloured, holding the two sceptres of Osiris in his hands, which are folded across his breast, and on his head the red disk of the sun. Champollion gives a fourth representation of him, also painted on wood (26. C.). There Thoth is conducting in a boat the sun's disk, which is divided into an upper and lower hemisphere. In each five deities are sitting; in the upper one, Ra, Atum, Maū, Tefnu, and an unknown god; in the lower (as deities of the lower world), Nutpe, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Nepthys. In the "Book of the Dead," also, Maū and Tefnu, his sister, Set and Nutpe, Osiris, Isis and Nepthys, are following him in the bark of Phrē.

Upon the obelisks he occurs very frequently. Sesostris is called the beloved of Atum—doubly dear as Atmu—enjoying a long life of years like Atmu.

His father is called the son of Atmu. This led Champollion to conjecture that Hermapion, when calling Sesostris the son of Heron, understands Atum by the latter; which, however, is inadmissible, according to the usual mode in which the Greeks transcribed the Egyptian names.

As regards the power of Atum in the lower world, his office there is clearly that of a judge. The souls in the Ritual style him father, and he addresses them as children.* Wilkinson's representation of him (Mat. Hier.) is remarkable—a bark, in the centre of which Atum is sitting in his shrine. The King is kneeling before him, and offering a figure of Truth. Behind the shrine stand two gods, Lords of Ament and Abydos (Osiris), and behind them Horus, as steersman. Before the shrine stand Thoth and Ma.

If we suppose the representations on public monuments to be an index of the prevalent ideas entertained about him, Atumu would seem to be a sun-god, following immediately after Phre. Champollion considers him the God of the setting Sun, the west, and remarks, that when Phre and Atum are found standing together, the latter is always on the left side, which signifies the west.

His office in the Lower World, however, points to a higher position. He may, therefore, have been originally a Dispater.

In the old inscriptions on the canal of Sesostris, leading to the Red Sea, Atum has the name of Ter.† This, however, was a representation of Phthah, as before mentioned. The fact of the mystic prayers of the dead

* In the "Book of the Dead" he is addressed as the demiurgos. Lepsius, Todt. Pl. xxx. c. 79. l. 1. "I am Atum, making the heaven, creating beings, going in the world, creating all generations which produced the gods (?), self-created, lord of life, renewing [?] the other gods."

† Cheper.—B.

distinguishing the two and placing *Ter* by the side of Atum, is no proof to the contrary.

Atum, then, was originally the name and representation of a cosmogonic deity, probably, indeed, of one who belonged to the second Order—and he has retained this character in the Lower World, just as, according to some representations, power was given there to Hermes.

### IV. PCHT, Pecht (the Goddess of Bubastis).

She is called Mer-Ptah, the beloved by Ptah: the Mistress of Memphis. Wilkinson's drawing (Pl. 27. comp. 51.) exhibits her with the cat's head and sun's disk, about which the Uræus is entwined. Her titles are, *Mut* (the mother), *Menhi* (sense unknown), and *her.t hek-u*, the old of the avengers (?), where, therefore, Hekt would not seem, as Wilkinson supposes, to have any reference to Hecate. The only difference between her and the lioness-headed goddess is in the ears, which in the one are higher and pointed, in the other broad and low. Birch has published several most remarkable figures, some of them of high antiquity (Amenoph III. and Sheshonk).[280]

As daughter of the sun she has the disk and Uræus (Wilk. Mat. Hier. viii. 1. Comp. ix. x.).

When called by one of those titles above mentioned she has also the human countenance, like Hathor, with the disk between the cow-horns, two feathers, and the vulture, as well as the full crown. Champollion (vi. A. 5.) considered her a lioness-headed goddess, and a representation of Neith. Birch, also, thinks the lioness-headed form the only ancient representation. * Hincks refers the word to Pech.a.t, "the lioness."*

[280] Birch, Gallery, p. 16. seqq.

* Dr. Hincks, Dublin Univ. Mag. 1846, "The oldest of all Almanacks." Compare the same on the Egyptian Alphabet, Dubl. Transact. 1846. The word occurs in the "Book of the Dead," Pl. lxxix. c. 165. l. 12.

### Imhep.t, Imuth.

A god, whose shrine was first discovered by Salt at Philæ with Greek inscriptions, which—like another of the age of the Antonines in Young[281]—make him a deification of Æsculapius, is called Imhep.t, i. e. I-em-hep.t,[282] "I come with the offering." The inscription in Young is "Æsculapius, who is Imuthos, son of Vulcan." The hieroglyphic inscriptions also call him the son (eldest?) of Ptah. His type is like that of Ptah, with a narrow close-fitting cap, bald-headed, as Synesius in derision describes the Egyptian Æsculapius.[283] As there is no representation of him before the time of the Ptolemies, we have not introduced him here.

## D. *The Children of Helios.*

### V. HET HER, Athyr, Aphrodite.

Het-her, that is, the habitation of Horus, daughter of Ra, mistress of Ament (the west, the Lower World), is the name of a goddess very extensively worshipped, whose type is the cow. She ordinarily appears with the cow's head, wearing the sun's disk between the horns. Even when represented in the human form she is rarely without the sun and horns. Her principal shrine was (at least in later times) Tentyra (Denderah). We have given Wilkinson's representation of her.

Hathor is also clearly marked as a goddess of this Order, by being called the eye of the sun (iri-Ra). This is corroborated, in all the representations given by Champollion, by her connexion with the earth and mankind being more intimate than that of the goddesses

[281] Young, Hierog. Pl. 52. The spelling is not given quite exact, but may easily be corrected.

[282] Wilk. v. 53. Comp. Pl. 55.

[283] Synesius, Calvitiei Encom. p. 73.

of the first Order. She was undoubtedly represented (though we are not sure whether in very early times) as holding the cords of love and the tamburine, the sign of joy; and women in general, but queens and princesses especially, were typified by her image; to which her name, too, the lady of the dance and mirth,[284] refers. All her other properties, however, betray a cosmogonic origin. Her designation, "the habitation of Horus" (God), must undoubtedly betoken the world, nature; and the feather-standard of the west, which she sometimes wears, refers to her as the habitation of Horus, and of the departed souls. In the temple dedicated to her at Senem (the island of Begheh at Philæ) she is accompanied by Kneph, the primeval creator; by Sevek-Ra and Chōns at Ombos; in Het (Edfu, Apollinopolis) by Horus; lastly, at Tentyra, the proper city of Hathor, by the same Hor of Hat (Champ. 17. C.). Over the southern gate of Karnak she is represented as the wife of Ptah (Champ. 17. A.).

She is also called the Nurse of the youthful God, and as such presents the young Horus to his father, Month, in Hermonthis. In her temple at Philæ, which is, however, of a later date, she is suckling Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, and her title is "Nurse, wife, who fills heaven and earth with her beneficent acts." (Champ. 17. C.)

Champollion quotes from a papyrus, the original of which has not been published, the following passage: "She, who is called Neith in the east country, and Ma" (which he reads *Sme*) "in the lotus and the water of the west" (Wilk. Mat. Hier.). The cow, the symbol of Hathor, really occurs among the signs of Neith, and as Mother of Phre.

In an inscription attached to a drawing of her at

[284] Birch, Gal. p. 19., according to Ros. M. del Culto, xxix. 3. (in Ombos, of the Ptolemaic era).

Senem (Champ. 17. B.), she is called "Mistress of all the Gods."

Temples were dedicated to her in all parts of Egypt.

She is likewise represented as a cow, appearing from behind the mountains (Wilk. Mat. Hier. 3.); as a goddess, with the cow's head (ibid. 4.); as a bird, with a human face, cow's horns, and disk (ibid. 5.); which latter, he says, is a very unusual representation. A very common and ancient one is a temple on the head, as principal ornament. This is the origin of the Hathor-capitals of the time of the Ptolemies; the same sort of Hathor-head, similarly ornamented, and frequently with the cow's ears peeping out. They have been erroneously called Isis-heads. This representation is also found in Wilkinson (Mat. Hier. xliii. A.), by the side of the common one. In his plates she is called "Daughter of Ra," and "Mistress of Ashmunāin:" she becomes identical, therefore, with Thoth, as the moon-goddess. He remarks that she occurs very frequently in both forms on the oldest monuments.

### VI. MAU (commonly read Mu, Mui).

This is the title of a god with an ostrich feather. It signifies light, insight (in Coptic, *meui*, intellect). The hieroglyphics call him "son of Ra."[285] His emblem is the ostrich feather, the sign of Ma, truth; sometimes also a feather ornament like that of Ammon. The representation as *En-Pe*, the leader of heaven[286], is of uncertain date. According to Birch, his images are usually made of porcelain. Temple-representations of him are very rare. In the Ritual he appears as God of the Lower World. Maū stands behind the throne of

[285] Wilk. Pl. 46. We give him according to another representation in the same plate.

[286] Champ. Gr. p. 111. From this Birch explains the *Emeph* of Iamblichus (Gallery, p. 22.).

Atumu. He has also sometimes (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxv.) a head-dress composed of feathers. Another representation (ibid. xxix.) exhibits him with the bull's head, and hands upraised, as if blessing or praying. Here he is called the Strong, Victorious. Champollion, who read his name Djom or Soū, without, however, being satisfied that he was correct, and who considered him as Hercules = Djom = Sem, represents him (25.), after a picture in Biban el Molook, sitting, with a fillet and feather, exactly like Ma, red; and again (25. A.) standing, green, with two large feathers, like the sculptures in the temple of Ibsambul. Ramses is offering sacrifice to him, and a female deity (Tefnu) is standing at his side; both children of Phre. The same representation of him likewise exists on the tomb of Menephthah, and other ancient monuments.

## VII. MA.

Ma, Truth, Justice, is frequently called Daughter of Ra. The Hall of Judgment in the Lower World is named after her. Our representation is borrowed from Wilkinson (Pl. 49.). She appears sometimes winged[287], sometimes without wings, always with the feather, and sitting, like her figure in the hieroglyphics. The monuments of the old Pharaohs abound with representations of her. She is called the Goddess of the Lower Country (Lower Egypt). We are not aware what was Champollion's authority for saying that she is called the eldest daughter of Atumu. If there be any, it furnishes fresh proof of the connexion between Atumu and Ptah. There can be no doubt of the connexion between Ma and Ptah, the creator of the world. Ma, Truth, typifies the world, inasmuch as it contains in itself the real and true image of God. On

[287] Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxxvi. xxxvii.

that account,"[287] perhaps, she occurs so much more frequently as Maū; because she expresses the highest properties of God in nature as well as man, which prove the reality of their existence merely by the reality, i. e. truth, of their appearance. At all events both Maū and Ma have the character of derivative, administrative deities.

### VIII. TEFNU, Tefnu.

This is the lioness-headed goddess, frequently called elsewhere daughter of Ra; in our representation, for instance (Wilk. Pl. 51.). In other respects she is precisely like Pecht (the cat-headed goddess). Like her she wears the sun's disk, about which the Uræus is entwined. On the monuments she often appears with the god Khunsu, who is also sometimes lion-headed. In the Ramesseum, for instance, they both accompany Ammon, when he gives life and power to the King.

### IX. MNTU, Muntu, Mandulis.

The type of this "Son of Ra" has the hawk-head, as well as the father. The difference between them is, that the former has the sun's disk on his head, or the ornament of two tall feathers.[288] Birch has remarked[289] that he has titles which designate him as Ares. In the Ramesseum, for instance, it is said, "He (the king) shows his victorious arm, like Muntu;" and, on other monuments, "his hand is on his chariot, like Muntu-Ra." Muntu-Ra is a combination of frequent occurrence on the monuments.

Muntu is called Her (God) of both Egypts.[290] The word Ra, or the image of Phre often follows his name

288 Representation according to Wilk. Pl. 49.

289 Gallery, p. 23.

290 Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxxii. Comp. Champ. 27. from a Stele at Turin.

*Mnt* or *Mntu*. His colour is also red, like that of Ra and the sun's disk. Unfortunately the hieroglyphics of the temple of Kalabshe have not been published. Month (Ra) appears there with Seb and Netpe (Champ. 27. 1.), as a young god by the side of the elder. We are still without any clue as to what property of the sun, or rather of the god who is embodied in it, was originally typified by Muntu. At all events he is a derivative from the Sun-god, most probably a different provincial form of the same idea.

## X. SEBAK, Sebak, Sevek.

This deity's name likewise begins with a sign which must be read *Keb*, according to Birch, consequently *Kebek*. The god with the crocodile head receives his name from the tractable character of that animal, whose Egyptian designation the Greeks render by *Suchos*. The ram's horns announce him to be the god of Thebes. Sometimes also he has a ram's head with the snake erect. He is consequently considered as identical with Kneph. The frequent combination of *Sebak-ra* shows a connexion between him and Helios. He is represented in a strictly human form[291], with the title of "the youngest of the gods," which from its style must be of the time of the Romans. At Ombos (where, as well as Selseleh, was his principal shrine) he is said to be the same with Seb, the father of the gods, and with Horus, the sustainer of the world. We represent him in the ordinary form, that of Wilkinson (Pl. 50.), who remarks that he has rarely found him except in temples of a late date, such as Tentyra. His name, however, does occur among those of the primeval kings before the 18th Dynasty (Sebek-hep.t). This consequently is an instance of the re-establishment of an ancient form of worship.

[291] Wilk. Mat. Hier. Pl. xxvii., second part.

XI. SEB, Seb, Chronos.

XII. NUTPE, Nutpe, Rhea.

They are called the youngest of the gods. Seb has no characteristic sign, except occasionally the goose on his head, which is otherwise without any distinguishing ornament. His name, however, betokens him to be "the father of the Gods," and Nutpe is called "the generatrix of the Gods." The Greeks mention Chronos and Rhea as Egyptian deities, the parents of Osiris and Isis, and Rhea as the mother of the gods of the whole Osiris Order. The monuments prove that this representation is in its principal features correct. Seb and Nutpe are mentioned as the parents of Osiris, and both occur in the representations with the other celestials.

Seb[292] appears as a god in human form with a skull-cap or disk on his head, sometimes with the goose, his initial letters and symbol—in our representation, for instance (borrowed from Wilkinson, Pl. 31). In Champollion's copy (27. 1.) of a temple sculpture in low-relief (apparently taken from Ombos) he has the full crown. One of his titles begins with *Un* (Uōn, the opener), like that of Osiris, *Un-nefru*, the revealer of good. The rest, however, are not yet legible. Nutpe in like manner is called (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xii.) the genitrix of the gods, the nurse, and is represented suckling a child. She is also called mistress of heaven. Though all her other titles are not as yet decipherable, it is certain that she is called "Daughter of the Sun." She is represented as a human goddess with life and mercy, and sometimes with a jar on her head (the initial letter of her name?). The sign of the inundation (Kabh) occurs in the hieroglyphics. We find her making libations from a vase of this kind out of a

[292] Wilk. Mat. Hier. xi.

sycomore tree; the water seems to flow down into the jar, and then run out at the bottom, where a soul (a bird with a human face) is catching it in its hands (Wilk. Pl. 32. and our own drawing). Champollion (36.) describes her, after a small Stele in the Turin Museum, as green, with the sun's disk between the cow's horns, sitting on a throne, holding life and power, and having on her head the vulture (as mother). One of the so-called Typhonean figures is given in the hieroglyphics as her emblem, with the hippopotamus head followed by the title of "genetrix of the gods." This same extraordinary figure typifies a goddess, *Chepu*—her legs are like an animal's, and in one hand she holds her own peculiar symbol, not unlike that which occurs in the mysterious title of Seb—here followed by the name, mother, as on the other occasion, by genitrix. Wilkinson states that Nutpe, pouring water upon the soul, is very frequently met with in the tombs. She is designated "protectress of the soul," at as early an epoch as the coffin of Mencheres. Sometimes the relations of the deceased are anxiously assisting the soul in catching the water which she is pouring out. There was a town in Nubia sacred to the mother of Osiris, called Hiero-Sykaminon (now Mahairaku). We learn from Wilkinson that the same tree is found there with a goddess underneath it, whom he supposes to be Isis or Hathor. She must, however, at all events be considered the mother of Osiris, and essentially identical with Nutpe.

In Plutarch[293] the Persea is expressly stated to be sacred to Isis.

It would seem that we do not find Seb in his primitive grandeur. In his present form he holds a secondary position to the great cosmic deities. Originally, however, was he not one himself? Horapollo says that the star (siū), which we find as his symbol, signifies Chronos, time.

[293] De Is. et Os. c. 68.

*Other supplementary Names of Gods of the Second Order.*

The conclusion at which we have arrived is, that there were twelve deities, children of the oldest cosmogonic gods—especially of Helios, the youngest of them—all of ancient origin, and very extensively worshipped. The doubt as to the antiquity of the crocodile-headed god was apparent rather than real. Some of them—Thoth, and the goddess Athyr, Pe$\chi$t, Tefnu, and Nutpe, for instance—seem to have been the principal deities, each in their own particular locality. They were also without doubt the chief deities of the Order; and we may suppose that the same rank was given in other cities to the other deities of this Order, to make up the number twelve, of which, according to Herodotus, it consisted. This is substantiated by his remark, that in his time Osiris and Isis were the only deities universally worshipped; which implies, consequently, the existence of other merely local or provincial divinities, representations of which we should expect to find in the monuments.

We think it best to mention here all the monumental names to which we can assign no place among the three Orders of Egyptian gods, according to the arrangement notified to Herodotus.

They cannot belong to the one of which Osiris is the chief, for they have no connexion, either as to attributes or genealogy, with that totally distinct Order. Nor have they anything in common with the divinities of the first Order. Inasmuch, therefore, as some of them may have belonged, in different parts of Egypt, to the "twelve gods," we shall here enumerate them all in one series.

We shall merely premise, that most of the indefinite names and representations which we find on the monuments are those of female divinities, which is the most common form of abstractions.

The gods of this class which we find on the monuments are the following: —

1. HAPI-MU, the Nile (the abyss of waters). He often occurs in monuments of the 18th and 19th Dynasties; and is represented by Wilkinson as a fat man of a blue colour*, with a cluster of water-plants on his head, and holding in his hands stalks and flowers of similar water-plants, or water-jars, indicative of the inundation (Wilk. 56, 57.). But, in a representation at Philae, of Roman times therefore (Wilk. 57. 2.), he is called "the father of the fathers of the gods."

2. A God with the Sun's Disk, about which the Uræus entwines itself with the lion (Mui), as his hieroglyphic (Wilk. 71.): perhaps MUI. (?)

3. A Snake-headed God, a form of Horus (Wilk. 68.).

As to the last two, we believe them to be, like innumerable other names of divinities which have no peculiar corresponding type, nothing but symbolic representations, which conceal, as it were, one or other of the well-known Egyptian divinities.

As to the *Nile*, the epithet of "the father of the fathers of the gods," cannot mean Osiris, the youngest of the gods, who was also the representative of the all-fructifying Nile.

The Nile was the great realisation of divine blessing and productiveness in Egypt: he may have been represented, therefore, in one theological system as the author of all good, the father of the gods, whereas in others he was only the terrestrial and material manifestation of the divine principle, and was as far from holding a particular place among the great divinities of Egypt as Pater Tiberinus was among those of Rome.

There is a far more considerable array, however, of names of goddesses. The following occur on the monuments: —

1. ANTA (Anata), goddess of war, wielding a battle-

* He is sometimes represented of a red colour.—B.

axe, and holding a shield and lance, "the Goddess, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods," with the lower crown and ostrich feathers (Wilk. 70.). Birch[294] thinks her the same as the Anaïtis of the ancients. We know that Anaïtis was the Goddess of Armenia, of Pontus, and, after the time of Artaxerxes, of the whole Persian empire. We do not propose to enter into an inquiry as to what connexion there may be between *Tanais* and *Anaïtis*, and between them and Neith[295], for there is no sound foundation for any such investigation.

It would be most interesting to know the date of the monument from which is taken the representation of Anata given by Wilkinson. On this point he leaves us quite in the dark, remarking merely that[296] "She is seldom found, and I have not met with her in any temple." The most ancient one Birch has been able to discover is of the reign of Amenophis I., that is, the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, in which she appears as an Egyptian goddess. The war-dog of Ramses the Great is called[297] "Anata in her strength" (anta m̀ ne$\chi$.t)

2. Serk, Selk, the scorpion goddess of Pselcis (Dakheh) in Nubia (Wilk. 55.), with a scorpion on her head. Evidently, by the name, a local goddess, i. e. a local form of one of the great goddesses.

3. Mer, Mer-seker, a goddess with the reed, like the Nile, also with Hathor's disk between the horns.

4. Menek, or Menekt, a goddess holding two water-pots (*nu*), (Wilk. 70.).

5. RTA, Erta. Cat-headed (Wilk. 71).

6. NB-UU, Nubuu, daughter of the sun, like Hathor (Wilk. 72., companion of Num at Elephantina).

7. Ra-teti, sun of the world, a similar representation.

294 Gallery, ii. p. 100.

295 Movers' Phœnicians, p. 616. seqq. Gesen. Mon. Phœn. p. 463., and others.

296 Manners and Customs, v. 85. 297 Rosell. Mon. Stor. lxvi.

8. PE, celestial goddess, form of Nutpe (Wilk. 55.).

9. APT, a goddess with the hippopotamus head and legs, and the upper part of the body that of a woman, a form of Nutpe (Birch, Gall. 42.).

10. TSS.[298] . . . . . (Wilk. 64.)

The fact of their being represented sometimes with a name, sometimes with a title borrowed from the great gods, as well as their comparative rarity, shows that some of these forms were those of local deities of no very great importance, others local or general Egyptian representations of well-known divinities, for some symbolical purpose, or on account of some particular attribute. With still greater justice we must exclude from the number twelve a variety of names in the "Book of the Dead," which never occur on the monuments. Lastly, the local or astronomical personifications can have no place here. The Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, for instance (Wilk. 52, 53. M. 38, 39.), the former of whom is called *Suben*, and was considered as Nike, the goddess of victory. In like manner the Goddess of the Year (RPI, probably the oldest form of *renpi*, year), a goddess with the palm-branch of the Panegyries on her head (Wilk. 59. M. 48.); or *Un*, the Goddess of the Hours, with the star (siū) on her head, with various titles for each of the twenty-four hours (Wilk. 60. M. 8.).

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### REPRESENTATIONS AND NAMES OF FOREIGN DIVINITIES.

THIS seems to be the most convenient place for enumerating the divinities, evidently not Egyptian, which occur on the monuments.

1. TET-UN (omnia firmans, establishing beings?), a Nubian divinity (Wilk. 72.).

2. RENPA, a god with a beard, like that worn by the

[298] Wilk. M. ix. Comp. xliii.

Asiatic nations on the Egyptian monuments; instead of the Uræus, he is crowned with the Kukufa. Nothing of this is Egyptian. He is represented brandishing a club, and therefore was probably an Asiatic war-god. We find him on a tablet of the 18th Dynasty (Wilk. ii. pl. 69.). We would here suggest to those who may be tempted to think of *Remphan* (or *Rephan*, Acts vii. 43.), whom the Septuagint introduces into the passage of Amos v. 26., first, that, although Jablonski has written a most learned treatise about him as an Egyptian divinity, all we know of him is, that he is not an Egyptian god at all; and, secondly, that the reading of the Septuagint is entirely unwarranted, and the whole translation, as Ewald has shown, a misconception.

3. CHEN. A naked goddess, and therefore not Egyptian: on the same tablet. Perhaps an Asiatic Aphrodite.

4. ASTARTA. Undoubtedly, as Champollion also interprets her in his Grammar[299], the celebrated Astaroth of the Bible, or Astarte of the Greek authors. The name Astarta occurs in the papyrus Anastasi II., a facsimile of which has been published by the British Museum.[300] In an historical monument of the time of the great Ramses, where this name occurs[301], she is called "the goddess of the Cheta," whom we believe to be identical with the Hittites of Scripture."

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## C.

### THE THIRD ORDER OF GODS, OR THE OSIRIS DEITIES.

### INTRODUCTION.

Isis and Osiris, says Herodotus, are the only gods worshipped in the whole of Egypt. Temples and

299 Gram. Eg. p. 122. 300 Papyri, P. II. Pl. i. p. 63. l. 4.

301 Ros. Mon. Reali, cxvi. l. 28. The *n* (second sign) must be an *s*.

cities of Isis, which boasted of being the tomb of Osiris, and sacred animals dedicated to him, are found from Elephantina to the mouths of the Nile. Isis, according to Plutarch, was called Myrionymous, and the prayers of the dead contain a countless multitude of names by which Osiris is invoked. The mixture of the historical, and the predominance of the local element, with the purely religious sentiment, have their focus in Isis and Osiris, and to such an extent, in fact, that we can now point out by the testimony of the monuments, in the historical period of the Second Empire of the Pharaohs, one of the greatest and most decisive revolutions in the national religion and mythology. The myth of Osiris and Typhon, heretofore universally considered as primeval, can now be authentically proved to be of modern date in Egypt, that is to say, about the 13th or 14th century B. C. The result of the foregoing observations likewise is, that this Order is at once the most difficult and least satisfactory portion of our researches. Isis and Osiris have, according to Herodotus and the genealogies on the monuments, their roots in the first, like the great deities of the second Order: but, according to the whole testimony of the monuments, and most particularly those of a later date, they are, in one word, also the first and second Order itself, so that some peculiar form of Isis or Osiris, or of both of them, almost invariably corresponds to each development, split up as it is into many different personifications. Isis and Osiris, alone and united, and Isis, Osiris, and Horus combined, can be shown to comprise in themselves the whole system of Egyptian mythology, with the exception, perhaps, of Ammon and Kneph, the concealed god and the creative power. These two deities stand alone, above and out of any series of development connected with the order of Osiris, as far as we can judge from extant records.

In order to establish this by evidence deduced from

our present sources, without transgressing the limits of this book, we shall adhere as strictly as possible to the method hitherto pursued. We shall consider Isis, Osiris, and Horus, as they stand before us in their more modern form, and endeavour to point out from the monuments themselves the earliest stages by which this position and form have been developed. But the lamentable defect in the ordinary method—the want of a strict definition of epochs—is no where more strongly marked than here. All the Greek annalists belong to the latest times of Egypt, most of them to an age when the old myths were multiplied and adulterated. The "Book of the Dead" is still very partially deciphered, sufficiently, however, to prove that in it likewise the oldest and youngest forms stand side by side.

## I. *The Osiris Order in general.*

### THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE MYTHUS AND THE MONUMENTS.

ISIS—OSIRIS—HORUS.
NEPHTHYS—SETH—ANUBIS.

We take for granted here that our readers are acquainted with the subject matter of the mythus of Osiris, according to the version of it given by Plutarch in the most remarkable, in an historical point of view, and most learned of his works.

The five great gods of this Order were, according to it, born in five days—the five additional days or Epact—all children of Rhea, but by different fathers. Helios had uttered a curse against Rhea, because she carried on a secret intercourse with Chronos. Hermes, who was also her lover, had by her five children corresponding to the number of days, which he is said to have won from the moon-goddess (Selene), i. e. the 70th (72nd) part of her days $\left(\frac{360}{72}=5\right)$. The five children she produced were the following:

On the first day: Osiris — son of Helios. Chronos gave him in charge to Pamyles (*Pamylia=Phallephoria*).

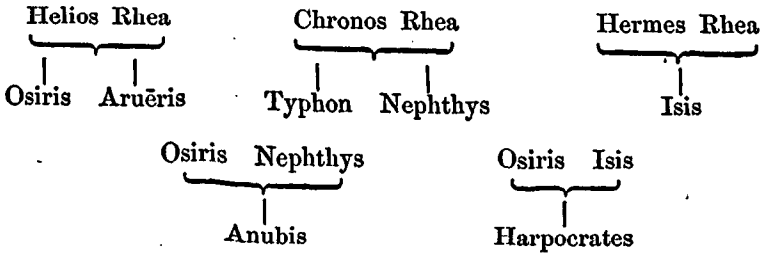
On the second day: Aruēris — son of Helios, Apollo, the younger Horus.

On the third day: Typhon — son of Chronos, who forcibly and untimely came out of her side (dies nefastus).

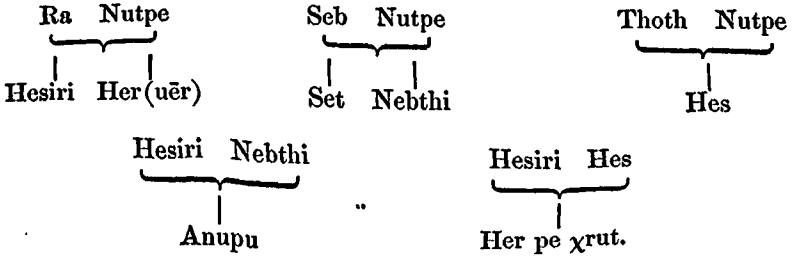
On the fourth day: Isis — daughter of Hermes. Great festivities after the preceding inauspicious day — on which account she is said to be born in the Panegyries.[302]

On the fifth day: Nephthys — daughter of Chronos. Her name signifies End, Victory.[303]

The following then is their genealogical tree:




Or in their Egyptian shape:




According to other accounts in Plutarch, Rhea is the mother of Osiris and Isis. These in the womb of their

302 ἐν παννηγύρεσι (now erroneously read ἐν πανύγροις).

303 τελευτή, νίκη.

mother generate Aruēris—or, instead of this procreation, Anubis is born the offspring of Osiris and Nephthys (c. 14. 38.).

The most difficult question here is, who was Selene in the Egyptian sense, from whom Hermes won the five days. Isis is herself considered as a goddess, i. e. as Mistress of the Moon; Anubis accompanies Isis, Hermes (Anubis), travels about with the moon; i. e. the moon is considered as the mother of the world.[304] But, as we have seen, according to the monuments and language, the Egyptian moon is always masculine. We have, therefore, hardly any alternative but to assume that this Selene was originally Rhea again.

Before entering further into these questions, and the inquiry as to the import and origin of the myths, we must consult the monuments, how far they recognise and confirm them.

Osiris, in a representation of Wilkinson's (Mat. Hier. xiii. 6.), where he appears with a barbaric countenance, the Nilometer, and large feathers of Ammon on his head, and holding the two sceptres which are peculiar to himself, is styled "*Son of Nutpe, begotten by Seb.*"

Isis, again, is called "the assistant, the guide of the brother, she who laments him," also, "the heart of her brother" (xv. i.). She is likewise represented suckling her child, and is styled "the good nurse of her child" (xiv. 6.).

This child itself, Horus, is called *Her* as a child. But it is *Her-hēr* (*Aruēris*) who has the ordinary name: Son of Isis and Osiris, Avenger of his father Osiris (xvii. 2. 3., Horus with the hawk-head like Phre).

Here we have still the same myth, but not Plutarch's

304 Plut. c. 43. Διὸ καὶ μητέρα τὴν σελήνην τοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσι καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρσενόθηλυν οἴονται.

former genealogy, according to which Aruēris was the brother of Osiris. But there are still wider discrepancies. Osiris is also called the father of Isis (xiv. 1.). Horus the Strong (Aruēris) is called not only son of Isis, but also son of Hathor (xvii. 3.); and Isis herself appears with the cow's horns and Hathor-disk in many representations. Even her hieroglyphical sign is sometimes a so-called Typhonean figure (the hippopotamus), precisely like the one which we have already seen to be the symbol of Nutpe.

Proceeding now to the second series — Typhon, Nephthys, Anubis — we find Seth, which, according to Plutarch, is the Egyptian name of Typhon, on the oldest monuments, though it has been almost invariably chiseled out. This is the only trace of the Egyptians having given him, in a certain, historical period, the character of foe of Osiris, the Evil one, in which the later myth exhibits him. It is, however, likewise a clear proof of Seth's position having once been very different. He it is whose sign is changed for that of Osiris in the titles of the father of the great Ramses, and two other kings of that Dynasty. In the Temple-palace of Ramses II. it is the same god with his ordinary monumental name, *Nubi* (the Golden or Nubian), who is pouring out life and power over the King.

Nephthys, in like manner, the sister of Isis, "the sister," without any addition, is always described on the monuments in the character of "the great benevolent Goddess;" indeed she is expressly called "the benevolent, saving sister." Her very name, as appears by the hieroglyphics, signifies "the Mistress," or "Mistress of the House" (*Nebthi*). She is, therefore, Hestia, Vesta, like Anuke (xvi. A. Comp. xxiv.).

Anubis (xviii.) is always represented as "son of Osiris," except in one single instance, noticed by Salt, where he is called "son of Isis." The former alludes to

his procreation by Osiris and Nephthys, in conformity with the Mythus; the latter, to the identity of Isis and Nephthys, which the monuments indicate clearly enough. For as Nephthys is connected genealogically with Typhon, so is Isis represented in the hieroglyphics in a hideous Typhonean shape (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xix. 14.). Anubis, on the other hand, is Hermes-Thoth.

Upon these premises we think ourselves justified in concluding that the two series of gods were originally identical; and that in the *Great Pair* of gods all those attributes were concentrated, from the development of which, in various personifications, that mythological system sprung up which we have been already considering. We shall, therefore, first of all point out the identity of each of these deities, and then their coincidence with the cosmogonic series of development, as far as our very scanty sources of information permit up to the present moment, owing to the want of chronological data on the published monuments.

As Isis is the sister, wife, daughter, and, apparently, from the connexion of the name, the mother of Osiris, and as the two deities are always inseparable, we shall proceed to examine what can be proved from the relations of one of them, as well as what may be considered as established in regard to the other.

### A. *The Great Goddess.*

#### I. HS, Isis.

##### 1. Isis as Neith.

We notice especially the following representations—a goddess with the cowl, on her head her hieroglyphic sign, in her hands the throne, life, and the sceptre of Lower Egypt (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xiv. 1.). She is here

called "Daughter of Osiris," "Mistress of the two Lands" (or Worlds), "lamenting her father (brother) Osiris, the Lord of the Lower World."[305] With respect to her cosmogonic property, she is here represented exactly like Neith. It is already remarked that she is said in the Papyrus to be the Neith of Upper, and the Ma of Lower Egypt. This will also explain a myth, of which there is no other rational interpretation. We learn from Eudoxus (Plut. 62.) that, according to an Egyptian tradition, Zeus was originally unable to walk, because his legs had grown together, so that out of shame he led a solitary life, and that Isis loosed his legs, and thereby enabled him to walk properly. Isis-Neith, in short, is nature, through the medium of which God becomes manifest and revealed. We might, indeed, conclude this from the etymology of the name of Neith (*nì*, to walk).

### 2. ISIS LIKE HATHOR.

*a.* Isis with the horns of Hathor and the sun's disk between them, sceptre and life, sometimes with the sign of Nephthys on the disk, or the Uræus, as principal ornament (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xiv. 2, 3.). She is called "Divine Mother," "Mistress of Heaven," "Sister of Osiris" (Un-nefru).

*b.* The same representation: the goddess carries in her left hand life; the right is raised like the hand of a nurse; on her head is seen the sign of Isis (Wilk. xiv. 5, 6.). She is so delineated also on a Typhonean image. She is called likewise "the great Mother of Horus, the Lord of Tentyra," "the good Nurse rocking her child in her arms."

[305] According to Birch, xxvi. 3., she is styled in an inscription of precisely the same character, as "lamenting her brother Osiris."

*c.* The same, flying, that is, with outstretched wings, life and clemency in her hands (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xv. 1.; comp. Man. and Cust. Pl. 35. 1. l. 4.); with her usual title, "deploring her brother," also, "who guides him."

*d.* The same, with the cow's-head, squatting, suckling her child (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xiv. 6.), and her usual title.

With these representations we must compare the statement, that *Hor* also is the son of Hathor. The titles *mut* and *mut-her.t* (Mother, old Mother) were real names. This is clear from Plutarch's remark (c. 56.), that Isis, to whom the people gave a great variety of names[306], is called

*Moyth*, which signifies mother,
*Methyer*, mother, with the addition of "the Full," "the Causative:" which, in point of meaning, is quite right.[307]

He cites even the name of Hathor (the habitation of God), and indeed explains it very correctly, as a title of Isis.[308]

### 3. Isis as Pexт, the Cat-headed.

Isis as the Goddess of Bubastis (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xiv. 4.) — a goddess with the cat's-head; upon it the sun's disk with the Uræus: Isis the Great.

In the well-known inscription in Diodorus (i. 27.) Isis says: "I am eldest daughter of the youngest god, Chronos; for me Bubastis was built, the queen of the whole country, brought up by Hermes."

In all these representations traces are found of the

306 μυριώννυμος, c. 53.
307 Μούθ· μήτηρ. Μέθνερ· πλῆρες — αἴτιον.
308 Ἄθυρι, that is, Ἶκος Ὥρου κόσμιος.

peculiar connexion between Isis and her Order. She is called "Daughter and Sister of Osiris;" she is mother of Horus, and suckles him; she is called "the assistant of her brother;" she bears on her head the symbol of Nephthys. As Osiris is king in Ament, so is Isis mistress there. She must also at some time or other, and in some place or other, have been represented in the monstrous shape of the so-called Typhonean figures, for one of them is sometimes her hieroglyphic sign.

### II. NBTHI, Nephthys.

Her hieroglyphic explains the meaning of the name *nebt-hi*, mistress of the house, Nephthys. Though we do not know *hi* as the Coptic word for *house*, we have *ēi* in that sense, with which the Egyptian form *Nebt-ēi* may be connected.

#### *Representations.*

Goddess with life and power, on her head her hieroglyphic (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxiv. B.) Nebthi, the saving, the sister goddess Ank (Anuke).

This representation proves the identity of the two names; the goddess represented as Nephthys is called Anuke, and Anuke's Greek name was Hestia, according to an inscription found by Rüppell on the island of Sehayl, near Philæ. Her *name* occurs only in conjunction with a goddess holding life and power, and wearing on her head a peculiar attire (Anuke), (Wilk. xxiv. B.).

Nephthys is also designated in the form of Hathor, with horns, between which the sun's disk is seen, holding life and the sceptre of Lower Egypt (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xxiv. B.), Nebthi, the Mistress of Heaven, Daughter of Helios, Mistress of Lower Egypt. Champollion

(17. D.) has Nephthys, the elder (her. t), in the hippopotamus form.

All these representations prove at least that Nephthys was the name of a benevolent goddess among the ancient Egyptians, the sister of Isis or Osiris, wholly unconnected with the destructive god Typhon.

Plutarch's information respecting her is unsatisfactory. "The Egyptians (he says, c. 38.) designate their extreme frontier and the parts adjacent to the sea[309] by her name." This is the fanciful interpretation of the later secret character, and may refer to the origin of her worship in Lower Egypt—as the passage in the later myth most clearly does—where it is said that Isis discovered the secret intercourse between Osiris and Nephthys, by finding upon the couch the germinating stalks of certain plants, especially the melilotus, which Osiris left behind him. This is a poetical fiction in which Osiris is clearly the fructifying Nile, whose waters fertilise the most remote parts of the Delta, as far as the very edge of the Desert. From that connexion sprung Anubis, whom Isis affectionately took charge of, and brought up.

The goddesses MR (the beloved) of the Upper and Lower Country, who wear on their head a chaplet of lotus, seem also to be an Isis or Nephthys. This representation, according to Wilkinson, is very common in the oldest temples, and is always found before the king, when represented in the Panegyries, running, with a vase, and the flagellum of Osiris. In the Lower World, she appears with the head of a crocodile and lion, wearing the disk and feathers of Ammon. In like manner the goddess NBT, i. e. the Mistress (Wilk. Mat. Hier. xli. 4.), may be nothing but a form of Isis-Nephthys.

309 *τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παρόρια καὶ ψαύοντα τῆς θάλασσης. Διὸ καὶ τελευταίην ἐπονομάζουσι τὴν* N. *καὶ Τυφῶνι δὲ συνοικεῖν λέγουσιν.*

## B. *The Great God.*

### I. OSIRIS.

HELLANICUS asserts that the Egyptians did not pronounce the name, Osiris, like the Greeks, but Hysiris; he was told so by the priests (Plut. c. 34.). This, in conjunction with the hieroglyphics, gives the only correct derivation of the name, "Son of Isis." According to another derivation in Plutarch, it signifies, "many-eyed."[310] Another title (c. 42.) is "the Good," (*nefru*)[311], that is, as God of the Lower World, the God of the Dead, just like the well-known title of Hades. Hermæus's interpretation of him in his first book on the Egyptians (Pl. c. 37.), as ὄμβριμος, is mere Greek fancy.

Diodorus was also aware of his connexion with the god who is the creator of the world (Diod. i. 27.). According to him, Osiris says of himself, that he is the eldest son of Chronos, the youngest of the gods, *born of an egg.** This is the point of resemblance with Ptah. Every thing else tends to identify him with the third step in the development. Plutarch says that Osiris is found every where with the priapus exposed. Ptah-Sokari is also so represented, and images of this kind are called Ptah-Sokari-Osiri. It is remarked, more-

[310] c. 10., τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὄσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα διερμηνεύουσι πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τὸ μὲν ΟΣ τὸ πολύ, τοῦ δὲ ΙΡΙ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Αἰγυπτίᾳ γλώττῃ φράζοντος. Τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ὡς ἀγήρω διὰ ἀϊδιότητα καρδίᾳ θυμὸν ἐσχάρας ὑποκειμένης. Cf. Horap. i. 22. Iri is the Old Egyptian word for the pupil, eye, *os* (ⲟϩ) the Coptic word for *many*.

[311] Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ΤΟΝΟΜΦΙΝ (read ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΝ) εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαΐος φησι δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον. The emendation is self-evident, *ūn* being opening, and *nefru*, good; in Greek nufre, nōphre, as in Onophris, Onophrius.

* The egg of the cackler, i. e. the goose, emblem of Seb, is mentioned on an old coffin, B. M.; and in the Ritual, Hincks, Cat. of Pap. in Trin. Col. Dublin. Cf. L. B. of D. xxiv. c. 54. 2 xxxii. 85. 9.

over, that the pictures of him are surrounded with a mantle, the colour of fire. Plutarch (c. 10.) very correctly describes the usual representation, "they paint the King and Lord Osiris with the eye and sceptre," which, taking the hieroglyphic and drawing together, is strictly accurate; and he mentions it here in order to notice those two attributes.

All the circumstances connected with him have reference to Lower Egypt. He is found dismembered at the mouth of the Nile: Isis is proceeding up the river with the corpse. The city Busiris, in Lower Egypt, signifies, according to Diodorus (i. 88.), the tomb of Osiris. Eudoxus expressly states that he was buried there; with which we may compare the statement in Hesychius, that "*Butoi* signifies in Egyptian, tombs" (see the analogy with *Buto*, the nurse who conceals Horus). On the other hand, again, the oldest shrines and sepulchres of Osiris in Upper Egypt are Abydos and Elephantina. According to Heliodorus [312], the initiated interpreted Osiris by the Nile, and Isis by the Earth.

The representations in Wilkinson may be thus summed up:

1. A god with the sceptre of Upper Egypt and life as his principal badge, with the two feathers of Ammon.

2. A mummy form with the crown of Upper Egypt, the sceptre of Egypt, life, and the flagellum of the Ruler: Osiris, the Lord of Abydos.

3. A god with the upper Pschent and two feathers, flagellum, and kingly sceptre: Osiris, Lord of Egypt and Amen-te.

4. A god in a barbaric form, with the royal sceptre and flagellum, on his head the Nilometer, and the ornament of Ammon or Kneph (horns with a disk and Uræus): Osiris, who dwells in Hades.

[312] Æthiop. ix. 424.

5. A god with the same head-gear, flagellum, and sceptre, but with the double Ibis-bill: Osiris, the son of Nutpe, begotten by Seb—the dweller in Hades—the revealer of good (Onophrius)[313], or, revealer of the goods of truth: King (*Suten*) of the gods — the strong Chief of the buildings (Lord of the Tombs?).

## II. SET—NUBI—TYPHON.

The representations of him are as follow:

1. NUBI, the Lord, the Lord of the World—figure of a griffin or giraffe.

A god with the head of an unknown animal, with long ears and bill-shaped—according to Lepsius, the animal with which Seti's name (*Sethi=Osiri*) is written, the giraffe, which really seems to be called *Seth*, as well as by its usual name (*serr*). We know Seth to be the name of Typhon, from the unpublished work of Vettius Valens, an astrologer of the time of the Antonines, and from Plutarch[314], according to whose authorities, it betokened something forcible, acting violently, repeatedly swinging round and tumbling over. The name written phonetically is ST, with a stone or flint as the determinative of the sound: probably also the giraffe is the symbol of the homophonous word. But the form *Sut* is likewise ancient, as we shall see hereafter (*Sothis*), as well as SUTχ (*Sutech*).

2. The other representation is remarkable:

A god with the hawk-head, like Ra, without the

313 It is strange that Baron Hammer should recently have asserted that the saint Onophrius, a genuine Egyptian, is derived from the Zendish Honover.

314 De Is. et Os. 49.: Καὶ τοῦνομα κατηγορεῖ τὸ Σὴθ, ᾧ τὸν Τυφῶνα καλοῦσιν· φράζει μὲν τὸ καταδυναστεῦον καὶ καταβιαζόμενον· φράζει δὲ τὴν πολλάκις ἀναστροφὴν καὶ πάλιν ὑπερπήδησιν.

sceptre: behind is the same animal head with long ears introduced. The inscription—two countenances (or one) with the *f*, the sign of the third person, and that of reduplication—must apparently, as Birch suggests, be read, *Hra . i . f*, "he who has two countenances," the double-headed.

3. He occurs in Salvolini's extract from the MS. of Aix on the strength of the army of Sesostris, as an ass, where he quotes the Greek transcript of the name ΣΗΘ (Seth).* Epiphanius also describes the ass as Seth—"the Egyptians," he says, "celebrate the festivals of Typhon under the form of an ass, which they call Seth."[315]

There was, according to Plutarch (c. lii.), a statue of Typhon at Heroopolis, under the form of a hippopotamus, with a hawk on its back fighting with a serpent. The hippopotamus, however, was sacred to him as well as the crocodile and ass. This animal is said to have slain its father and done violence to its mother—a circumstance which would identify him with Khem, the Phallic God, whose title sounds like "husband of the mother." The hawk was the bird of Osiris (Pl. c. 51.): at the festival in celebration of the return of Isis from Phœnicia, a hippopotamus in fetters was sacrificed. According to Plutarch (xxii.) Typhon's complexion was of a reddish tinge.[316] We are acquainted with some other names of Seth, of all which the most important is BAR, i.e. BAL. Champollion[317] gives the

* The legend of the contest between Horus and Seth is certainly as old as the 19th Dynasty. It is mentioned in the Papyrus Sallier, IV. Select Pap. Pl. 145. 2. l. 7.: see (Dr. Hincks) Oldest of all Almanacks, Dubl. Univ. Rev. Jan. 1846. The same fact of the struggle of Horus and Set, or Typhon, is mentioned in the Book of the Dead, viii. 17. 9. 25.: "The day of the battle between Horus and Set."

[315] Epiph. adv. Hær. iii. p. 1093. Ἡ μὲν τῷ ὄντι εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ΣΗΘ τοῦ Τυφῶνος τὰς τελετὰς ἐργάζονται.

[316] τῇ χρόᾳ πυῤῥός. [317] P. 495. Inscription at Karnak.

name in his dictionary without recognising it. His sign is the griffin (giraffe). In the representation of the conquests of Ramses[318] at Bet e' Welly, it is said by the hostile leaders in their speech to Ramses: "Thou art like Bal, the Lord his true son, eternal." Birch quotes from one of the Papyri Sallier[319], "Sutex, the great destroyer."

The following are the other names mentioned by Plutarch. According to some Egyptian accounts (36.) Typhon was also called APOPHIS; he was said to be brother of the sun, to have warred against Zeus, and assisted Osiris to conquer, on which account he obtained the name of Dionysus. The monuments only give the name of APEP (the great, giant) to the great serpent who is slain by a deity, and is described in the "Book of the Dead." On a monument of the Roman time, it is said: "Seth, who is the Apophis of the waters." According to Plutarch he is also called BEBON, or in Hellanicus's version BABYS[320], which name is also discovered: Birch has found in the "Book of the Dead" BABA, the beast, as an epithet of Typhon.

There is another very remarkable name quoted by Plutarch in his learned treatise — SMY (c. 62., according to Manetho, as before mentioned), which signifies forcible compulsion. It is not found on the monuments, but reminds us of Thoth's title, Aschmunĕin, derived from *Schmūn*, the eighth. In a passage of the "Book of the Dead," noticed to us by Birch, we read "Tet, otherwise *Set*." This intimates that Thoth inherited many of the attributes of Set. It may also remind us of the name *S.men*, the erecting, which occurs

318 Ros. Mon. R. Pl. lxviii. Comp. cxxxi. l. 2.

319 Pap. Sallier, iii. p. 3. Pl. 4. l. 9, 10.

320 Plut. as above, according to Manetho. The name of "Ba-ba, the beast," an epithet by which Typhon is often qualified, occurs in the Book of the Dead, Pl. x. c. 17. 66, 67.

frequently and at an early period, but of which no further explanation has yet been given.

*Canōpus*, again, was undoubtedly a name of Typhon, the Greek version of *Nubi*, which occurs so frequently. A learned priest told the orator Aristides that Canopus signifies "the golden floor"[321], but that the pronunciation of the Egyptian word is difficult to catch and difficult to express in writing. *Canōbos*, according to Plutarch (c. xxii.), was the name of the helmsman of Osiris. His wife's name was *Menūthis* (*Mei-nuti=Theophila?*). The statement of Heraclides of Pontus, the pupil of Plato, and perhaps of Aristotle, that the "oracle of Canōbus is that of Pluto," is also remarkable; he is consequently equivalent to *Serapis*, to *Osiris*, and to *Set*. The animals sacred to Typhon were, as we have seen, the ass, crocodile, hippopotamus, and wild boar. The latter was his favourite: according to Plutarch, he hunted him at the full moon, when he was in search of Osiris. We have also remarked that the snake was probably sacred to him. According to a myth preserved by Plutarch, Thouēris, i. e. the strong, the mighty lady, was his lover.[322] She left him, and attached herself to Horus, who received her, and slew the serpent by whom she was pursued.[323] This lover, according to others, was likewise called Aso, the queen of Ethiopia, doubtless the name of an Ethiopic-Theban deity.[324] All these are old images and legends adapted to a new myth. According to the same authority the bear (Arctos) among the stars was sacred to

[321] χρυσοῦν ἔδαφος.

[322] Θουήρις is *Ta. her*, *Her* with the feminine demonstrative article.

[323] See the representation in Wilkinson, Pl. 38. A goddess slays the great serpent Apep; Horus, also, slays a human figure which is lying in the water.

[324] Jablonski thinks of *Asōs*, the word by which Ethiopia is rendered in the Coptic Bible, incorrectly given for the Sahidic Eskōϫ, Memphitic Ethōϫ.

Typhon (c. xxi.), but there is no question that he was the peculiar god of the Dog-star (Σῶθις). This is clearly the Egyptian name SUTX (*Sutech*), a human body with the griffin or ass-head, in the remarkable record of the treaty between Ramesses and the chief of the Hittites. In the Papyrus Sallier, Sutech is designated only under that long-eared animal form. *Sut* also occurs in the former record, according to Rosellini.[325] It is now obvious enough why that constellation was afterwards called the Isis.

From these data we may attempt to trace the main features in the restoration of the mythus of Seth.

Set-Nubi was one of the great gods of Egypt in the most blooming period of the old Pharaonic empire; witness the monuments of Karnak and Medinet-Habu. According to Wilkinson, the god Nubi—whom he always calls *Obtaut*—is represented at Karnak as sharing with Atumu the highest veneration, and pouring out blessings on Sesostris; and his image only was displayed in that shrine. In the representation of the coronation of Ramesses II., at Medinet-Habu, the first figure we remark is that of Amun-Khem, to whom the king is sacrificing and doing homage, in presence of the white bull. He likewise offers him six ears of grain, which he cuts off with a golden sickle.[326] There also we find Seth (represented as in the above-mentioned monument) and Hat (Horus) pouring out life and power upon the king. This alone is sufficient to prove that Set-Nubi and Amun-Khem were totally distinct deities.

And yet the internal connexion between them is equally undeniable. The crocodile is sacred to Seth,

[325] M. R. cxvi. l. 2. Set or Sutech was his name as a god of the Asiatic people; as Bal he was god of the Xeta and other foreign tribes in the North of Egypt; and as Nubi or Nahsi, the black "Negro" god, the divinity who was worshipped in the South.

[326] Wilk. Thebes, p. 62. seqq.

as well as to the god of Papremis (in the Delta, perhaps Xois), to Chemmis, the god of Chemmo.[327] The former is the husband of his mother, and the latter animal uses violence to her. The goat, again, the animal sacred to the Mendesian God, is also sacred to Osiris, under the form of Apis. Amun, the generator, the heir of the Phallic God, is likewise styled son of Isis.

These points of resemblance would seem to indicate a general amalgamation of the two deities and their Orders.

## APPENDIX.

### OSIRIS AS GOD OF THE LOWER WORLD; AND THE FOUR GENII.*

THE four infernal genii, who are found on all the mummies, as well as in the transcripts of the "Book of the Dead," and all similar representations, were, to judge from the inscriptions, originally names of Osiris, to whom they are subordinate.

Our representation of them is borrowed from Wilkinson (Pl. 61.), and forms an appendix to the gods of this Order. They are called:

1. The Genius with the Hawk-head, *kebhsen.u.f*, signifying "the Refresher of his brothers." "Osiris (God) the Great, completed (or devoted) KBHSNUF."

2. The Jackal-head, *tua-mutef*, signifying, the adorer of his mother, "TUA-MUTF (God), Osiris the Devoted."

[327] Herod. ii. 63, 64. 71. 165.

* These four gods are all the sons of Osiris. On the coffin of Tent Nahrere, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, Amset and Hepi (Apis) are each called the "son of Osiris." The third genius, on a box in the Louvre, which held the sepulchral vases of Hui, a scribe of the treasury, is said to be the "son of Sokari," another form of Osiris.

3. The Ape-head, *hepi*, " HEPI (Apis) (God), Osiris the Devoted."

4. The Human-headed, *Amset*, AMSET (God) : Osiris, the Devoted. In the tombs he sometimes holds the sceptre of Upper Egypt and life.

*Hepi* is very remarkable when thus designated. His hieroglyphic distinguishes him from *Hapi*, the Nile, in the most definite manner, but it is precisely the same as that of the bull Apis.

According to most of the priests, says Plutarch, the two names Osiris and Apis were joined in one, because Apis, the Memphite ox, was the image of the soul of Osiris. Wilkinson[328] states that the two names are found conjoined in an hieroglyphic inscription—API HESYRI. On a stele at Florence Apis is called " the living son of Ptah."

We can hardly doubt, therefore, that Serapis was a corruption of the name *Osiri-Api*. From Plutarch's very remarkable notice of the following circumstance, it would appear that the representation and worship of the god, who was brought from Sinope at King Ptolemy Soter's command (Pl. De Is. et Os.), were foreign to the Egyptians. When the statue arrived at Alexandria, Manetho and Timotheus the interpreter declared it to be simply that of Serapis (Σάραπις) —as they inferred from the Cerberus and Dragon being attached to it. Serapis, therefore, was the name of an Egyptian god; that is, the name of Osiris as Dispater. This proves also the correctness of Tacitus's remark, that the temple of the God of Sinope was built at Racotis, on the spot where that of Serapis (*Osiris inferus*) and Isis stood—a statement which has been unjustly impeached by commentators and etymologists. Serapis and Isis, as Plutarch says in

[328] Mat. Hier., Addenda Manuscript.

the treatise to which we have so often had occasion to refer, were Pluto and Proserpine, according to some Greek writers. This seems also to be proved by the representations which Wilkinson found in the temple of Serapis.[329] A god with the crook and flagellum is there exhibited wearing on his head the ornament of the disk, the Uræi, and two feathers on the extended horns, which is a form of Osiris. He says that none of these hieroglyphics are legible. The same representation occurs also in the Oasis and at Berenice, where the Greek inscriptions call the god Serapis. Wilkinson found the following in the latter city, of the date of Tiberius: "to Dis, Helios, the great Serapis, and the contemplar gods." The same representation is constantly met with in the quarries and stations in the Desert. The Latin inscriptions call him Pluto.

The tomb of Apis at Memphis, where the old Nilometer stood, seems also to have been sacred to Osiris-Apis.

The solemnities at the burial of Apis were entirely Bacchic. It is true that the priests did not wear the deer-skin (*nebris*), but they wore the panther-skin, carried staves like thyrsus-staves, and cried out and convulsed themselves like the Bacchantes. Plutarch says (c. 28.) that Osiris received the name of Serapis when he changed his nature[330]: and adds, "on that account Serapis is common to all, as the initiated know that Osiris also is."[331]

Osiris in the Lower World is perfectly distinct from Atum, though they both rule and judge.

[329] Wilk. Mat. Hier. xv. B. 1.

[330] ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέλαβεν.

[331] Διὸ καὶ πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπίς ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὄσιριν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν. Plutarch (c. 29.) interprets the name εὐφροσύνη, χαρμοσύνη, the joyous festival of the Egyptians (τὰ χαρμόσυνα) which was called ΣΑΙΡΕΙ.

SELK (Wilk. Mat. Hier. lx. A.), the scorpion goddess with might and life, and the scorpion on her head, is sometimes conjoined with the four genii. She has the epithet Her.t, the mighty. Osiris also is frequently attended by three, nine, and even twelve assistant judges. The name of the Lower World, AMNTE, reminds us of Amun, and the hieroglyphic of the first part of the word is his name. Plutarch's interpretation of the name of Hades (c. 29.) is wholly inadmissible. He says it alludes to the receiver and the giver. That is to say, the first word, *Amun*, is the concealing, hiding; the second, *Ti*, he supposes to mean the giving. The final *te*, however, seems to be merely the feminine article.

A passage in Plutarch (c. li. seqq.) may also allude to the *identity of Osiris and Typhon*. He is combating the notion that Typhon was the Sun's disk, the Sun, as some maintained, because the Greeks called him Σείριος. This he supposes to signify, that the word Osiris is merely Sirius with the article prefixed (c. lii.). He afterwards adds (c. lxi.) that in the Hermetic books, where the sacred names are mentioned, Hermes is said to be Apollo, and to represent the rotatory motion of the sun —while the power which gives activity to the mind is by some called Osiris, by some Serapis, and others Sothis, which latter is equivalent to *Seirios*=*Seth*. The word *Sothi*[332] signified child-bearing, pregnancy.

## C. *The Son of the Great Gods.*

### I. HARPOCRATES AND HORUS.

#### 1. HARPOCRATES.

THE first Egyptian representations are under the form of Horus the child:

[332] κυεῖν, κύησις.

Her-pă-χruti[333] (the ordinary hieroglyphic sign of "child," with the article), out of which grew *Harpocrates*, the shape into which the Greeks metamorphosed the symbol which they did not understand. He is the Manerōs or Linus, the son of Urania or Apollo (perhaps the young Apollo?) of Herodotus—the only son of the first king, that is, of Osiris, who died prematurely.[334] The festival of the shoots was sacred to Harpocrates.

The god himself being represented as a youth is beardless—but with the full crown, might, and life—Herpe-χruti, son of Isis. He is therefore the old Horus[335], the first born, the weakly son of Isis, the child of the winter solstice. This consequently supersedes the universally received derivation of the name given by Jablonski—*Hor-phoχ-rat* (*Horus claudus pede*)—however plausible, the latter is less in character with the Coptic idiom than our explanation. It is, moreover, quite unsupported by the monuments, and, properly speaking, equally so by the classics, for Plutarch merely remarks that he was weakly in his lower limbs.

## 2. Horus Aruēris (Her Hēr).

The representations we notice are as follows:

Her Her-Het, Horus the mighty, god of Het, Edfu, *Apollinopolis Magna* (Wilk. xvii. 1.)—Horus as a young god with sceptre and life, the full crown, and infantine curl on his cheek. He is styled eldest son of Hathor and son of Isis, and bears the name *Ahi* (assistant, support).

[333] The discovery of the meaning of Harpocrates is mine; but I explained it as *Her-pe-schre*, (Horus the child), and adopted Lepsius's correction.

[334] Her. ii. 97. Pollux: Μανέρως γεωργίας εὑρετής, Μουσῶν μαθητής. See Wilkinson's Manners and Customs, iv. 123., and my first Section.

[335] Ὧρος ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

The same with the flagellum and royal sceptre, sitting on a lotus flower, which rises out of the water—*Ahi*, the god, eldest son of Hathor.

Horus with the hawk-head—Phre with the full crown, might, and life.

The same representation (from *Apollinopolis parva*).

Again, Horus appears as the hawk (xlv. A.)—also with the disk, Uræus, and feathers on his horns (in Philæ only, xlv. B.)—then as

The Serpent God (xxxi.).

These and similar representations occur in the oldest as well as latest temples, Tentyra for instance. The same Horus builds thrones for the kings with water-plants instead of stones, like Nilus and Thoth. He pours life and power over the kings, which same office Thoth is performing opposite to him.

Horus's complexion was fair, as that of Osiris was dark (Pl. c. 22.). His constellation was Orion, as Sothis was that of Isis (Pl. 21.). His eyes are called the sun and moon (55.). A common name of his, according to Plutarch, was KAIMIS (perhaps Saimis), signifying "the seen."[336] On a Greek inscription at Ombos he is styled Horus, the great god, Apollo, Aroēris. He bears the latter name also in the Greek inscription at Kos.

The following is the restoration we propose of the myth. Horus, according to one version of it (c. 20.), was, like Osiris, cut to pieces, and cut off the head of his mother Isis, because she had liberated Typhon. In Coptus he is represented by the side of Typhon, holding (restraining, Horap. ii. 7.) his genitalia. It is, possibly,

[336] Plut. c. 56. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὧρον εἰώθασιν KAIMIN προσαγορεύειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁρώμενον· αἰσθητὸν γὰρ καὶ ὁρατὸν ὁ κόσμος. The Coptic ⲥⲁⲓⲙⲥ, *sams*, means "to see, behold"; Plutarch, therefore, wrote perhaps CAIMIN, as the accusative of CAIMIC.

the same story as that where Hermes is said to have cut out Typhon's muscles and made lute strings of them.[337] Typhon strikes him in the eye, or he tears it out and swallows it, and then the sun gives it back to him. The first is explained as the monthly decline of the moon, the second (the swallowing of the eye) as an eclipse of the moon, which is extinguished by the light of the sun. Hor is a new form of Osiris, as the god of the natural sun and of physical life. He decapitates Isis, who represents more strongly the weak suffering state of nature, which is always subject to pain again in the winter. In the ethic sense, Isis loosing Typhon represents human nature "giving free scope to evil." The common modified story is (c. 19.) that he tore off her frontlet, and gave her the forehead of a cow (degraded her to an animal nature).

## II. ANUPU, ANUBIS.

The representations are as follows (Wilk. xviii.) —

A god with life and supreme power, the double crown and jackal's head: ANUP, the southern hemisphere — the son of Osiris.

He occurs once, according to Wilkinson, with the ram's head, once also as the son of Isis, according to Salt. Both, but especially the latter, are very doubtful.

He is called Hermes, the conductor of souls[338], and simply Hermes. He is likewise called Hermanubis (c. 61.). A white and saffron-coloured cock was offered to

[337] Νεῦρα, Plut. c. 55. In the following passage, the other corruptions of which have been so successfully corrected by the English critics, we must, instead of εἶτα τῷ ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε, evidently read εἶτα αὐτῷ ἥλιος π. ἀπ. Thus alone the explanation becomes intelligible: ἦν (ἔκλειψιν) ὁ ἥλιος ἴσχει, διαφυγούσῃ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἀντιλάμπων.

[338] Ἑρμῆς ψυχοπομπός, Plut. c. 11.

him (c. 61.). He received his name from being the warder and attendant of the wandering Isis.[339]

D. *Cursory Recapitulation of the Elements of the Myth of Osiris.*

THE cosmic elements explain themselves.

The astronomical and physical elements are too obvious to be mistaken. Osiris and Isis are the Nile and Egypt. The myth of Osiris typifies the solar year — the power of Osiris is the sun in the lower hemisphere, the winter solstice. The birth of Horus typifies the vernal equinox — the victory of Horus, the summer equinox — the inundation of the Nile. Typhon is the autumnal equinox. Osiris is slain on the 17th of Athyr (Pl. 39. 42.).* The 72 men are 2 months + $\frac{12}{13}$ days: the 17 days the complement of the three months. The rule of Typhon lasts from the autumnal equinox to the middle of December. He reigns 28 years, or lives as long (Pl. c. 13. 42.). The 17th day is full moon (42.). The coffin of Osiris was made by the priests in a crescent shape. He himself was cut into fourteen pieces. At the beginning of spring a festival was celebrated, when Osiris united himself in marriage with Selene (43.).

The historical elements are the following —

The wife of Malkandros, to whom Isis consigned the child, was called, according to Plutarch (c. 15.), Astarte or Saōsis, or young Athēnē (Athenaïs).[340] The

[339] Plut. c. 11. φύλαξ καὶ ὀπαδός. Οὐ γὰρ τὸν κύνα κυρίως Ἑρμῆν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζώου τὸ φυλακτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγρυπνον καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον, γνώσει καὶ .... ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ ἐχθρὸν ὁρίζοντος.

* The 17th of Athyr is the 13th of November in the fixed year, established under Augustus: the whole indication of the month and day is therefore posterior to that epoch.

[340] Instead of NEMANOYN, I read NEAN NHIΘ, in order to explain

child's name was Manerōs; according to others, Palæstinus or Pelusius.

The conclusions to be drawn from our analysis of the mythological system may be summed up under two heads.

First, that the Order of Osiris resolves itself into the two following triads, which are equal in themselves —

Isis — Osiris — Horus
Nephthys — Typhon — Anubis.

Secondly, that the triad of Isis, Osiris, and Horus resolves itself into a male and female principle, Osiris and Horus being originally identical.

Isis is the { mother, sister, wife, daughter } of Osiris.

Osiris is the { son, brother, husband, father } of Isis.

Horus is the { son, brother } of Osiris.

is Osiris himself, who is cut to pieces.

This triad has gradually appropriated all the attributes and titles of the most developed and important deities of the first two Orders — for instance, those of Khem, Muth, Ra, in the first; those of Thoth, Muntu, Chunsu, and of Athyr and Pecht (Tefnu), in the second; and lastly, to a certain extent, the position of

Plutarch's explanation, ὅπερ ἂν Ἕλληνες Ἀθηναΐδα προσείποιεν. Saōsis occurs only in this passage. Movers (Die Phönizier, 645.) traces the word very ingeniously in Phœnician, Syrian, and Babylonian proper names. In Μάλκανδρος I can only recognise Μάλκαρθος, the Phœnician Melkarth.

the parents of Osiris, Chronos and Rhea—as will appear from the following synoptical table.

| FIRST ORDER OF GODS. | POINTS OF CONTACT WITH THE OSIRIS ORDER. |
|---|---|
| I. *Khem*, Pan, the husband of his mother, the Phallic God, afterwards *Amun-ra Kamu.t.f.* | *Osiris*, the Phallic god. |
| II. *Muth*, the mother, and *Neith* Athena, without descent ("I came from myself"): "the mother" (*mu.t*), "the Great" (*her. t*). In Sais: "Past, Present, and Future." | *Isis*, "the Mother," "the Great," "the Neith of Upper Egypt." |
| III. *Anuke*, Hestia, Vesta. | *Nephthys=Anuke*, the benevolent sister. |
| IV. *Ra*, Helios, the son of Neith, a god with the Hawk-head. | *Horus* (in Egyptian, Her, i. e. God) with the Hawk-head, the Hawk. |
| SECOND ORDER OF GODS. | |
| I. *Thoth*, Hermes, "Lord of Ashmunain." | I. *Thoth*, Lord of the Moon: generator of Osiris, as joint husband of Rhea-Nutpe.<br>Hermes, the conductor of souls.<br>Hermes like Anubis. |
| II. *Munt*, *Munt-ra*, with the Hawk-head. | II. *Ra*, like Horus, both like Helios. |
| III. *Chunsu* (Chōns), Hercules. | III. *Chunsu*, like Horus-Anubis—is represented with the flagellum and sceptre of Osiris, and is called "the Good in Amenthes." |
| IV. *Hathor*, Aphrodite, daughter of Ra, "the house of God," "Mistress of all the Gods," "Mistress of Ashmunain." | IV. *Hathor*, the Cow, the nurse of Horus, consequently like Isis. |
| V. *a*) *Pecht*, Artemis, daughter of Ra, the Goddess of Bubastis. | V. *a*) *Pecht*, like *Isis Muth*, *Mu.ther. t.* |
| *b*) *Tefnu*, the Lioness-headed Goddess. | *b*) *Tefnu*, exactly the same. |
| VI. *Seb*, Chronos (time), the father of the gods. | VI. *Seb*, father of Osiris and Isis. |
| VII. *Nutpe*, Rhea; literally, the Neith of Heaven (?), the genitrix of the Gods: she pours the water of life from the sycamore tree on the souls. | VII. *Nutpe*, mother of Isis, mother of Osiris, consequently also Isis herself. Isis pours water from the Persea: Hiero-sycaminon is sacred to the mother of Osiris, and Osiris is called the Father of Souls. |

## GENERAL RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

Egyptian mythology, as presented to us in its three Orders, would appear on the whole at least to have been complete at the commencement of the historical age or reign of Menes, the founder of one united Egyptian empire, of Egypt itself and its history. We meet in the Oldest Empire with names of Kings out of all the mythological Orders, and representations of the very deities whom we find worshipped at the beginning of the New Empire.

The genealogy of the gods, also, as exhibited on the monuments, represents the divinities of the three Orders as one indivisible whole. The second Order of gods is derived exclusively or mainly from the first; and is genealogically connected, through Chronos and Rhea, with the third, from which it is otherwise wholly distinct. Now the first has evidently its origin in the Thebaid, the inhabitants of which, down to the latest period, still cleaved to Amun, Khem, and Kneph, as being indigenous in their country. But Ptah and Neith originate, as far as we can ascertain, in Lower Egypt. From these divinities of the first Order proceeds an unbroken genealogical series down to those of the second, principally through the medium of Ra. Helios forms the transition from the first to the second; as Seb and Nutpe, whose descent from Ra is also demonstrable, form the transition from the second to the third. The twelve gods of the second Order are also traceable to different parts of Egypt.

No less striking is the result as to the origin of the Osiris Order. The oldest shrines of Osiris and Isis point to Upper Egypt (Abydos and Elephantina): the myth of Seth and Nephthys, and consequently every thing that refers to the combat of Osiris and Isis with Seth and Typhon, to Lower Egypt. Here is the

stage of the human reign of Osiris; here he fought, suffered, and was found again; here was the abode of Nephthys and Typhon; here is Busiris, that is, the tomb of the old cruel Osiris, who was appeased by human sacrifices. The procession of Isis ascends the river with the corpse; on the southern frontier it is entombed. The worship of Isis and Osiris was the only one, according to Herodotus, that all the Egyptians had in common.

The mythological system which we meet with at the first dawn of the empire of Menes, owes its existence therefore, in the primeval time, to the amalgamation of the religion of Upper and Lower Egypt. This however means nothing more than that it originated in the same manner as the Empire of Menes, which owed its existence to the union of the two *Misr*, by which process it became Mizraim and took its place in history. The oldest kings appear to have been both rulers and priests. Religion had already united the two provinces before the power of the race of This in the Thebaid extended itself to Memphis, and before the giant work of Menes converted the Delta from a desert, chequered over with lakes and morasses, into a blooming garden; as from the couch of Nephthys, after the embrace of Osiris (viz. Nilus), the melilotus and other plants sprang up, and Anubis was born, the favourite of Isis, although the offspring of a secret connexion with her rival.

This fact, which is as certain as it is at variance with modern criticism, gives us the epoch of the primeval era of Egypt, which cannot be defined chronologically, but which belongs to the one immediately preceding the commencement of history.

Its very nature shows that it cannot be the most ancient. Before the two religious systems were merged in one, they must have been worked out, and that indeed in Egypt itself; for they grew together with

the land and its language. Now the series of Osiris is decidedly the most national. It bears on the face of it traces of Egyptian locality, and of the commencement of an historical consciousness in the nation. Osiris is the centre from which they formed a conception of the oldest founders of their race and of their princes, the prototypes of the great Pharaohs. He even runs into the real historical period.

The first historical point of this kind is the interweaving of the later myth of Osiris with the reminiscences of the fearful Hyksos epoch. Seth is the father of Judæus and Palæstinus; he is the ass-god of the Semitic tribes, who rested on the seventh day; he has the complexion of the hated race. Astarte is identical with the wandering Isis. The gods of Egypt veil themselves under the heads of animals in order to save themselves from Typhon. The enemies of the Egyptian gods, and their gods, contend with the gods of Egypt: these succumb, with the exception of Canopus, who nevertheless is the same as Nubi or Seth.

Modern critics were misled by these facts, which are recorded by Plutarch evidently on Egyptian authority, into considering the myth of Osiris as a history, veiled in fable, of the contest of the Egyptians with the Hyksos and their neighbours of a cognate race.

Our researches, however, will prove that the system of the Osiris-Typhon myth, as related by Plutarch, is of a later date than the great Ramesside. Down to the time of Ramses and his successor, consequently about 1300 B. C., Typhon was one of the most venerated and powerful gods, a god who pours blessings and life on the rulers of Egypt, just as the hateful Nephthys is called "the benevolent, protecting sister."

It was only after this time, perhaps in consequence of the fall of the 21st Dynasty (about 970), as we shall attempt to show in the third and fourth books, that a great revolution at length overthrew Seth and his

worshippers, and stamped him to all future time as the foe of Osiris and all the gods of Egypt. Then were the names of the detested deity, even his hieroglyphic, the giraffe, erased from the Rings of those illustrious rulers who were called after Seth as well as Osiris. In like manner in the 18th Dynasty, the 15th century B. C., in consequence of a religious war, as the subsequent inquiry will show, the temple-worship of Amun-ra was abolished, and his name expunged from the monuments.

The division and succession of the three Orders of Herodotus seem therefore to be confirmed and borne out by the genealogies on the monuments. But did they really succeed each other in this manner, as three successive religious systems? Does the stratum of the second Order, which evidently bears an astronomical and physical character, overlay the first stratum of cosmogonic ideas, just as it was in turn overlaid by the worship of Osiris? Did the Egyptian mind, in the course of its progress towards religious development, pass from the general cosmic feeling of natural existence, through the astro-telluric, or co-ordinately with it, to a psychological consciousness? Or are Isis and Osiris (one name according to language and the hieroglyphics) the basis of their religion, so that the gods who would seem to be the most ancient are merely expressions of the speculations as to the origin of the universe, like Chaos and Uranos in Hesiod? These are questions upon which we would only remark here, that the monuments and myths in no way justify us in excluding the latter hypothesis as inadmissible. On the contrary, according to them, as well as to Herodotus, Osiris and Isis are the centre of Egyptian religion and worship. Now it is an essential part of the myth of Osiris and Isis, that they are connected with Phœnicia and Syria. The myth and worship of Thamuz and Adonis ("the Lord") exhibit the same fundamental idea of the suffering, dying, and resuscitated god, which is

represented by the Egyptian myth. We may therefore, at this stage of the inquiry, say thus much, that the facts we have established on an equally solid and substantial basis, respecting language and mythology, give us the same result. Both carry us historically back to Asia. *The cradle of the mythology and language of the Egyptians is Asia.* We shall show, in the fifth book, that the primeval seat of our race is Armenia and the Caucasus, but that the Egyptian race is more particularly connected with the primitive land of Aram and the primitive empire in Babel. In the hieroglyphical picture of universal history the sign of primitive Egypt is but the stereotyped image of what the human mind was, and produced, in earliest times in the land of Aram and Armenia. This is an historical fact, which we only assume here, but which we hope to prove by authentic evidence, to the satisfaction of our readers, in the fourth and fifth books.

If now we turn from the extra-Egyptian Origines of Egypt's language and religion to the opposite point, the historic times of Egypt, it is obvious from our investigation, that the empire of Menes was based upon a venerable and intellectual foundation, which had been laid for many centuries in the valley of the Nile itself. He must, then, have been the founder of the empire, inasmuch as he condensed within one focus the elements of civilisation which were dispersed among the different Egyptian provinces. By these very primordial germs of their history, therefore, the assertion made at the commencement of this volume is borne out, that Menes created in the Egyptians a sense of their national unity, distinct from all other nations, as Charlemagne did in the Germanic tribes.

How this was effected, and in what chronological order, it will be the object of the two following books to explain.

# APPENDIX I.

## THE EGYPTIAN VOCABULARY.

## THE EGYPTIAN ROOTS COMPARED WITH THE COPTIC.

# THE EGYPTIAN VOCABULARY.

## THE EGYPTIAN ROOTS COMPARED WITH THE COPTIC.

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In order to exemplify what has been said upon the nature and formation of the roots of the Egyptian language, I had collected in an Appendix all such words as had been clearly deciphered from monuments anterior to the Ptolemaic and Roman epochs. By the kind assistance of Mr. Birch, I was enabled to distinguish by an asterisk all such as demonstrably belong to the first stage of Egyptian language and writing, inasmuch as they are found on the monuments of the Old Empire, from the fourth to the twelfth Dynasty. Professor Schwartze, who superintended the printing of that Appendix, was kind enough to revise and enlarge the Coptic part. We are now in a position to make a nearer approach to the completion of the object we had in view. We here offer to our readers a complete list of all the Egyptian roots hitherto deciphered, compared with the Coptic, and occasionally, where no doubt can be entertained as to their identity or near affinity, with the Semitic. Those which, as far as we know, occur only on monuments of the Ptolemaic or Roman period are marked with a dagger (†). This Egyptian dictionary, which, thanks to Mr. Birch's erudition, is the fullest in existence, has been arranged in the usual alphabetical order, and a reference given to the monument or text where each word occurs. The hieroglyphical scholar, therefore,

will now find in this work, not only the most complete Egyptian grammar extant, but also the most complete dictionary; as well as the only existing collection of all the hieroglyphic signs, arranged in their natural and historical order, and explained according to the monuments quoted or referred to.

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## THE COPTIC ALPHABET COMPARED WITH THE EGYPTIAN AND THE HEBREW.

### I. THE COPTIC ALPHABET IN ITS USUAL ORDER.*

| Form. | Name and Use. | Sound. | Numeral Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ⲁ ⲁ | *alpha.*—Often interchangeable with *o* and *ō*. | a | 1 |
| Ⲃ ⲃ | *'beta, vida.* — Interchangeable with *f*, before vowels with *ū*. | 'b = v | 2 |
| †Ⲅ ⲅ | *gamma.* — Regularly used only in writing Greek words in Coptic instead of *κ*; used in Sahidic, sometimes at the end and after *n*. | | 3 |
| †Ⲇ ⲇ | *delta, dalda.* — For Greek words. | d | 4 |
| Ⲉ ⲉ | *ei.* — Provincially pronounced like *a*. | ĕ, ε | 5 |
| [†Ⲍ ⲍ | *so.* — Entirely Greek. | ś, st] | 6 |
| †Ⲋ ⲋ | *zeta, zìta, zida.* — Greek, when in Coptic words = ϣ. | s, ds | 7 |

* Of course we use the vowels according to their common acceptation in Italian and German, as the learned generally do in transcribing old inscriptions. The seven letters marked with † are only used (as single sounds) in Greek words; the five with the asterisk are signs for peculiar Egyptian sounds, taken from the enchorial alphabet: for the details see Schwartze, Aegyptische Grammatik.

| Form. | Name and Use. | Sound. | Numeral Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ⲏ ⲏ | *heta, eta, ida.*—Originally *a͡i, e͡i* .—in later times *i.* | ē | 8 |
| Ⲑ ⲑ | *theta, thita, tida.*—Originally interchangeable with *th.* | th, t | 9 |
| Ⲓ ⲓ | *iota, iauta.*—Memphitic, before a vowel, *j.* | i | 10 |
| Ⲕ ⲕ | *kappa, kabba.* | k | 20 |
| Ⲗ ⲗ | *lauda.*—In Bashmur. freq. = *r.* | l | 30 |
| Ⲙ ⲙ | *mi, me.* — Interchangeable with *b, f,* also with *n.* | m | 40 |
| Ⲛ ⲛ | *ni, ne.*— Probably often with a nasal sound. | n | 50 |
| †Ⲝ ⲝ | *xi, exi.*—In Coptic words very rare, instead of *ks.* | x | 60 |
| Ⲟ ⲟ | *o, u.*—Only at a very late period for the sound *u* (ου). | o | 70 |
| Ⲡ ⲡ | *pi, bi.* | p | 80 |
| Ⲣ ⲣ | *ro.*—Particularly frequent in the Sahidic. | r | 100 |
| Ⲥ ⲥ | *symma, sima.*—Like the Greek σ and Latin *s,* sharp. | s | 200 |
| Ⲧ ⲧ | *tau, dau.* — In later times only, *d.* | t | 300 |
| †Ⲩ ⲩ | *hy, he.*—Originally only in Greek, incorrectly Copt. for *i, ē, oi.* | u | 400 |
| Ⲫ ⲫ | *phi, fi.*—Not used in Sahidic, except for *p* before *h,* in later times = *b.* | f | 500 |
| Ⲭ ⲭ | *chi, k.*—Sahidic for the two consonants *k* and *h.* | χ | 600 |
| †Ⲯ ⲯ | *psi, ebsi.*—In Coptic only for the two consonants *p* and *s.* | ψ, ps | 700 |
| Ⲱ ⲱ | *ō, aō, ū.* — In later times *ū.* | ω, ō | 800 |
| *Ϣ ϣ | *shei.* — Eng. *sh,* sometimes derived from *t,* but generally from *k,* Heb. ת | sh | 900 |

| Form. | Name and Use. | Sound. | Numeral Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ϥ ϥ | *fei.*—Latin and German *f*, not = Φ, interchangeable with *b*. | f | 90 |
| *Ϧ ϧ | *hhei.*—Only Memphitic, instead of Ϩ ϩ; later = *kh*. | ʻh | |
| *Ϩ ϩ | *hori.*—In Greek words = spir. asper. | h | |
| *Ϫ ϫ | *gandja, djandja.*—*Gh*, interchangeable with κ, and ϫ = *gh*, but sometimes also derived from a *t*, later *dj*. | ʻg, $d^j$ | |
| *Ϭ ϭ | *skima, tsima.*—Only at a late period *sh*, *s*; originally = *kh* = Heb. כ, thence *k* and *sk*, but sometimes derived from *t* = $t^s$. | $s^k$, χ, $k^s$, $t^s$ | |
| Ϯ ϯ | *tei.*—Originally = *ti*, afterwards *di*, unaspirated *t* (therefore in fact, not a letter of the alphabet, but a syllabic sign, as the stigma (*so*) is a compound sound). | ti | |

Lepsius (*Lettre*, p. 18. N. I. Pl. 15. B. 1.) has shown that six letters of the Coptic alphabet, which express Egyptian sounds not found in the Greek, were taken from the hieratic character in the following manner:—

1. *Shei*, ϣ, is taken from the hieratic character formed from the hieroglyphic sign for χ (the water-plant).
2. *Fei*, ϥ, is very like the hieratic character derived from the hieroglyphic sign of *f* (the cerastes).
3. *Hhei*, or *khei*, ϧ, has a close resemblance to the hieratic form of the hieroglyphic of another water-plant, for χ, *kh*.
4. *Hori*, ϩ, corresponds with the hieratic form of the eagle, *a*; which seems to indicate that this

hieroglyphic sign had at some period a strong aspiration.

5. *Djandja*, ϫ, is identical with the hieratic form of the crocodile's tail used for writing the syllable χa in χam, Egypt. Lepsius doubts that the hieratic sign is derived from this hieroglyphic, although used for the same sound.

6. *Tsima*, *djima*, ϭ, is identical with the hieratic form of the cup, the hieroglyphic of *k* in the Egyptian alphabet.

This connexion is of the highest importance, not only for the history of the Coptic alphabet, but also for that of the Old Egyptian.

*Compound Signs, among which also the ϛ should be included.*

ⲟⲩ, ū, later ü, also = Lat. v, interchangeable with b, before a vowel.
ⲁⲓ, ài, aï.
ⲁⲩ, āū.
ⲉⲓ, èi, eï, i.
ⲉⲩ, ēū, contraction from ⲉⲟⲩ, èū.
ⲏⲓ, ēí, ai, ei.
ⲏⲩ (not used in Memph.), eu, āū.
ⲟⲓ, ōi (Memph. ói), i, y.
ⲱⲓ, ōi.

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## II. COMPARISON OF THE OLD EGYPTIAN ALPHABET WITH THE COPTIC.

| | |
|---|---|
| a (pure a, å, a aspirated) . . . . . | a, o, ō |
| i . . . . . | i, e, ē |
| u . . . . . | o, ō, ū |
| b (with soft aspiration tending towards ⲟⲩ) . . . . . | b, ou=v |

| | |
|---|---|
| f (tending towards b) | f (viz. fei) |
| p | p |
| m | m |
| n | n |
| r (or l, viz. a medial sound between l and r.) | r, l |
| s | s, sometimes thickened into shei. |
| t | t, th, sometimes thickened into shei and skima=k. |
| h | h (hori, Memph. hei). |
| k | k (g), softened down to chei, shei, skima. |
| χ | chi, changed into shei, djandja, skima, also h. |
| ϰ | shei, sometimes djandja. |

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### III. COMPARISON OF THE OLD EGYPTIAN ALPHABET WITH THE HEBREW.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| א | Aleph | a | מ | Mim | m |
| ב | Beth | b | נ | Nun | n |
| ג | Gimel | k | ס | Samech | s |
| ד | Daleth | t | ע | Ain | â |
| ה | He | h | פ | Pe, Phe | p, f |
| ו | Vau | u | צ | Tsade | t |
| ז | Zain | s | ק | Kuph (compare χ) | k |
| ח | Chet | χ | ר | Resh | r |
| ט | Teth | | ש | Shin | ϰ |
| י | Jod | i | שׁ | Sin | s |
| כ | Kaph | k | ת | Tau | t [a] |
| ל | Lamed | r | | | |

# EGYPTIAN VOCABULARY.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| A$^{l}$. | Anastasi Collection in the British Museum. |
| Arch. | Archæologia. |
| B. M. | British Museum. |
| D. | Champollion, Dictionnaire. |
| E. H. | Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica. |
| G. | Champollion, Grammaire E'gyptienne. |
| H$^{ks}$. | Hincks. |
| L. A. | Lepsius, Auswahl. |
| L. B. D. | Lepsius, Book of the Dead (Todtenbuch). |
| M. | Champollion, Monumens de l'E'gypte et de la Nubie. |
| M. C. | Rosellini, Monumenti Civili. |
| M. C$^{ul}$. | Rosellini, Monumenti del Culto. |
| M. R. | Rosellini, Monumenti Reali. |
| M. S. | Rosellini, Monumenti Storici. |
| P. | Papyri. |
| P. S. | Salt, Papyri. |
| Pap. Sams. | Papyrus published by Sams. |
| R. C. | Ritual published by Cadet. |
| R. I. A. | Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. |
| Rect. sarc. | Two rectangular Sarcophagi in the British Museum. |
| R. S. L. | Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. |
| S. P. | Select Papyri. |
| Sarc. | Sarcophagus. |
| S$^{h}$. | Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions. |
| S$^{l}$. | Salvolini, Analyse Grammaticale. |
| Tab. | Tablet. |
| T$^{ex}$. | Rosellini, Text. |
| T$^{ox}$. | Champollion, Text. |
| W. M. C. | Wilkinson, Manners and Customs. |
| * | Indicates words used as early as the XIIth Dynasty, or earlier. |

## A.

1. * a. *I, me.*— [Preserved in Coptic as sign of first person, affixed to conjunctions before the verb, e. g. after ⲛⲧⲉ, that; ⲛⲧⲁ, that I; ϥⲁⲛⲧⲁ, (Sah.) until I. Schwarze quotes also ⲧⲣⲁ, facio ego, facere me; from ⲧⲣⲉ, Sah. Bash., ⲟⲣⲉ, Memph. to do. Also in the possessive, e. g. ⲡⲁ = qui mihi = meus.]

*a house.*— S$^{h}$. 108. 4. HI.

*oh!*— S$^{h}$. 104. 8. ⲁⲧ.

2. aa. *to knit.*— R. C.

*to wring out.*— M. C. xlii. 2.

*a kind of gazelle.*— M. C. xviii.

*to be born of.*— B. M. fig. of Osiris. OI, ⲁI, O.

3. *aa. *to wash.*—M. R. xviii. ⲓⲱ, ⲓⲁ.
*water for washing.*—M. C. lxvii.
*an arm.*—G. 92., D. 84.
*place, abode.*—L. B. D. lxxii. 38.
*a noble.*—L. B. D. xxii. 63. 3.

4. aâh. *moon.*—G. 75. 112. ⲓⲟϩ, Ἰω (?).

5. aai. *conceived.*—B. M. Pap. ⲱ, ⲱⲱ.

6. *aaiu. *glory.*—B. M. sarc. 3. ϵⲟⲟϒ, ϵⲁϒ.

7. aakb. *to lament.*—L. B. D. 1. 5., B. M. coffin of Cleopatra, T^ex. 421. ⲟⲕⲁⲁ.

8. aâni. *ape.*—G. 83. 84., B. M. bronze situlus, M. xxi.

9. ââni. *ape.*—L. B. D. ii. 6. 1. ⲉⲛ.

10. *aasb. *play at latrunculi.*—M. C. ciii.

11. aat. *a boy.*—L. B. D. xxxiii. 85.

12. aau. *glory.*—S^i. 7 H. 44. 9. 100. 103. ϵⲟⲟϒ, ϵⲁϒ.

13. ab. *flesh, viand.*—S^i. 11 B, B. M. sarc. 51., W. M. C. ii. 2. 367. 12, 13. ⲁϥ, ⲁⲃ.
*a nosegay* (?).—W. M. C. ii. 2. 367. 13.
*a horn.*—R. C. i. ϩⲱⲛ.
*to butt;* as ab-ab.—M. R. lvi.
*pure, to purify.*—M. i. xliii. ⲟϒⲁⲃ.
*ivory.*—L. A. ix.
*a rhinoceros.*—M. C. vii., L. A. ix.
**a calf.*— ϵⲃⲱ, a dumb animal. Statue, Amenophis III. Louvre. S. P. xx. 8. xcvi. 5.
*thirst.*—G. 203. ⲁⲃϵ, ⲟⲃϵ.

14. *aba. *to dance.*—M. C. c.

15. abh. *a tooth.*—G. 92., D. 85. ⲟⲃϩϵ.

16. *abt. *the East.*—D. 22.

17. ab-u. *thirst.*—G. 203. ⲁⲃϵ, ⲟⲃϵ.

18. *abu. *an elephant?*—M. C. vii.
*a Numidian goat.*—M. C., L. A. xii. 14.

19. *abut. *Abydos.*—D. 423.

20. ábχ. *white.*—G. 320. ⲟϒⲃⲁϫ.

21. *âf. *flesh.*—G. 76. ⲁⲃ, ⲁϥ.
*born of.*—B. M. coffin of Mycerinus.
*a fly.*—G. 74. ⲁϥ, ⲁⲃ.
*to chastise.*—E. H. 41., M. R. cxiii. ⲱϫϵ.

22. âft. *an abode.*—G. 85. ⲁⲃⲏⲧ, ⲁⲩⲏⲧ.
*four.*—G. 210. ϥⲧⲱⲟⲩ.
23. *ah. *a cow.*—D. 202. ⲁϩ, ⲉϩⲉ.
24. *áh. *field, marsh.*—E. H. xxix. ⲓⲟϩⲓ.
25. ah-a. *field, a stable.*—B. M. tab. 185. ⲟⲓ.
26. *aha. *to stand erect.*—M. C. cxxii. ⲟϩⲓ.
27. ahaha. *rejoice.*—R. S. L. Flaminian obelisk.
28. ah-i. *assistant priestess.*—G. 105.
*windpipe.*—L. B. D. 142. 20.
29. ai. *to come.*—G. 501. ⲓ, ⲉⲓ.
30. ais? *to serve.*—M. C. cxxvii. 1.
31. aka. *a claw.*—G. 457.
32. âka. *to go, stalk along.*—D. 85.
33. *akah. *a hatchet.*—L. A. xi. B.
34. âkam. *a shield.*—G. 77.
35. *akar. *warlike, victorious.*—cf. Νίτωκρις = Neith victrix. G. 284., $s^h$. 82. 5. ϭⲣⲟ.
36. akb. *to groan, lament.*—L. B. D. i. 105. ⲱⲕⲉ𐌢, ⲁϩⲟ𐌢.
37. akt. *to suffocate.*—D. 384. ⲱϭⲧ, ⲱⲭϩ.
38. am. *gem, pearl.*—L. B. D. iv. 15. 5. ⲁⲙⲁ-𐌢ⲏⲓ.
39. *am. *in, with, by, through, from.*—L. B. D. iii. 812. 2. u., I. 1. 18. G. 301. 𐌢, ⲉ𐌢.
*no, not.*—L. B. D. lvii. 138. 3. ⲁⲙ.
40. *âm. *to eat.*—D. 85. ⲟϫⲱ𐌢.
41. *ama. *a lark.*—M. C. ix. 5.
*to be flogged.*—M. C. cxxv. ⲉⲓⲟ𐌢ⲉ?
*sunbeams?*—B. M. tab. 551.
*to place.*—L. B. D. viii. 17. 22.
42. *âm-a. *to eat.*—G. 389. ⲟϫⲱ𐌢.
43. amaχ. *devote, strengthen, bless?*—L. B. D. 2, 3. v. 15. 21. etc., $H^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1842. p. 15.
44. *amn. *to conceal.*—B. M. sarc. 32. (Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, 9.) tab. 421. no. 21. ⲁ𐌢ⲟⲙⲛ.
*to approach.*—B. M. cof. of Tphous. ⲁ𐌢ⲟϫ.
*Ammon, Hammon*, name of Egyptian Jupiter.—G. 109. ⲁ𐌢ⲟϫⲙ.
45. *am-naa. *some mineral?*—L. B. D. xlviii. 50.

46. amn-t. "*the Hades.*—L. B. D. V. 15. 34. ⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧ.
47. am-t. *devourer.*—R. C. ⲟⲩⲱⲙ.
48. an. *of, by.*—L. B. D. i. 1. ⲛ̀, ⲉⲛ.
*for.*—S$^{h}$. 60. ⲛ̀, ⲉⲛ.
*towards.*—G. 279. ⲛ̀, ⲉⲛ.
*from.*—L. B. D. i. 1. 1.
49. ân. *a whetstone.*—M. C. lxxiii. 4. ⲱⲛ.
*bristle* (of eyebrow).—sarc. of Her in Louvre. see an-hu.
*beauty, appearance.*—B. S. 54., B. M. tab. 49. ⲁⲛⲁⲓ.
*a stone.*—M. R. cxvi. 4. ⲱⲛ.
50. *an-heb. *Coracias Graculus;* "like an ibis."—M.C. ix. 9.
51. ân-hu. *eyebrow.*—G. 92. ⲛⲟϩ.
52. âni. *ape, cynocephalus.*—D. 84. ⲉⲛ.
53. an-ka. *to clasp?*—B. M. sarc. 3. ⲉⲛ.
54. ân-m. *a pearl.*—D. 86. ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲏ.
*wool, a hide.*—L. B. D. xlvii. 125. 24. ⲁⲛⲟⲙ.
55. ân-m-hat. *heart-stone, cornelian:* comp. of an, stone; m, of; hat, heart.—G. 90. ⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ ϩⲏⲧ.
56. *ân nbu. *kind of finch.*—M. C. xviii.
57. ân-nu. *beauty, appearance.*
58. ânnu. *to look back.*—M. cccxiv.
59. ânt. *yellow jasper, yellow colour.*—D. 86.
60. Anta. *Anath, Anaitis.*—S. P. 60 D. 87.
61. an-ti. *yellow jasper.*—P. S. 825. B. M.
62. *anχ. *life.*—L. A. i. ⲱⲛϧ, ⲱⲛϩ, ⲁⲛϩ.
63. *ap. *the head.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xliii. see ap-i.
64. âp. *to rise up, fly on high.*—B. M. sarc. 3.
65. âp-a. *to rise up.*—G. 87. ⲱⲡ.
66. ap-i. *head.*—S$^{h}$. x. 40. ⲁⲡⲉ.
67. âp-i. *cornice?*—M. C$^{ul}$. xxxviii.
68. ap-p. *to mount on high.*—D. 87., S$^{h}$. 29. ⲁⲫⲱⲫ, giant serpent. (Plut. 365. Ἄποπις, ἡλίου ἀδελφός.) M. C$^{ul}$, xxix. 2.
*giant.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xlii. 2.

69. *apt. *a duck.*—D. 201. ωϐϯ.
*kind of wood.*—B. M. tab. Belmore.
name of Thebes, for Ta-ap.—D. 201.
*hold of a vessel.*—L. B. D. xxxv. 99. 10. h., H$^{ks}$.
*peg of a door.*—L. B. D. xlix. 128. 28., H$^{ks}$. ειϐϯ, ερϯ.

70. ar. *to be, there is.*—L. B. D. ii. 1. 1. 22. p. ⲁρε, ⲁλε.
*towards, to.*—S$^{h}$. 85. 54., L. B. D. iii. 9. 1. p. ερο.
*an arura, an acre.*—G. 383.
*anklets.*—D. 186.

71. *âr. *a gazelle.*—D. 85. ειοϯλ. אַיָּל.
*to rise up.*—B. M. coffin, 3. ωλι.
*to approach.*—ⲁλε, adscendere.
*a step* or *pile* (a kind of game).—M. C. civ. ⲁλ.
*type.*—tab. Louvre.

72. *ara. *a basilisk, uræus.*—M. C. cxxviii. 2. ερρο, ορρο. ὄφιν ὃν καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐραῖον ὅ ἐστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ βασιλίσκον. (Horap. i. 1.)

73. *ârf. *to bind.*—D. 85. ορϥ, ορϐ.
*a packet, a bag.*—M. C. xxi. lxxviii., B. M. rect. sarc.

74. *ârk. *conclusion* (used to signify, end, 30th of the month).—E. H. xxxiii. ολκ.

75. *ari. *to guard.*—D. 70., S$^{h}$. 89. 104. 2. ⲁρεϩ.

76. *arp. *wine.*—G. 79. ηρπ.
*a vine.*—S$^{h}$. 34. 2. ερπο.

77. ârr. *a staircase.*—B. M. sarc. 3. ⲁλε.
*a vine.*—G. 49.
*grapes.*—G. 79. ⲁλολι.

78. art. *milk.*—G. 79. ερωϯ.

79. *aru. *a river.*—B. M. 147. tab. 148., L. B. D. iv. 15. 11., S$^{h}$. 56. ιⲁρο.

80. apχ. *a tortoise.*—D. 87. εφωϯ.

81. *as. *to approach.*—S$^{h}$. 58.
*a rope.*—M. C. iv.
*address, prayer.*—Leemans, xiii. 51. D. ωϣ.
*noble, principal.*—M. cccxii. cccxv. ⲁϲ, old.

*then.*—G. 500. ⲉⲓⲥ.
*lo!*—cf. as-tu.
*resting-place, chamber.*—Leemans, xxii.

82. asb. *impious?*—M. C[ul]. xlii.
83. *asf. *idleness, fault.*—M. C. T[ex]. iii. 407*, L. B. D. 15. 20. 21., D. 194., G. 444. ⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ.
*end.*—H[ks]. R. I. A.
84. aspu. *to despatch.*—B. M. sep. box, L. B. D. iii. 9. 3.
85. asr. *a tamarisk.*—D. 88. ⲟⲥⲓ.
86. *ast. *some period of time.*—ⲉⲥⲏⲧ, lower, intercalary. B. M. tab. 588.
87. *asχ. *to mow.*—G. 77. ⲱⲥϧ.
88. *a-t. *a clod.*—M. C. civ. ⲉⲓⲱ-ⲧ.
89. at. *to build.*—B. M. tab. A[1]. 22.
*to listen.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre.
*loins.*—L. B. D. xix. 42. 9.
90. *ata-i. *chief.*—B. M. tab. A[1]. 22.
91. *atf. *father.*—see tf. possibly a-ft. or fat. G. 65.
*divine head-dress*, consisting of two plumes, disk, horns, and uræi.—G. 76.
92. ati. *lintel.*—L. B. D. xlix. 125. 543., H[ks]. M. T. C.
93. a-tn. *to build, create.*—M. C., B. M. tab. 148. D., 222. ⲧⲉⲛ.
*the sun's disk.*—D. 204.
94. au. *and, also.*—D. 203. ⲁⲧⲱ.
*to be.*—L. B. D. xlviii. 38. ⲟⲓ, ⲁⲓ.
præformant of future.
95. *âu. *a kind of crane.*—tomb near Pyramids.
*a crock.*—M. C. lxxvii.
*born of.*—B. M. Pap. Sams.
96. *aua. *a cow.*—M. C[2] lxxiii., D. 193. ⲁϫⲉ.
97. aui. *to glorify.*—D. 203. see aaiu.
98. auru. *a bean.*—G. 89., D. 189. ⲟⲩⲣⲱ.
99. auu. *splendour.*—S[h]. 58. 55.
100. âχ. *to suspend.*—G. 249. 402. ⲁϥ.
*to cry out.*—D. 86., M. C[ul]. xli. ⲱϥ.
*to invert.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus, 10.
101. *âχa-tr. *a hare.*—M. C. ix. 4. ϭⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲓ.

102. âχm. *to extinguish.*—G. 376. ⲱⲩⲉ.
*an eagle.*—G. 93. ⲁⲩⲱⲉ.
*to soar.*—R. C. XV. ⲁⲧⲱⲉ.
*to annihilate.*—M. C[ul]. xliv. ⲱⲩⲉ.
*a hawk.*—T[cs]. 467. ⲁⲩⲱⲉ.

103. aχt. *other* [things]. B. M. sepulchral fig. 1. ϫⲉⲧ.

104. aχχ. *darkness.*—B. M. pap. ϫⲁⲕⲓ.
*a gryphon.*—G. 497.

105. aχr. *slice.*—L. B. D. 134. 10. 140. 15. 141.

106. âχru. *night.*—B. M. P. S., T[ex]. 210. ⲉϫⲱⲣⲩ.

107. aχt. *the Persea* —M. iv. cccxix.

## B.

108. *ba. *a goat.*—M. iv. ccxix. ⲃⲁ-ⲉⲗⲗⲟ.
*a soul.*—D. 101. ⲃⲁⲓ=ψύχη. Horapollo, i. 6.
*wood.*—G. 77. ⲃⲱ.
*iron?*—G. 90. ⲃⲉⲛⲛⲟ.
*kind of chimæra.*—M. C. xxvi. 3.

109. *baah. *pudendum.*—early tablet, Louvre.

110. ba-ba. *to flow, stream.*—G. 376. ⲃⲉⲃⲓ.

111. bah. *to inundate? swill, drink.*—T[ex]. p. 224., L. B. D. xlii. 110. 1.

112. baita. *a house.*—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847, 99. בית.

113. bak. *a sparrow-hawk.*—G. 401. ⲃⲏϭ, ⲃⲏϫ.
*to chisel, work.*—G. 105.

114. *baka. *a date palm.*—E. H. lvi., L. A. xii.
*palm wine, balsam?*—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1846, L. A. xii. ⲃⲁϫⲕⲓ.

115. ban. *evil, sin.*—D. 101. ⲃⲟⲛⲓ, ⲃⲱⲱⲛ.

116. bari. *a mullet.*—S. P. lxxv. 2. xcvi. 7, 8. ⲫⲟⲣⲓ.

117. barkabuta. *a pool.*—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1846, 101. ברכות.

118. *ba-su. *a dagger, beast of chase.*—M. C. xx. 9. rect. sarc. B. M.

119. bat. *side.*—B. M. plinth. ⲃⲏⲧ.

120. bhn. *to cut, incline.*—M. C[ul]. xlv. ⲃⲉϩ.

121. *bhu. *the bird Alauda Calandra.*—M. C. x. 5.

122. bhui. *a hyena.*—D. 101. ϩⲱⲓϯ, ⲃⲟⲓϣⲓ.

123. bka. *light.*—see bχ. ⲟⲩⲃⲁϥ.
*to incline, bow.*—L. A. xii. 39. ⲃⲉϩ.

124. bka-bka. *to sit down, be quiet, prostrate.*—L. A. xii.

125. bn. *a nycticorax, a phœnix.*—D. 100. ⲃⲁⲓ.

126. *bn. *a harp.*—T^ex. iii., M. C. xcv. 2. ⲃⲟⲓⲛⲏ, ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ.

127. bn-bn. *to be resplendent, to cap, tip.*—Lateran obelisk of Amyrtæus. ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ.

128. *bnka. *a scolopax, bird.*—M. C. x. 10.

129. bn-nu. *a kind of stone.*—L. A. 24. 1.

130. *bnr. *a palm tree.*—R. C. xi., S^h. 21. 6. 82. 5., M. R. c. xi. ⲃⲉⲛⲓ, dates.

131. bs. *a beast.*—W. M. C. pl. 41.
*a hide or skin.*—M. C. lxiv. 4. ⲃⲏⲥⲁ, ⲃⲓⲥⲁ. This word occurs as the name of the plumed lion-skinned god at Denderah. W. M. C. pl. 41. ⲃⲏⲥ-ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ=Pan.
*date, palm.*—B. M. situlus. ⲃⲏⲧ.
*to accompany, bring.*—sandstone fragment at Bath. ⲃⲏⲕ, venire.
*a jet of flame.*—L. B. D. xlviii. 505. 1.

132. *bs-bs. *Anas leucocephala.*—M. C. xiii. 10.

133. bs-u. *a dagger.*—D. 101. ϥⲱⲥⲓ.

134. bt. *corn.*—B. M. rect. sarc. see bti.
*abominable, base, bad.*—B. M. side of a tomb. ⲃⲟϯ, ⲃⲟⲧⲉ.

135. bt-i. *corn.*—M. C. clxix. ⲃⲱϯ, ⲃⲱϯⲉ.

136. btn-nu. *abominable.*—D. 101.

137. bu. *a sepulchre.*—L. B. D. xxxv. 64. 85. ⲃⲏ.
*a thing.*—H^ks.

138. *bun. *dates.*—cf. ⲃⲛ-r. B. M. Memphite tomb.

139. bχ. *light.*—M. R. xxxi. ⲟⲩⲃⲁϥ.
*to adore.*—G. 502. ⲟⲩⲱϥϯ.

140. bχn. *a stockade, a fort.*—M. iv. ccccxxxviii.
*green basalt.*—B. M. ob. Am. 457.

141. bχta. *wicked? denuded.*—M. cii. t. iv. ccci. ccccii. ccccxxi., M. R. lxxxi. ⲃⲁϥ.

## C.

There is no sound, either in the Hieroglyphics or in Coptic, analogous to the English C, and all such fall either under the S or K.

## D.

Neither the ancient Egyptians nor Copts had the sound D, and they always transcribe this sound in foreign names by their T.

## E.

Analogous to the A when initial, thus, em-am. In our transcriptions the employment of an e marks the absence of a vowel.

## F.

142. f. *he, him.*—D. 171. ϥ.
143. fa. *to bear* or *carry.*—G. 379. ϥⲁⲓ, ϥⲓ.
144. fai. *to fly.*—D. 379. 281.
145. fnt. *a worm.*—G. 74. ϥⲉⲛⲧ.
*a nose.*—G. 92.
146. ftu. *four.*—cf. aft.

## G.

The sound approaching to the English soft G is the ϫ; in the Hieroglyphics the same symbols which represent the T or the K are employed to express it, and are consequently referred to ⲕ and ⲧ; this sound not existing in the old language.

## H.

147. h[u]. *to strike.*—G. 308. ϩⲓ, to throw; ϩⲓⲟⲧⲓ, to strike.
*to pluck corn.*—M. C. XXXV. ϩⲓ, triturare.
148. ha. *a cow.*—W. M. H. ⲉϩⲉ.
*to begin, beginning, chief.*—D. 114. 115., E. H. XXXVIII. ϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲧ admovere manum.
*go before.*—D. 486.

*a husband.*—M. C. cxxvi. ⲉⲓ.
*a duck.*—B. M. rect. sarc.
*a substance.*—early tomb, Berlin.
*oh! hail!*—D. 240. ⲱ.
*a day.*—D. 240. ⲉⲟⲟϩ.
*to set up.*—D. 291. ⲕⲱ.
*duration.*—D. 292.
*an elegant kind of boat?*—M. C. cviii.
*field, clay.*—M. C. cli. ⲓⲟⲉⲓ.
*to rejoice.*—L. B. D. 11. 33.
*joy.*—M. xxiii. ⲉⲱ.
*the head.*—G. 484. ϫⲱ.
*a limb, self.*—G. 91. ⲉⲱ.
*also.*—R. S. ⲉⲓ.

149. hab. *an ibis.*—D. 239. ⲉⲓϐⲱⲓ.
*to plough.*—B. M. tab. ⲉⲉϐⲉ.

150. *habn. *ebony.*—L. A. ix.

151. habnir? *kind of collar.*—G. 77.

152. haha. *to roast, glow.*—M. R. cxlvi., M. C[ul]. xli. ϫⲟⲉ.

153. hak. *to bind.*—M. C. v. ⲉⲱⲕ, ⲥⲱⲕ.

154. Hakhak. *name of God.* hk, ruler.—A[1]. pap. 34. i. l. 6., B. M. ⲉⲓⲕ.

155. hakr. *kind of panegyry.*—L. B. D. ii. 18. b. c.

156. ham. *to fish.*—S[1]. 243. ⲉⲙⲙϩ, a pelican.

157. ham-ham. *to roar.*—D. 378. ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲙⲙ.

158. han. *to adore.*—D. 240. ⲉⲟⲛϯ.
*to command.*—B. M. sarc. 2. Am. 32. ⲉⲱⲛ.
*a vase, a measure.*—D. 241., B. M. alabaster vase. ⲉⲛⲟ.
*a box.*—Rit. Trin. Coll. Dublin. ⲉⲛⲟ, ⲉⲛⲁⲁϩ.

159. hanhan. *command.*—B. M. sarc. 2. Am. 32. ⲉⲟⲛⲉⲛ.

160. *hann. *species of deer.*—M. C. xx. 3. 6.

161. han-nu. *to command.*—B. M. sarc. 3.

162. hap. *to conceal, spy.*—(in the name of Hapi muu.) M. C[ul]. xxx. ⲉⲱⲡ.

163. har. *to manifest, appear, go out.*—D. 239.

*a day.*—D. 259.
*the heart.*—mummy at Birmingham.

164. hara. *urœus.*—S[1]. 90. ⲟⲩⲣⲟ.
165. harp. *to moisten.*—D. 239. ϩⲱⲣⲡ.
166. haru. *besides, not to mention.*—D. 239.
167. hat. *to terrify.*—G. 444. ϩⲟϯ.
168. hat-hat. *to reconnoitre.*—L. A. xiii. l. 38. ϩⲟⲧϩⲧ.
169. *ha-ti. *heart.*—P. S. B. M. ϩⲏⲧ.
170. hat-t. *some material.*—B. M. early tomb.
171. *hb. **a panegyry, festival.*—G. 97.
*to plough.*—B. M. sarc. 3. ϩⲉϧⲓ.
*mourner.*—D. 369. ϩⲏϧⲓ.
*undertaker.*—M. C. cxxxix. ϩⲏϧⲓ.
*an ibis, Lower Egypt.*—sepulchral figure in B. M. ϩⲟϧⲉ, low.
172. hbb. *to flow, stream.*—B. M. tab. 142. ϧⲉϧⲓ.
173. *hbn. *ebony.*—L. A. ix. xiii.
174. *hbs. *to clothe.*—M. iii. ccv. ϩϧⲱⲥ.
175. *hbt. *to steal.*—M. C[ml]. xli. ϩⲱϥϯ.
*to foam.*—D. 369. ϩϧⲏⲧⲉ.
176. hf. *a snake.*—G. 74. ϩⲟϥ.
177. *hh. *numerous.*—D. 375. ϩϩ.
178. hi. *light.*—coffin of Her in Louvre.
179. *hita. *a substance.*—tomb, Berlin. T[ex]. 373.
180. hk. *a frog.*—B. M. tab.
*a fillet.*—D. 490. ϩⲱⲕ.
181. *hka. *to rule, ruler.*—D. 323., M. R. cxliii. ϩⲏⲕ. τὸ γὰρ ὕκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει. (Jos. adv. Apion.)
*drink, liquids.*—S[h]. 17. 2., L. B. D. I. R. ϩⲓⲕ, φαρμάκα.
182. hkar. *hunger, to starve.*—G. 213. ϩⲕⲟ, ϩⲟⲕⲉⲣ.
183. *hk-nu. *to adore.*—sarc. Amyrtæus. B. 3., M. 3., G. 303.
*some material.*—alabaster pallet, B. M.
184. hm. *a place.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre.
*a lady, a wife.*—D. 104. ϩⲓⲙⲉ.
*to fish.*—D. 106. ϩⲙⲙⲏ, a pelican, fishing-bird.

*a grasshopper.*—M. R.
*a rudder, to govern.*—D. 105. ϩⲉⲙⲓ, ϩⲙ̀ⲙⲉ.
*to go out, quit.*—D. 105. ϩⲱⲙⲓ, ϩⲱⲙ.
*place.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre.

185. *hma. *linen, flax.*—M. C. xxxv. ⲙⲁϩⲓ, καννάβις, hemp.
*a lady, wife.*—M. C. xxix. 1.

186. hmka. *a dark stone or material.*—D. 370. (Hoskin's tomb, Thebes.)

187. *hms. *to sit.*—D. 106. ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ, ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ.

188. hmsa. *to strangle, bind.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre.

189. hna. *together with.*—G. ϩⲏⲛ, adjungi.

190. hnbi. *a fountain.*—D. 375. ϩⲟⲛⲃⲉ.

191. hni. *barge of Socharis.*—L. B. D. i. 1. 18.

192. *hn nu. *a duckling, young.*—M. C. B. M. sarc. 10.

193. *hnt. *a priest, sanctity.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre.

194. *hn-t. *a heron.*—M. C. ii.

195. hntr. *sanctity of a king.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre. ϩⲟⲛⲧ.

196. hp. *bird, duck.*—B. M. tab. ⲁⲡⲱⲓ.

197. *hp. *to judge, adjust.*—D. 273. ϩⲁⲡ.

198. *hpt. *to join, unite.*—S[i]. 256., G. 322. ϩⲱⲧⲡ.
*a measure.*—T[ex]. 373
*to offer.*—M. iv. cccxc. viii. ⲱⲧⲡ.

199. hr. *together with.*—D. 375.
*upon, above.*—D. 461. ϩⲣⲁⲓ.
*a path, to go.*—sarc. of Her in Louvre. ϩⲓⲣ.
*to terrify.*—D. 59. ϩⲉⲗⲓ.
*to appear.*—G. 386.

200. hri. *above.*—D. 461. ϩⲣⲁⲓ.
*a face.*—G. 468. ϩⲣⲁ.

201. hrr. *flower.*—D. 237. ϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ.
*food.*—D. 247. ϩⲣⲉ.

202. hrs. *a chair.*—B. M. rect. sarc.

203. *hs. *to sing, applaud.*—D. 371. ϩⲱⲥ.
*vex.*—L. B. D. xxi. 52. 53. ϩⲓⲥⲓ.

204. hska. *to cut in pieces.*—D. 371.

205. hs-mn. *natron.*—D. 371. ϩⲟⲥⲙ̀
206. *ht. *heart.*—see hat.
*a mace.*—S[i]. 218.
*to oppress.*—B. M. Rit. of Penma. ϩⲱϫ.
*white.*—P. S. 825. ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ.
*light.*—T[ex]. 316.
*silver.*—G. 89. ϩⲁⲧ.
*present.*—M. C[ul]. xlvi.
*a pool.*—B. M. tablet Jervis, L. B. D. vii. 17, 18.
*a tablet.*—E. H. xxxviii. ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ.
*the sea.*—M. iii. ccxxiv.
207. htb. *a libation, to pour out.*—G. 377., S[i]. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ.
*a pool.*—Leemans, xv. 57. B.
*the slain.*—E. H. 1. ϩⲱⲧⲉⲃ.
208. htr. *a horse.*—G. 426. ϩⲧⲱⲣ (plur.).
209. htra. same.—ibid.
210. hu. *to strike.*—M. C. xxvi. 3. ϩⲓ, ϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ.
*evil, sin.*—R. C. ii., M. R. lxxxi. ϩⲱⲟⲩ.
*cave, hill.*—Caill. Rech. pl. 37. ϩⲟⲓ, cave, hill.
*calf.*—B. M. Ptol. tab. 148. ⲉϩⲉ, bos.
211. huâ. *a rudder, transport.*—B. M. sepulchral fig. 68. 1. ϩⲓⲏ.
212. Hu-t. *good demon.*—G. 335. ϩⲓⲕ.

## I.

The Egyptian character employed as an I is often interchanged with U and A. Its composite nature seems to prove that it is posterior to them.

213. i, or a. *to come.*—D. 204. 205. ⲓ.
214. *ibt. (see abt.) *east.*—B. 332. ⲓⲉⲃⲧ.
215. ih. some plant.—T[ex]. 373.
216. *iri. *to do, to make.*—D. 66. ⲓⲣⲓ.
*the eye.*—see Plut. de Isid. and Osir. ὁ ἴρι = ὄφθαλμος. ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ.
*son.*—Mon. passim. ⲁⲗⲟⲩ.
217. *i-u. *ass.*—D. 104. ⲓⲱ.
*to come.*—H[ks]. T. R. I. A. 91.

218. iuṃa. *the sea, ocean.*—G. 98. ⲓⲟⲙⲁ. ים.

219. iuspu. *end.*—H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847.

## K.

This letter in Old Egyptian is occasionally interchanged with the T.

220. k. *thou, thee.*—see Grammar.

221. *ka *to offer, receive.*—D. 112. ⲕⲱ. ⲥⲓ.
*a bull, husband, male.*—D. 92., M. C. ii. pl. 76. ⲍⲁⲓ, a husband.
*a he-goat.*—D. 112. ⲕⲓⲏ, ⲥⲓⲉ.
*to rejoice.*—B. M. tab., G. 380.
*to set up.*—M. C$^{ul}$: xlix. ⲕⲱ, ⲕⲁ.
*seed.*—D. 451. ⲥⲟ, ϫⲟ,
*proclaim.*—M. S. l. 12., G. 506. ϫⲱ.
*under.*—L. B. D. viii. 17. 19. ϩⲣⲏⲓ, ⲍⲣⲁⲓ.
*type.*—R. S. L. Flam. obel. ⲕⲱ.

222. kâa. *floor.*—T. ii. 17. c. 2. 3., L. B. D. ⲕⲁⲓⲉ, ⲕⲟⲓ, ⲕⲁⲍⲓ, ⲕⲁⲍ. (cf. γῆ, gau.)
*to move.*—S$^{i}$. ϫⲟϯ.

223. kab. *to fold.*—L. B. D. ii. 3. 2. ⲕⲱϧ.
*refresh.*—L. B. D. ii. 2. 2. ⲕϧⲁ.

224. *kabh. *a libation.*—D. 451. ⲕⲁϧⲓ.

225. kabi. *a honeycomb.*—G. 76. ⲕⲉϧⲓ.

226. *kabsak. *some substance.*—B. M. tablet, Belmore, 18.

227. *kaf. *a part of throat.*—B. M. statue of Pech.t, 15.
*a monkey, ape.*—M. C. xxxi. 6. 7.

228. kah. *to touch.*—D. 451. ⲥⲟⲍ. ϫⲱⲍ.

229. kahu. *shoulder.*—G. 93. ⲕⲱⲓ.

230. *kahs. *a kind of gazelle.*—M. R. xxxviii. 1. ⲥⲁⲍⲥⲓ.

231. *kaka. *to eat, chew.*—B. M. bronze situlus. ⲟⲩⲟⲥ-ⲟⲩⲉⲥ.
*to cackle, make the noise of a goose.*—L. B. D. xxii. 54. 1. ⲕⲁⲕⲕⲁⲗⲗⲁⲩ, an owl.

232 *kam. *to delight, create.*—G. 348., L. B. D. vii. 17. 4. ⲥⲓⲗⲗⲉ.
*black.*—G. 320. ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲉ.

233. *kambt, or ka em net. *an anas, duck tribe.* — M. C. xii.

234. kan. *a breast.*—D. 452. ⲕⲉⲛ.
*angle:* as kan-aa, *elbow.* ⲕⲁⲛϩⲉ.

235. kan, kan nu. *victory.*—D. 451. 2. Com. ham.

236. kan-nu. *Coracias Graculus.*—M. C. viii. 8.

237. kan-rat. *knee.*—ⲥⲛⲟ.

238. kans. *entrails.*—mummy coffin d'Athanasi. ⲥⲟⲛⲧ.

239. kant. *anger.*—G. 374. ⲥⲱⲛⲧ. ϫⲱⲛⲧ.

240. *kapu. *bird of the heron kind.*—M. C. x. 12.

241. *kar. *below, beneath, with.*—D. 263, 264. ⲥⲣⲙⲓ, ϩⲣⲁⲓ.
*to fight.*—B. M. rit. ⲥⲱⲗ.
*to deceive.*—G. 384. ⲥⲟⲗ.
*an orbit.*—ⲥⲁⲗⲓⲗ, ϫⲁⲗⲓⲗ.

242. kara. *a funeral chest, sarcophagus.*—D. 485.
*a smith.*—B. M. tab. ⲥⲉⲣⲟ, accendere?

243. *karas. *a coffin, embalment.*—T^ex. 368. ii. iii. 358. ⲕⲟⲩⲗⲱⲗ, wrapped in bandages.
*a mummy.*—ibid. ⲥⲟⲗϩⲥ, ⲕⲱⲥ.

244. *kar-hu. *night.*—D. 260. ⲥⲱⲣϩ.

245. karnata. *pudendum, foreskin.*—T^ex. 368.

246. karr. *an orbit.*—D. 451. see kar.
*a furnace.*—G. 676. ϩⲣⲱ.

247. kas. *an embalment.*—M. C. T^es. 359. ⲕⲱⲥ.

248. *kat. *to build, construct in any way.*—D. 292., M. C. xli. xlvi. ⲕⲱⲧ.
*a throne, a seat.*—G. 373.

249. *kau. *animal of the ox or deer kind.*—M. R. xxxvii. 2.

250. kaχa. *orichalcum.*—L. B. D. lxxix. 12. ⲕⲁϫⲁ—ⲃⲉⲗ.

251. kf, kfa. *to hunt, chase, take prisoner.* —G. 506., D. 408. ⲕⲱⲱⲃⲉ.

252. ki. *another, likewise.*—G. 304. ⲕⲉ.
*to cut.*—B. M. sarc. 10. ϫⲓⲉⲓ.

253. kk, akk. *to work as a carpenter.*—ⲕⲉϩⲕⲱϩ. hence mnχ-akk. M. C. xliv.
*darkness.*—B. M. sarc. 70. ⲕⲁⲕⲉ.

254. kna. *bend, deflect.*—L. B. D. iv. 15. 6. ⲥⲛⲟ.
255. knau. *to be idle.*—G. 284. ⲥⲛⲁⲩ.
256. kns. variation of kans, *entrails*, which see.—236.
257. kp. *a fist.*—D. 409. ⲥⲟⲡ, planta pedis; ϣⲱϥⲉ, pugnus.
*palm of the hand.*—G. 93. ϣⲟⲡ.
258. krâχr. *calasiris.*—Pap. in Lady Tennyson's possession; another, B. M. καλασιρις, soldier. ⲕⲉⲗϣⲁⲣⲓ.
259. krχ. *a bowcase.*—M. t. iii. ccv.
260. ks. *that is to say.*—D. 409. ⲔⲁⲤ in ⲭⲉ-ⲔⲁⲤ.
*to entreat.*—B. M. sarc. 31. ⲭⲟⲤ.
261. ks-ks. *a dance.*—G. 534. ⲥⲟⲤⲥ̄Ⲥ̄.
262. ksm? *a kind of sceptre.*—M. C. lxxvii.

## M.

263. *m. *with, through, by, of, in, as.*—D. 9. ⲙ̀, ⲛ̀.
264. *ma. *truth, true.*—G. 116., D. 296. ⲙⲁⲉ, ⲙⲁⲏⲓ.
*flax.*—M. C[ul]. xliii. ⲙⲁⲁϩⲓ.
*place.*—G. 510. ⲙⲁⲁ.
*may*, præformant of optative.—see ma-i. M. C[ul]. vii. iii. p. 429.
265. maai. *substance.*—M. R. lvi. ⲙⲁⲁⲓⲏ.
266. maat. *cabin.*—L. B. D. iv. 15. 2.
267. maau. *a lion, to come.*—G. 184., G. 75., D. 388. ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲓ.
268. *mafk. *copper.*—D. 91.
*copper ore.*—L. A. ix.
269. mah. *a cubit.*—B. 54. C. ⲙⲁϩⲓ.
*a crown of flowers.*—B. 54. ⲙⲁϩⲉ.
*a wing.*—B. 54. ⲙⲉϩⲓ.
*north wind.*—B. M. tab. Belm. 7.
**water.*—Leemans, xiii. xiv. xvi.
**north.*—L. lettre, 4. B. ⲙⲉϩⲓⲧ.
*to fill.*—G. 459. ⲙⲉϩ.
270. maht. *some liquid material in a jar streaming like milk.*—P. S. 825. B. M.

*to agree, treat with.*—M. C. cxxx. iv., S[1]. D. 109. ⲙⲁϯ.

271. 'mai. *come*, præformant of optative, *may*.—G. 47. ⲙⲁ, give, do: ⲓⲧⲁ, come.

272. mak. *to rule*.—G. 350. ⲙⲁⲕ.
*a watch-tower*.—M. R. lx.

273. makataru. *a tower*.—Osburn, Testimony, p. 105., M. R. cxxxiii. ⲙⲉⲅⲧⲟⲗ.

274. *manχ. *counterpoise of a collar*.—M. C. xii. 12.

275. markabuta. *a chariot*.—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847, ii. 3. from מֶרְכָּבָה, st. estr. מִרְכֶּבֶת

276. mas. *a calf*.—ⲙⲁⲥ.
*to conduct along*.—T[ex]. pl. cxx.
*to hate*.—B. M. Pap. A[1]. 39. 3. see mst.

277. ma-ta. *a soldier*.—B. M. sepulchral cone. ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ, ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓ.

278. *mat-ht. *granite*.—T[ex]. M. S. iii. 167.
*an animal of the antelope kind*.—M. R. xxx. vii. 2. lxxiii. 10.

279. mati. *the nuque of the neck*.—D. 140. ⲙⲟϯ.

280. matn. *to render easy, facilitate*.—G. 107. ⲙⲟⲧⲛ.

281. matn nu. *road, path*.—G. 107. ⲙⲱⲧ.

282. ma-t-ra. *a witness*.—i. e. he who has beheld the sun. M. C. civ. ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ.

283. mau. *to gleam, splendour, intellect*.—G. 377. ⲙⲟⲩⲉ.

284. ma-u. *a mirror*.—her, i. e. a see-face. M. C.
*to see*.—G. 372. ⲙⲉⲩⲓ, ⲙⲉⲟⲩⲓ.
*to come*, præformant of optative.—D. 141.

285. maui. see 267.

286. maχa. *a balance, scale*.—L. B. D. i. 1. 16. ⲙⲁϣⲓ.

287. mh. *to fill*.—D. 365. ⲙⲟϩ.

288. mhi. *to draw water?*—B. M. tab. 147.

289. mht. *a buckle*.—M. C.

290. mhu. *game of the crown*.—M. C. ciii. ⲙⲉϩ.

291. mk. *to dance*.—M. C. ci. ⲙⲟϣⲓ.

292. mm. *the oblique flute*.—D. 141.

293. mn. *to place.*—D. 232. ⲥⲙⲛⲉ.
*a monument.*—D. 232. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛ.
*a vase, liquid measure.*—L. A. xiii. μνᾶ. ⲙⲛⲁ.
*a swallow.*—L. B. D. 85. ϧⲏⲙⲓ.
*a turtle dove.*—M. C. xii. 2.
*a black durite stone.*—M. S. t. iii. t. ii. 1. P. I. p. 46.
*fore arm.*—G. 93.: also mnmn. same.—T. ix. 17. 52.
*shin.*—G. 24.

294. *mna. *a nurse, wet-nurse, to nurse.*—D. 331. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲓ.
*a nurse's collar.*—G. 77.
*a shepherd.*—D. 231. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲓ.
*to tow,* or *warp, a boat; arrive.*—G. 372. in ⲙⲛⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲓ, the place of ships, i. e. port.
**to twine rope.*—M. C. lii. 9.

295. mnf, or mni. *a soldier.*—M. t. ii. ccxviii.

296. mnh. *plant of the Colchicum kind.*—G. 89.
*a mineral substance.*—L. B. D. iii. 2.

297. *mn-nfr. *a bracelet, anclet.*—M. C. lxxvi. 6.

298. mn-nu. *a rope.*—M. C. xlii. 3. ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛⲙⲉⲛ.

299. mnt. *a female breast.*—D. 231. ⲉⲙⲛⲧⲟⲧ.

300. *mnχ. *to form, make, things made.*—M. C. li., D. 234. ⲙⲛⲟⲩϫ, ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛϫ.

301. m[n]χ-t. *whilst.*—G. 459. ⲙⲉϥⲁϫ.

302. *mr. *to love.*—G. 431. ⲙⲉⲣⲉ, ⲙⲉⲓ.
*to bind.*—G. 385., M. C. cxxiv. ⲙⲟⲩⲣ.
*an island.*—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847. ⲙⲟⲩⲓ, ⲙⲟⲩ.
*a frontier.*—R. S. ⲙⲛⲣ.

303. mrh. *wax, salt?*—G. 65. ⲙⲟⲩⲗϩ, wax, salt.

304. mrs. *a beard.*—B. M. coffin of Ataineb. ⲙⲟⲣⲧ, ⲙⲁⲗⲧ.

305. mruri. *kind of bird.*—G. 86.

306. *ms. *to produce.*—D. 229. ⲙⲉⲥ.
*born.*—M. C. cix. ⲙⲉⲥ.
*pudendum feminæ.*—M. C[ul]. lviii. ⲙⲉⲥⲓⲱϯ.
*to conduct, escort.*—see ma. D. 140., M. C[ul]. xiii. ⲙⲟϥⲓ, go, constr. with præp. ⲛⲉⲙ, conduct.

307. mska. *a solid bracelet.*—L. A. x., A. G. 229. ⲙⲟϫϩ.
308. mss. *a strap.*—B. M. tabl. Bel. 15. ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲉⲣ, ⲙⲟⲩⲥ.
309. mst. *to hate.*—G. 229. ⲙⲟⲥϯ.
310. mstr. *ear.*—G. 92. ⲙⲁϣϫ, ⲙⲁⲁϫⲉ.
311. msuh. *a crocodile.*—D. 140. ⲙⲥⲁϩ, ⲙⲥⲟⲟϩ, plur.
312. *mu. *foreigner.*—M. C. c. ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ.
*mother.*—G. 104. ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, ⲙⲁⲩ.
*to die.*—B. M. sarc. 31. ⲙⲟⲩ, מוּת.
313. muau. *water.*—D. 140. ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, מַיִם from מַי.
314. mχt. *a kind of collar.*—M. C. lxxvii. ⲙⲟϫϩ, ⲙⲟϫϩ.
315. mχa. maχ. *an archer.*—D. 141. ⲙⲁϣⲉ.
*stalk of corn?*—L. B. D. xxxix. 109. 5.

## N.

316. *n. *of, to, for, with*, prefix of genitive and dative. —ⲛ̀.
317. *na. *the.* plur. demonst. pronoun.—see Grammar.
318. *naa. *great.*—G. 319. ⲛⲁⲁ.
319. nai. *the.*—plur. demonst. pronoun: see Grammar.
320. *nb. *lord.*—G. 318. ⲛⲃ.
*all.*—G. 318. ⲛⲓⲃⲓ, ⲛⲓⲙⲙⲉ.
*gold.*—see nmb. G. 89. ⲛⲟⲩⲃ.
*to swim.*—G. 376. ⲛⲉⲃⲓ.
321. *nbs. *the date palm.*—B. M. tab. A[1]. 17., M. C[ul]. x., L. A. ix. ⲛⲉⲃϯ, basketwork.
*dates.*—B. M. side of a tomb.
322. *nfr. *good.*—G. 319. ⲛⲟϥⲣⲓ.
323. nh, or nhai. *a sycomore.*—G. 88. ⲛⲟ̀ⲩϩⲓ, ⲛⲟⲩϩⲉ.
324. nhas. *to erect.*—ⲛⲉϩⲥⲓ, se erigere.
325. *nhb. *the neck.*—G. 93. ⲛⲁϩⲃ.
326. nhm. *to save.*—G. 380. ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙⲙ, ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙⲙ.
327. nhp. *to weep, deplore.*—G. 282. ⲛⲉϩⲡ.
*to make*, as a potter.—M. C. cxlviii.
328. *nhsi. *a revolter, a black, a negro.*—Cory. J. P. Inq. 12mo, Lond. 1837. ⲛⲉϩⲥⲓ.

329. nif. *breath, to blow.*—G. 374. ⲛⲓϥⲓ, ⲛⲓϥ.
330. nini. *to entreat.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus 10. ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲛ.
331. nk. *to fornicate.*—G. 282. ⲛⲱⲓⲕ.
*to thee, thou.*—ⲛⲁⲕ.
332. nkaka. *to cackle.*—L. B. D. xxxi. 82. 1.
333. *nkbt. *to wash gold.*—M. C. li. 4.
334. *nm. *use violence, ravish.*—G. 308.
*force.*—B. M. tab. A[i]. 5.-303. ⲛⲟⲙ-ϯ.
*water.*—B. M. alabaster pallet. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ.
*to take, direct.*—L. B. D. 147. 45., G. 290.
*gold.*—M. R. clxii. 4. ⲛⲟⲩⲃ.
335. *nn. *no, not.*—G. 519. ⲛ̀-ⲁⲛ.
*to be brilliant.*—M. C[ul]. xxx.
336. nn nu. *abyss of waters.*—M. C[ul]. xliii. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ.
337. npa, or npra. *corn, grain.*—T[ex]. 415., M. C[ul]. xlix. ⲛⲁⲫⲣⲓ.
338. nrau. *a vulture.*—L. B. D. 146. a. ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ, נֶשֶׁר.
*to vanquish.*—D. 162. 146. a.
339. ns. *behind.*—G. 497. ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ.
*to curse.*—B. M. sarc. 32. ⲛⲟϭⲛⲉϭ.
340. nsr. *victory.*—M. C[ul]. xviii. ⲛⲟϣⲉⲣ, vultur. (? נֵזֶר, diadema.) usr?, ssr?
*flame.*—M. R. xxxviii.
341. nsu. *behind.*—B. M. sarc. Am. 34. see ns.
342. *nt. *to avenge, support.*—T[ex]. 415.
*a shuttle.*—[in the name of Neith.] ⲛⲁⲧ. B. M. sepulchral vase.
*name of a tree.*—G. 88.
*to mill.*—M. C. lxxviii. 2. ⲛⲟⲩⲧ.
343. *ntr. *a god, goddess.*—G. 65. ⲛⲟⲩϯ.
*to make, fabricate.*—M. C. xxxiii. ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣ.
344. nts. *little?*—L. B. D. lviii. 141. 8.
345. nu. *hall, place.*—L. B. D. xix. 42. 2. ⲛⲁ, spatium.
346. nuh. *a rope.*—G. 77. ⲛⲟⲩϩ, ⲛⲟϩ.
347. nuhu. *kind of antelope.*—M. C. xviii.
348. nun. *to bear, bring.*—ⲉⲛ, ⲓⲛⲓ.
349. nu-nu. *light.*—B. M. fragment of sandstone.

350. *nχm. *green feldspar.*—G. 90.
*deck of a boat.*—S^h. 17. 4.
351. nχt. *lock of hair.*—L. B. D. iv. 2.
352. *nχt. *force, strong.*—G. 380. etc. ⲛⲟϭⲧⲉ, ⲛⲁϣϯ.
353. nϫni. *wicked?*—L. B. D. i. 1. 8.

## O.

The sounds under O, not an Egyptian letter, must be sought for under A and U.

## P.

354. p. *the*, masculine article.—D. 307., G. 373. ⲡⲓ, ⲡ.
355. p[e]. *the heaven.*—ⲡⲉ, ⲫⲉ.
356. pa. *the, this.*—G. 183. 119. ⲡⲁ.
*mankind.*—D. 308. 310.
*to fly.*—D. 311. ⲡⲉⲓ.
357. pai. *to fly.*—D. 309.
358. pa-pa. *to bear, give birth to.*—G. 368. ϥⲁⲓ, ϥⲓ.
359. ph-ti. *vigilant, foreseeing.*—T^ex. 275.
360. pn. *a rat.*—G. 107. ⲡⲓⲛ, ⲫⲓⲛ.
361. pna. *to invert, go down.*—L. B. D. xviii. 39. 2. ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ, ⲫⲱⲛϩ.
362. pnka. *to sprinkle.*—L. B. D. xxxvi. 17. ⲡⲛ̀ⲅ.
*to capture.*—early tablet, Louvre.
363. pn-nu. *a rat.*—G. 107. ⲡⲓⲛ, ⲫⲓⲛ.
364. †prtis. *Peritius.* Macedonian month.—D. 309.
365. *ps. *to cook.*—G. 318. ⲡⲓⲥⲉ, ⲫⲓⲥⲓ.
366. pst. *the back, the spine.*—G. 94.
*to shine.*—B. M. tab. 551.
367. pt. *a bow.*—G. 75. ⲡⲓⲧⲉ, ⲫⲓϯ.
*shaft of a column.*—S. P. xlix. 2. 2.
368. pti. *a foot.*—G. 95. ⲡⲁⲧ, ⲫⲁⲧ.
369. pt-pt. *to trample.*—D. 315. ⲡⲱⲧ, ⲫⲱⲧ.
*put to flight.*—D. 315. ⲡⲱⲧ, ⲫⲱⲧ.
370. ptr. *to appear?*—L. B. D. viii. xi. H^ks.
371. pts. *foot.*—L. B. D. x. 17. 85.
372. pu. *to be, the.*—G. 334., D. 310. ⲡⲉ.

373. pui. *the.*—G. 340., D. 310. ⲡⲁ.

374. pχ̀a. *a lioness.*—D. 313.
*gap.*—H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, 1. 43. 44. ⲡⲱϣ, ⲫⲱϣ, ⲡⲱϭⲉ, ⲫⲱϭⲓ.
*plank.*—ibid. 45. ⲡⲱϭⲉ.

375. pχr. *division, horizon.*—early tablet, Louvre. ⲡⲁϣⲉ, ⲫⲁϣⲓ.

376. pχt. *to extend.*—B. 311. ⲡⲱϣⲓ, ⲫⲱϣ.

377. pχ. *to extend.*—D. 313. ⲡⲱϣ.
*light, to lighten.*—L. B. D. P. 17.

## R.

378. r. *a fraction.*—D. 77. ⲣⲉ.

379. *r. *a kind of duck.*—D. 77. ⲣⲉ.
*a mouth.*—D. 76. ⲣⲟ, ⲣⲱ, ⲗⲟ, ⲗⲁ.
*a chapter.*—L. B. D. i. ⲣⲟ.
*to be, there is, it is.*—ⲣ, ⲉⲣ, ⲉⲗ. D. 75. see Grammar.
*to, towards, for, by, in, of.*—D. 75. ⲉ-ⲣⲟ, ⲉ-ⲣⲁ, ⲉ-ⲗⲁ.

380. *ra. *the sun.*—D. 75. ⲣⲏ.
*day.*—B. M. back of statue.
*a door.*—B. M. sepulchral figure. ⲣⲟ, ⲣⲁ.
*to receive.*—L. A. ix. ⲉⲗ.
*cell, mansion, prison.*—M. R. ⲣⲓ.

381. *rabu. *a lion.*—G. 83. ⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ.

382. *ramaχ. *a monoceros.*—M. C. ix. רם, a unicorn.

383. ran. *to please.*—D. 77. 78. ⲣⲁⲛ.

384. rf.rf. *an insect, a worm.*—D. 77. ⲗⲟϥⲗⲉϥ, to corrupt.

385. rhi. *a garden, a plantation.*—B. M. tab. ⲗⲉϩⲗⲱϩ.
*an evening.*—H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847. ⲣⲟϫϩⲓ, ⲗⲟϫϩⲓ.

386. rk. *to incline.*—M. R. cli., L. B. D. xv. 27. 5. ⲣⲓⲕⲓ, ⲣⲉⲕ, ⲗⲓⲕⲓ.

387. rka. *impudent.*—G. 204. ⲗⲁϭ, ⲗⲁϫⲓ.

388. rkh. *to burn, heat, a brazier.*—D. 81, 82. ⲣⲱⲕϩ, ⲗⲱⲕϩ.

389. *rm. *to weep, weeping.*—D. 87., M. 1. pl. lxxxix. ⲡⲓⲣⲣⲓ, ⲗⲓⲣⲣⲓ.
*a kind of fish, ray.*—G. 74. ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲓ. Ἀβραμις.
390. *rn. *name, to name.*—D. 74. 5. ⲣⲁⲛ, ⲣⲉⲛ, ⲗⲉⲛ.
391. rnn. *to dandle.*—D. 82.
392. rnnu. *to call by name.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus, 10.
393. rnpa. *youth.*—D. 82.
*young, to renew.*—D. 82. (? ⲡⲟⲣⲣⲡⲓ, ⲡⲟⲣⲣⲡⲓ, ⲗⲁⲣⲣⲡⲓ, year.)
*a flower.*—B. M. tab.
394. rp. *name of an animal.*—A[1]. tab. 57.
395. *rpa. *one of a class, set over.*—early monuments passim. ⲣⲉϥ, ⲗⲉϥ.
396. rr. *a child.*—D. 73. ⲗⲓⲗⲟϩ, child; ⲁⲗⲗⲟϩ, pupil of the eye.
*to suckle.*—D. 73. ⲗⲓⲗⲟϩ?
397. rra. *a hog.*—D. 73. ⲡⲓⲡ.
*a kind of snake.*—L. B. D. xvii. 33. 2.
398. rrk. *kind of insect, centipede.*—B. M. Pap. Burton.
399. rs. *to suspend, hang, bow.*—D. 81., B. M. sarc. 86.
400. *rt. *race, men, mankind.*—D. 81. ⲡⲱϯ.
*foot.*—D. 77. ⲣⲁϯ, ⲗⲉϯ.
*seed, to sow.*—Leeman, 58. F.
*sandstone.*—D. 77.
*sculpture.*—H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847. ⲣⲏϯ, forma, modus.
401. rta. *to place, in order, when.*—M. t. ii. clxix., D. 82.
402. rtb. *to beseech.*—P. A[1]. B. M.
403. *ru. *a door.*—G. 80., M. C. 1. ⲡⲱ.
404. ruma. *man.*—B. M. tab. p. n. m. ⲡⲱⲣⲣⲓ, ⲗⲱⲣⲣⲓ.
405. rut. *to renew.*—L. B. D. xxii. 51. 56. 2., B. M. coffin, 32. ⲡⲱϯ.
*sandstone.*—D. 77.
406. rutn. *to attack.*—D. 77.
407. ruχau. *a heron, Ardea Nycticorax.*—M. C. ix. 10.
408. rχ. *to speak, declare, acquaint.*—L. B. D. xlvi. 125. 1. et seq. ⲡⲱⲟϩϫ.
*pure.*—G. 80.

*to full, a fuller.*—M. cxlii. 2. ⲣⲁϫⲓ, ⲡⲱϫⲉ.
*to wash.*—D. 79. ⲣⲁϫⲓ, ⲡⲱϫⲉ.
*a dream?*—B. M. obelisk of Amyrtæus. ⲣⲁ-ⲥⲟⲛ, ⲣⲁⲥⲟϯ.
*a cousin, a relative.*—early monuments, passim. Suten rχ, *συγγένης βασιλέως*.

409. *rχ. *delight, pleasure, to delight.*—G. 320. ⲣⲁⲭⲓ.

## S.

410. *s. *she, her, it.*—D. 395. C.
*a kind of duck.*—M. C. xii. 7.
*a son.*—G. ϣⲉ, in compos.
*a person.*—G. ⲥⲁ.

411. sa. *to drag.*—L. A. X. A.
*side.*—A^rch. xix. ⲥⲁ.

412. saah. *assembly.*—M. C. xxiv. ⲥⲱⲟϯϩ.

413. *sab. *a jackal.*—M. C. xx. 4.
*a magus, counsellor.*—B. M. sarc. 32. ⲥⲁϐⲉ.
*a flute.*—M. C. lxxvii. 5. ⲥⲏϐⲓ.
*an ox.*—D. 388. ⲥⲟϯϐⲉ.

414. *sabu. *a finch.*—M. C. xi.

415. sabχ. *to hurl.*—L. B. D. vi. 15. 29.

416. sak. *mystic animal, chimæra.*—M. C. xxiii. 4.
*to bind.*—L. B. D. xxiv. 64. 17.

417. sapi. *to form, mould, create.*—M. C^ul. xlviii.

418. sau. *to drink.*—G. 376. ⲥⲱ.

419. *sb. *a wall.*—D. 198.
*a star.*—G. 76. ⲥⲓⲟϯ,
*a flute.*—M. C. iii. ⲥⲏϐⲓ.
*a gate.*—M. C^ul. xxvii. ⲥϐⲉ.
*the wicked.*—M. C^ul. xxx. ⲥⲱϥ.
*to adore.*—S. P. pl. x. xii. ⲥⲱⲡⲥ.

420. *sba. *wicked.*—D. 314. ⲥⲱϥ.
*a flute.*—M. C. iii. 3. ⲥⲏϐⲓ.

421. *sbhu. *kind of bird.*—D. 384.

422. *sbk. *a crocodile.*—G.
*to subdue.*—G. 279. see sfχ.

423. sf. *yesterday.*—G. 97. ⲥⲁϥ.
*a sword, to cut the throat.*—E. H. ⲥϩϥⲓ, ⲥϩⲃⲓ.
424. *sfr. *mystic animal, gryphon.*—M. C. xxiii. 5.
425. sf-t. *pitch, bitumen.*—B. M. sarc. Munthept. $s^h$. 108. 2. ⲥⲓϥⲓ, ⲥⲓⲃⲉ.
*to cut, slaughter.*—M. C. lxxxiii. 4. ⲥⲉⲃⲓ.
426. sfχ. *seven.*—G. 211. ⲥⲁϣϥ, ϣⲁϣϥ.
*to overthrow, ruin, capture.*—M. C. xxvi. ⲥⲃⲟⲕ.
*impure garments?*—Neg. Conf. R. C.
427. s-haa. *a stand for vases.*—M. clxxxi.
428. *shh. *bird, Porphyrio hyacinthinus.*—M. C. ix. 8.
429. *s-hm. *to pound grain.*—M. C. lxvii. 3.
430. *sk. *to molest.*—M. cccliii. ⲥⲁⲕ.
*a cabin.*—M. C. cxxxviii., M. $C^{ul}$. cliv. 4., L. B. D. lii. 130. 2.
431. *s-ka. *to plough.*—M. C. xxxii. 7. ⲥⲕⲁⲓ.
*to scrape.*—G. 382.
*play the harp.*—D. 393.
*to bind.*—L. B. D. xv. 31. 10.
432. skar. *to cut, soothe.*—B. M. tab. 147. ⲥϭⲣⲁϫⲧ.
*to break in pieces.*—G. 386. ⲥⲓⲕⲓ.
433. sm. *an instrument.*—M. C. cxxxv.
*to gather.*—$s^h$. 106. 5.
*fodder.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrt. 10., $s^h$. 28. ⲥⲓⲗⲗ.
*to traverse.*—L. B. D. lviii. 141. 5. ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲓ, intercedere.
434. sma. *to tame, subdue.*—M. R. lx. ⲥⲟⲗⲗ.
*to rule, command.*
*to smite.*—M. C. lxxxi. ϣⲙⲁ.
435. smi. *a flyflap.*—$s^h$.
436. *smn. *to set up.*—ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲙⲓ.
*prepare, lay out.*—M. C. xli. 3. ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲙⲓ.
*a goose.*—M. C. xii. 3. ⲥⲗⲗⲟϭⲙⲉ?
437. sm-s. *preferred, minister.*—L. B. D. iii. 10. 1. ϣⲉⲗⲗ-ϣⲓ.
438. sm-sm. *minister.*—L. B. D. vi. 15. 46. ϣⲁⲗⲗϣⲉ.
439. *smt. *stibium.*—B. M. early tomb, 157. see stm.

440. sn. *they, their.*—see Grammar, 277. ⲥⲟⲩ, ⲉⲩ.
*the hair.*—D. 393.
*to pass, traverse.*—G. 383. ⲥⲓⲛⲓ, ⲥⲉⲛ.

441. *sna. *to bend.*—D. 392, 393. ϭⲛⲟ, in composition.
*elbow.*—G. 67. ϭⲛⲁϩ, ϫⲛⲁϩ.
*knee.*—G. 383. see sna, bend.
*to turn away.*—ⲥⲓⲛⲓ, ⲥⲉⲛ.
*brother, sister.*—ⲥⲟⲛ.
*to breathe, scent.*—M. cxx. 4.

442. snaa. *to polish.*—M. C. xli. 2. ϭⲏⲛ, ϫⲏⲛ, lævis.

443. snb. *authority.*—M. C^ul. xli.

444. snf. *blood.*—G. 99. ⲥⲛⲟϥ.

445. snh. *to bind.*—G. 401. ⲥⲱⲛϩ, ϭⲱⲛϩ.

446. snk. *to lighten.*—B. M. Rit. Burt.

447. snkaus. *to nourish.*—G. 282. ⲥⲉⲛⲕ, ⲥⲁⲛϣ, ϣⲁⲛϣ.

448. *snm. *to chew, devour.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrt. 10., S^h. 28., M. iv. clxx.

449. *sn-nu. *sacred cakes.*—D. 402.
*to search, fish.*—M. C. xxiv. 3.
*curl.*—L. B. D. iv. 13. 2. ⲕⲛⲁ.

450. *sns. *to give breath to.*—L. B. D. lii. 130. 2. 3.
*to adore.*—E. S. B. M. sarc. of queen of Amasis, 31. ⲥⲛⲁⲧ.

451. sns-hu. same.—B. M. rect. sarc. ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ.

452. snsn. *to deprecate.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrt. 10. ⲥⲏⲛⲥⲛ̀ϯ.
*a kind of heron.*—D. 393.
*to sue.*—G. 295. see snsn.

453. *snt. *a cake.*—B. M. tab. 106. 122.
*a kind of cake.*—B. M. intercol. plinth.
*to found.*—S^i. 42., G. 402. 70. 1. ⲥⲉⲛϯ.

454. *snti. *sindon, flax.*—B. M. statue of Pech. t. ϣⲉⲛⲧⲱ.
*a shenti,* shirt for loins.—B. M. rect. sarc. ϣⲉⲛⲧ.

455. *sntr. *incense.*—B. M. early tomb. 157. ⲥⲟⲛϯ.

456. snχn. *to nourish.*—G. 374. ⲥⲁⲛϣ, ϣⲁⲛϣ.

457. *sp. *a time.*—G. 506. ⲥⲟⲡ.
*to leap.*—B. M. sarc. 3. ϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ.

458. *sph. *ribs.*—B. M. R. S.

459. *spir. *the side, to come to the side of.*—E. H. xxxi. спір, сфір.

460. spt. *lips.*—G. 79. спо̀тот, сфотот.

461. *sr. *a camelopard.*—B. M. rit. Burt., M. t. i. xxxv.
*a sheep.*—G. 253., M. C$^{ul}$. xliii. есшот.
*a spike.*—L. A. xxi. сотрі.
**a species of duck.*—B. M. rect. sarc. ϭрн.
*fire.*—S$^{l}$. 153. сєλϩс, hot.
*to distribute.*—L. lettre. сшр.
*an arrow.*—G. 76. сотрі, сотре, сар.
*a chief, a noble.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xxiii. סָרִים סָרָן.
*to drink.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xxiv. сш with ре intens.
*a flabellum.*—D. 395. сато.
*cheese?*—B. M. rect. sarc. саєір.

462. srk. *a scorpion.*—D. 395., Leeds mummy. ϭλн, ϭλак.
*to breathe, scent, supply.*—B. M. statue of P. Anebta, L. A.

463. srta. *to chisel.*—M. C. слахλєх, ϭортє.

464. ss. *a kind of wood.*—L. A. xii. 32.
*eight.*—L. B. D. xxiv. 64. 31.

465. s-sat. *to be idle.*—G. 369.

466. ss-i. *flame.*—S$^{l}$. E. 152. сатє.

467. ssm. *a mare.*—G. 268. 286. סוּס.
*a wood, sesamum?*—L. tab. xiv.
*to scent, breathe.*—S$^{h}$. 108. 5.
*emerald?*—Hoskin's Ethiopia.

468. ss-pu. *jasper.*—G. 100.

469. ssr. *victory.*—see 340.

470. s-sr. *to breathe.*—L. A. xi.

471. *st. *odour.*—G. 61. стоі.
*a rock.*—M. H. xxxi. 2.
*addle.*—L. B. D. xxxii. 9. ϣотіт.
*land.*—B. M. 571.
*to extend.*—O. 396. сшт.
*Seth, Typhon, ass.*—M. Cul. xli. снх.

*the Anas acuta.*—M. C. xii. 8.

*arrow.*—COTE.

*flame.*—D. 391., G. 126. CATE.

*ray, sunbeam.*—T$^{es}$. tom. iii. 357. CATE.

472. *sta. *a skein of thread.*—G. 374. CAT.

*to sew.*—ibid. CAT, COTE.

*to tow a boat.*—G. 375.

*coitus*, or *a gazelle.*—M. C. xix. 9.

*a mystic animal.*—M. C. xxiii. 2.

473. st-aχmu. *a bat.*—M. C. xiv. 2.

474. sth. *Cursorius Isabellinus.*—M. C. ix. 1.

475. stkn. *to conduct, accompany?*—sarc. of Tether in Louvre.

476. *stm. *stibium.*—D. 384. CTHAA, COHAA.

*grand priest.*—D. 391.

477. stp. *approved, tried, select.*—M. C. lxxxiv. CWTП.

478. s-tr. *to deposit on a bier.*—B. M. tab. XALO.

479. stut. *to tremble.*—G. 365. CTWT.

480. stχa. *woven things.*—B. M. early tomb, 157.

481. su. *he, him, it.*—see Grammar.

482. sua. *the south.*— see sur.

*a priestess.*—coffin of Her in the Louvre.

*come along.*—S$^{h}$. 82. 5. ЏEI, ЏH, Џ€.

483. suaχ. *to glorify.*—G. 387. ЏOTЏOT.

484. suh. *an egg.*—G. 74. CWOTϨI.

*nails.*—coff. d'Athanasi.

485. sun-t. *a king.*— see suten infra (?). D. 220.

486. sunχ. *to nurse.*—D. 223. CANЏ, ЏANЏ.

487. sur. *south.*—P. 218. PHC.

488. suru. *a bombicillo.*—M. C. viii. 7.

489. sutn. *a king.*[2]—COTTWП.

490. sut-ut. *to extend.*—B. M. coffin. CWT. Eg. Redupl.

491. sχ. *to cut.*—B. M. sandstone sarc. CAЏ, ЏAЏ.

492. sχa. *to write.*—D. 386. CϬAI, CϨAI.

*paint.*—D. 386. CϬAI, CϨAI.

*to make.*—M. C. li. 4. ЏAI, ЏA, oriri.

*a finch.*—M. C. ix. 6.

493. s-χar. *to make.*—M. C. lxvi.

494. s-χat. *a hare.*—M. C. XX. 2. ⲥⲁⲣⲁ-ϭⲱⲟⲩⲩ.
495. s-χb. *goading.*—(over two men goading bulls.) M. pl. CCCXXX. 3.
496. s-χbt. *enamel, electrum, tin?*—D. 389.
497. sχin. *a lotus.*—D. 392. ⲥⲱⲥⲩⲉⲛ.
498. s-χm. *to shut.*—shrewmouse, B. M. ⲥⲩⲧⲁⲗⲗ.
*the breast.*—B. M. rect. sarc.
499. sχnt. *a tunic.*—rect. sarc. shenti, ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲱ.
500. s-χp. *to bear off.*—B. M. side of a tomb.
501. s-χr. *to overthrow.*—D. 389.
*a section.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus, 10.
502. s-χt. *a net, to net.*—G. 373.
*to capsise, invert.*—P. 35. 4. ⲥⲱⲩⲧ.
503. sχu. *a stick, kind of mace.*—M. C. lxxvi. 4.
504. sχχ. *sistrum, to play the sistrum.*—G. 77.
505. sχχm. *to rejoice.*—D. 189.
506. s-χ. *to shut, bolt.*—P. 397., M. C[ul]. lxiii.
*a nest.*—L. B. D. XXXii. 85. 9.
507. s-χm. *shrine.*—L. B. D. i. T. 1. 7. ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲗⲗ.

## T.

508. t. *thou, thee,* fem. affix. article.—†, ⲧⲉ.
*to escort.*—M. C. c.
509. *ta. *to give.*—D. 360. †, ⲧⲁⲓ.
*the,* demonst. pronoun fem.—G. 490. ⲧⲁⲓ.
*kind of crane.*—Memphite tomb.
*to go by boat.*—D. 181., M. C[ul]. xliii. ϫⲟⲓ.
*to carry.*—L. B. D. xlvii. 125. 6. 17. ϫⲟⲟⲧ.
510. taba. (over a man holding two needles.)—M. C. ciii. 6.
511. takai. *the adherer, a bat.*—M. C. xiv. 4. ⲧⲱϭ.
512. ttâm. *kukufa sceptre, power.*—G. 77. ϫⲟⲗⲗ.
513. tar. *to grow, time.*—L. B. D. xlvi. 125. 10.
514. tat. *olive.*—S[1]. B. 45. ϫⲱⲓⲧ. זית
*oil.*—see tt.
515. taχ. *the frontier.*—T[ex]. iii. pl. i. 263., M. R. cxi. ⲧⲱϥ.

516. tb. *a brick.*—M. C. iii. 254. ⲧⲱⲃⲓ.
*a finger.*—G. ⲧⲏⲃⲉ, ⲧⲏⲃ.
*a prætorium.*—S$^{h}$. 87. ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲣ. דְּבִיר
*a kind of vase* (*silver vases*).—B. M. tab. ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲓ.

517. *tba. *a chest.*—M. C. cxxviii. 1. ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲓ, cf. ⲟⲃⲁⲓ.
*a wrap.*—B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus, 10.
*a sarcophagus.*—T$^{ex}$. 419-421., S$^{i}$. B. 60. ⲧⲏⲃⲉ.

518. tb-h. *a measure, weight, signet.*—L. B. D. xlvi. 125. 8 ⲧⲱⲃ, ⲧⲃⲃⲉ.
*a prayer.*—L. B. D. i. 19. ii. 1. ⲧⲱⲃϩ.

519. tb-tb. *to prostrate.*—M. R. xcv. ⲟⲃⲃⲓⲟ, ⲟⲉⲃⲓⲟ.

520. tb-ti. *sandals.*—D. 94. ⲧⲱⲟⲧⲉ.
*a prayer.*—L. B. D. i. 19. ⲧⲱⲃϩ.

521. *tf. *father*—G. 487. (ⲓⲱⲧ. metathesis.)
*to hoe.*—M. C. xxxii.
*kuphi, perfume.*—S$^{i}$. 33., T$^{ex}$. 222. 4., G. 166.

522. tf-tf. *to drip.*—D. 96. ⲟⲟϥⲧⲉϥ.

523. th. *latchet of a sandal.*—M. C. lxiv. 4. ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ.

524. tha. *straw.*—D. 96. ⲧⲟϩ.
*to reel, be drunk, clip.*—D. 448. ⲧⲁϩⲉ.

525. thni. *forehead.*—D. 95. ⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ.
*to bow the forehead.*—E. S. 31.

526. ths. *to grease* (*leather*).—M. C$^{ul}$. liv. 4. ⲧⲱϩⲥ.

527. th th, or thti. *lead.*—D. 97., M. C. iii. 300. ⲧⲁϩⲟ.

528. *thu. *a table.*—tab. Ath. 436. ⲧⲁϩⲟ.

529. thun. *to rise up.*—D. 96. ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ.

530. ti. see atu. *a chief.*—D. 289. ⲧⲁⲓⲟ.

531. tka. *flour.*—L. B. D. lxi. 14. 4. F. 29. ⲧⲱϭ.
*a spark.*—G. 116. ⲧⲓⲕ, ⲑⲓⲕ.
*to adhere.*—L. B. D. iv. 25. ⲧⲱϭ.

532. *tkai. *kind of bird.*—G. 86.

533. *tka-r. *to join or twist cords.*—D. 395. M. C. xli. 3 ⲧⲱϭ.

534. *tm. *no, not.*—D. 96. 113. ⲧⲙⲙ.
*the Recurvirostra Avocetta.*—M. C. x. 8.
*to transport.*—L. B. D. ii. 1. 1.

535. tma. *to separate, distinguish.*—D. 95. ⲧⲱⲙ.
*scarify, subdue.*—M. R. xl. 1. ⲧⲉⲙⲧⲉⲙ.

536. tmat. *to stupefy.*—D. 95. ⲧⲱⲙⲧ.

537. *tms. *a kind of bird.*—G. 86.

538. tn. tn-rat, "bow-legged," applied to a bandy-legged dwarf.—M. C. xciv. ϫⲛⲉ-ⲣⲁⲧ.
*conduct.*—L. B. D. ii. 6. 3. ⲧⲛⲛⲉⲩ.

539. *tna. *a half.*—S[1]., B. M. early tomb.

540. tnh. *a wing.*—D. 94. ⲧⲛϩ.

541. tn-nu. *to elevate, rise up.*—D. 96. 333. ⲧⲱⲛ.
*to send.*—S[1]. 229. 230. ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ.
*to conduct.*—S[1]. 229, 230. ⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ.
*a chest.*—E. H. lvi.

542. tnru. *to break, smash.*—B. M. statue Sethos II. 25., M. cccxviii. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟ, ⲟⲛⲟ with po intens.

543. *tnt. *Charadrius armatus.*—M. C. ix. 11., G. 86.

544. tn-tn. *to revolt, pride.*—D. 97. ⲧⲱⲛ.

545. tp. *to taste, cakes.*—D., B. M. statue B. 71. ⲧⲱⲡ, ϯⲡ, ϯⲡⲉ.
*to guess.*—M. C. liii. 10. ⲧⲃⲧⲱⲃ.

546. tpak. *a sail.*—S[h]. 106. 7. 9.
*a kind of bull?*—L. A. xi.

547. tpḫ. *cavern.*—L. B. D. i. 1. 6. ⲟⲃⲁⲓ.

548. tpp. *to taste.*—Ros. iii. 359. ⲧⲱⲡ.

549. tpt. *a boat, hull.*—L. B. D. T. ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲓ.
*a cake.*—early tomb, Berlin.

550. tr. *to transfix, bruise.*—D. 94. ⲧⲱⲣ.
*rub.*—B. M. kohl case.
*time.*—L. B. D. xlvi. 125. 10.
*path?*—L. B. D. xxvi. 69. 1.
*increase.*—L. B. D. 125. A.
*to make, fabricate.*—M. C. lxxiii. 4., M. R. cxiii. ⲧⲣⲉ, ⲟⲣⲉ.
*shoot.*—L. B. D. xlvii. 125. 6. 29. ⲧⲁⲣ.
*whilst, to be.*—L. B. D. xlii. 3. 2.

551. trf. *to dance.*—M. C. c. ci. ⲧⲃⲏⲣ.

552. trp. *a wild duck.*—D. 94.

553. ts. *to distinguish.*—sarc. of Tether in Louvre.
*to suspend, sling, lead along.*—D. 322., Sh. 83. ⲧⲱϭ.
*self.*—Hks. R. I. A. 1847.

554. tsm. *a male cat?*—G. 312., Sh. 87.

555. tsnu. *slice, cut.*—L. B. D. xxiii. 59. 5.

556. tt. *oil.*—E. S. B. M. tab. 100. ϫⲱⲓⲧ.
*a hand.*—D. 97. ⲧⲟⲧ.
*papyrus.*—early Memphite tomb, copied by Mr. Bonomi.
*to speak.*—E. H. xxxiii. ϫⲱ, ϫⲉ.
*to establish.*—rect. sarc., D. 261. ⲧⲱⲩ.

557. *tta. *eternal.*—Rosetta stone, last line. ⲧⲕⲁ.

558. ttfi. *a reptile.*—D. 86. ϭⲁⲧϥⲓ, ϫⲁⲧϥⲉ.

559. tts. *lord, exalted.*—M. iv. cclxxxviii. ccc. ϭⲟⲓⲥ, ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.

560. tu. *to pollute.*—D. 96. 113. ⲧⲟⲉ, ⲑⲟⲓ.
*a command.*—D. 378. ⲧⲁϣⲟ.
*name of a region, a hill.*—E. H.

561. tua. *to worship.*—sarc. of Amasis, B. M. 33. ⲧⲁⲓⲟ, ϯⲉⲱⲟϣ.

562. tuaua. *to slaughter.*—Neg. Conf. R. C.

563. tuaut. *green colour?*—B. M. alabaster pallet.

564. tum. *to place.*—M. C. ϯⲙⲙⲁ.

565. tut. *a statue.*—G. 320. ⲑⲱⲟϣⲧ.
*some part of body.*—rect. sarc. B. M.

566. tu-tu. *pollute.*—D. 90. 113. ⲧⲟⲉⲧⲟⲉ, ⲑⲟⲓⲑⲟⲓ.

567. *tχ *a weight.*—B. M. rit. Burt., Sh. 82. ⲑⲱⲩ.
*to disturb.*—Tex. 222. ⲧⲱϩ, ⲑⲟϩ.
*appoint.*—L. B. D. ii. 2. 2. ⲧⲱⲩ, ⲑⲱⲩ.

568. tχa. *a fort.*—D. 97. ⲧⲟⲩ.

569. tχn. *an obelisk.*—B. M. obelisk of Amyrtæus, M. Cul. xxix. 2., S. P. xlix. 3. xxv. 9.

570. tχr. *red.*—D. 97. ⲧⲱⲣⲩ, ⲑⲱⲣⲩ, ⲑⲣⲟⲩ.
*red crown.*—D. 96.

571. tχ-tχ. *to order.*—L. B. D. xxviii. 78. 1. ⲧⲱⲩ, ⲑⲱⲩ.

## U.

572. *u. *to come.*—see iu.
*I, me.*—L. B. D. vii. 17. 1.
*to collect, unite, approach.*—G. 383. ⲟⲩⲱϩ.
573. *ua. *long, length, distance.*—G. 305. ⲟⲩⲉ.
*a sacred boat.*—G. 75. ⲃⲁ in ⲃⲁⲣⲓ, which is a contraction of ⲃⲁ-ⲉⲛ-ⲣⲁ.
574. *uab. *pure.*—D. 420. ⲟⲩⲁⲃ.
*priest.*—G. 18. ⲟⲩⲉⲃ, ⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ.
575. *ubn. *light.*—D. 364. ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲛ.
*a kind of game.*—M. C. civ. 5.
576. ubt. *boiling.*—B. M. Papyrus of Esiemhebi.
577. ufa. *to chastise.*—Ch. Panth. Eg. ⲱϥⲉ.
578. uha. *to stretch.*—M. C. xlii. ⲟⲩⲉⲓ.
579. uhar. *a dog.*—G. 129. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ.
580. ui. *light.*—B. M. coffin of Anch.
581. ukar. *a part of time.*—Kpo, finis.
582. *'un. ‡ *to shine.*—G. 37., D. 125. ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲛ.
*light.*—B. M. coffin of Anch.
*to open.*—120. ⲟⲩⲱⲛ, ⲟⲩⲉⲛ.
*an hour.*—D.126. 196, 197. ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩ.
*to be, being.*—D. 125. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, ⲟⲩⲛ̄, ⲟⲩⲛ.
*a duckling.*—M. C.
*to be* (in a bad sense).—D. 125.
*to appear.*—B. M. sarc. of queen of Amasis, 34. ⲛⲟⲩⲱϩ.
583. *'un-nu. *an hour.*—G. 96. ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ.
*young.*—νεός. Mr. Banks's obelisk, L. A. xvii.
584. *'unun. *name of a bird.*—M. C., D. 217
585. 'unχ. *a strap, girdle.*—B. M. rect. sarc.
586. 'unϫ. *a wolf.*—D. 125. ⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ.
587. *'ur. *elder.*—G. 200. ⲁⲥ, ϩⲉⲗⲗⲟ.
*a crown.*—rect. sarc., D. 151.

‡ It is doubtful whether the power of the supposed *u* of the words beginning with *'u* does not rather represent the *h*.

588. ʿurr. *a crown.*—D. 151. ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲥ.

589. ʿurri. *war chariot.*—D. 151. ⲃⲁⲣⲁⲍⲉ.

590.* ʿurs. *a pillow.*—D. 151.

591. ʿurt. *placable, meek.*—L. B. D. i. 1. 2. ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ.

592. *us. *to saw.*—T^es. ii. 36., M. C. xliii. 2. cv. ⲟⲩⲁⲥ, ⲃⲁⲥ.

593. *usb. *to stack corn.*—M. C. XXXV. 1.

594. ust. *to eat?*—E. S. B. M. 131.

595. usχ. *large, broad.*—G. 439. ⲟⲩⲱϣⲥ.
*a saloon.*—G. 228.
*boats of burthen, holds.*—M. C. cxvi.
*a collar.*—D. 364. ⲍⲱⲥ.
*to mow.*—see asχ. S^l. F. 187.

596. ʿut. *to glow.*—E. S. B. M. sarc. Am. 10. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲍ?, ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ?
*light.*—E. S. 131.

597. uta. *to go out.*—G. 383.
*to divide.*—L. B. D. i. 1. ⲟⲩⲱⲧ.

598. utau. *a pectoral plate.*—G. 77.
*a kind of crane.*—Memphite tomb.
*the symbolical eye of the sun.*—L. B. D. 140.

599. ʿutb. *to pour out.*—L. B. D. ii. 6. 3. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ, ⲟⲩⲉⲧϥ.

600. utn-nu. *libation.*—G. 108. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲛⲛ.

601. uts. *to sustain, try, examine.*—210. B. M. coffin of Petharubχ B. M. ⲃⲱⲧⲥ, ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲥ?

602. uχ. *pure, illumined.*—B. M. Pap. Burt. ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ.

603. uχa. *to eat.*—B. M. side of a tomb, 541. ⲟⲩⲱϣⲉ.
*to invoke.*—L. B. D. xvii. 33. 2. ⲱϣ, ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ.
*night.*—G. 148. ⲟⲩϣⲏ.

604. uχau. *darkness.*—B. M. rit. of Nebseni. see uχa.

605. uχb. *to answer.*—G. 378. 371. ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ.

606. uχm. *ear of grain?*—M. C^ul. XXX. xliii. ⲟⲩⲱϣⲙ flour.

## χ.

Pronounced as the guttural *k'h*, or as *ch* in *loch*.

607. *χa *an altar.*—B. M. tab. A[1]. 54. ϣⲏⲟⲩⲓ.
*like, to resemble.*—G. 479.
*a body.*—tab. A[1]. 56.
*to measure.*—Memphite tomb. ϣⲓ.
*a thousand, many.*—ϣⲟ.

608. χaa *born, to exist.*—ϣⲁ, ϣⲁⲓ.

609. χab. *hypocrite, cheat.*—G. 384. ϣⲟⲃⲓ.

610. †χab. *a star.*—B. M. coffin Vyse, 3. ⲥⲓⲟⲩ.

611. *χabsm. *name of a spotted dog.*—M. C. xvi.

612. χabu. *to mow.*—G. 77.

613. *χai. *a cat.*—G. 72. ϣⲁⲩ.

614. χanru. *to disperse.*—G. 491. ϣⲱⲛⲓ, to weaken.

615. *χart. *child.*—D. 103. ϧⲣⲟϯ, ϫⲣⲟϯ.

616. *χast. *some part of body.*—rect. sarc. B. M.

617. *χatab. same as mnχ, *pottery.*—B. M. early tomb. 157.

618. χatb. *to fall.*—D. 104. ϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ, ϩⲱⲧⲃ̀, cf. ϫⲱⲧϩ.

619. χau. *a cat.*—L. B. D. ix. 17. 45. 67. ϣⲁⲩ.

620. χb. *to plough.*—Young, Hier. pl. 41., D. 353. ϩⲉⲃⲓ.
*a wasp.*—B. M. sepulchral figure. ϩⲁⲃⲟⲩⲉⲓ, ϩⲁⲃⲓⲟⲩⲓ.
*Lower Country.*—B. M., D. 353., sepulchral figure. ϩⲟⲃⲉ.
*papyrus.*—D. 35. ϫⲟⲟⲩϥ.
*deceit, to violate.*—D. 354. ϣⲱϥ, ϣⲱϥⲧ, ⲥⲱϥ.

621. χba. *to plough.*—D. 353. see χb.

622. χbb. *the gullet.*—L. B. D. 99. 12. ϣⲃⲱⲃⲓ.

623. χbni. *to starve.*—D. 354. ϩⲉⲃⲱⲛ.

624. χbs. *to clothe.*—B. M. rit. ϩⲃⲱⲥ.

625. χbt. *to dance, to tumble.*—M. C. cxxxv., G. 270.
*iniquity.*—D. 354. ϣⲱϥⲧ.

626. χfa. *a fist, power.*—G. 195. ϣϣϥϴ.
627. χft. *enemy, devil.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xxxix. 1. ϣⲁϥⲧⲉ.
*when.*—D. 354., G. 503. ϣⲁⲧⲉϥ.
628. χi-χi. *to mill, beat.*—M. R. ϣⲉ, ictus; ϩⲓ, triturare.
629. χm. *no, not, to afflict.*—L. B. D. xix. 41. 3. ⲧⲁⲁ, ϣⲧⲉⲁⲁ.
*annihilate.*—G. 370. ϩⲉⲁⲁϩⲱⲁⲁ.
*a chest.*—B. M. rit. Nebseni.
*to bruise.*—L. B. D. lv. 134. 2.
630. χms. *flax.*—M. C. T$^{es}$. 263. G. 89.
*ear of corn.*—ibid. ϩⲉⲁⲁⲥ, ϩⲁⲁⲥ.
631. χn. *a breast.*—B. M. rect. sarc. ⲕⲉⲛ.
*to bear?*—B. M. tab. A$^{1}$.
*a child.*—M. C$^{ul}$. xlix. ϣⲉⲛ pro ϣⲉⲛ̄.
632. χnark. *to restrict.*—tablet of Amenophis IV. in the Louvre, S$^{h}$. 106. 6.
633. χnf. *a kind of cake.*—L. B. D. lxi. 144. F. 29. ϣⲱⲛϥ.
634. χnm. *to seek?*—L. B. D. i. 1. 3. ϣⲓⲙ.
*to smell?*—L. B. D. ii. 1. 19.
*brass.*—M. C. T$^{ex}$. 30., D. 356. ϩⲟⲁⲁⲛⲧ, ϩⲟⲁⲁⲧ.
*red jasper.*—G. 90.
*a kind of nurse, to sleep?*—M. C$^{ul}$. liii. 1. ϩⲓⲙⲁⲁ, to sleep.
635. χnms. *a tutor.*—tablet, B. M. 573.
636. *χn-nu. *to conduct, send.*—S$^{1}$. 229, 230. ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ.
*a box.*—ϩⲙⲟ, ϩⲙⲁⲁⲩ.
637. *χnp. *to deliver, join?*—early tablet in the Louvre. ϣⲱⲛϥ.
638. χnr. *cap.*—L. A. xiii.
639. *χns. *to hunt.*—Caillaud. vol. iv. pl. lxxv., M. C$^{ul}$. ii. 1. ⲕⲱⲛⲥ.
640. *χnt. *to approach, tread on.*—G. 333. ϩⲱⲛⲧ, ϩⲛ̄ⲧ.
*to approach by ship.*—M. C. cxxx. 111. 1.
*entrance.*—tablet of Amenophis IV. in the Louvre. ϩⲱⲛⲧ, ϩⲛ̄ⲧ, ϩⲱⲛ.

641. *χp. *a fist.*—ϣωϥϩ: cf. ϣοπ.
*a turn*, as "once, twice."—M. C^ul. xli. COΠ.

642. χpf. *part of a boat.*—B. M. sarc. Hapimen, 10.

643. †χpi. *the winged urœated disk.*—M. T^es. p. 421-26.

644. *χpr. *a scarabœus.*—B. M. sarc. of Amyrtæus, 10. ϩϥοτρ, formica. (Read ter by Ch. Leps. and others.) σκαραβαῖος.
*to exist.*—B. M. tab. 551. ϣωΠι.
*shape, type.*—L. B. D. C. 75. et seq. ϫερεϐ.

645. χprχ. *a helmet.*—G. P. ϭρΗΠε.

646. χpt. *a thigh.*—G. 355. ϣωΠϣ.
*the neophron duck.*—M. C., D. 356.

647. χpχ. *a thigh.*—G. 94. ϣωΠϣ, ϣωϐϣ.
*ursa major, the thigh.*—G. 62. 95. ϣωΠϣ.
*a scimitar*, because in shape of a thigh.—G. 273.
*to smite with the scimitar.*—M. i. xcvii., G. 356.

648. χr. *to, at, with, under.*—G. 476, 477., M. C. 133. 1. ϩρΗι, ϩρⲁι.
*a section, a picture.*—G. 470.
*to fall.*—G. 373. ϣⲁρ.

649. *χrp. *first, principal.*—B. M. tab. ϣορΠ.
*to consecrate, offer as first-fruits.*—tablet of the 12th dynasty in the Louvre. ϣορΠ.
*a paddle blade.*—B. M. rit. of Nebseni.
*image.*—Ptolemaic rings. ϫερεϐ, ϩρϐ.

650. χrχ. *a bundle of arrows.*—B. M. rect. sarc.
*a truss of hay*, or *fodder.*—T^ex. 373. ϩωρϭ.

651. *χsbt. *enamel, electrum?*—D. 356.
*tin?*—early tablet in Louvre, T^ex. 364., G. 90. 520. ϰϣⲁ-ϧελ, κασσιτ-έρος.

652. χsr. *to disperse, clear.*—L. B. D. 130. 12. 13. 20. 129. 1.

653. *χt. *to navigate.*—D. 353. ϩωϯ.
*a net.*—G. 375. ϩⲟϯ.
*to shut.*—B. M. sarc. Hapimen. see χtm.
*flame.*—D. 359. ϰωϩϯ, ϣⲁϩ.
*other.*—G. 315. χϵϯ, ϰϵϯ.

654. χtb. *to tumble.*—G. 270. ϩωϯϵϐ, ϩωϯϐ.

655. χtm. *to shut.*—G. 373. ⲩⲧⲁⲗⲗ, ⲩⲉⲧⲃ.
*a fort.*—M. R. lxi. ⲩⲑⲁⲗⲗ.
656. χu. *to rule, direct.*—D. 352. ⲩⲓ.
657. χχ. *gullet.*—G. 93. ⲧⲁⲧ.
*to balance.*—G. 371. ⲩⲱⲩ.
*to whip.*—B. M. sarc. of queen of Amasis. ⲩⲁⲩ, ⲥⲁⲩ.

## χ.

Doubtful if at the earliest period any distinction existed between this sound and the χ.

658. χ. *a pool, reservoir, tank.*—G. 99. 307. ⲩⲏⲓ.
659. χa. *a cake, bread.*—D. 267. ⲩⲁ.
*first.*—D. 210. ⲩⲁⲓ, ⲩⲁ, oriri.
*high.*—G. 440.
*festival.*—G. 188. ⲩⲁⲓ, ⲩⲁ.
*diadem.*—G. 493.
*a bushel.*—B. M. tab. ⲩⲁⲍ.
*a book.*—G. 104.
660. χaau. *a boar.*—D. 210. ⲉⲩⲱ.
661. χakr. *to adorn?*—rect. sarc., coffin of Her in the Louvre.
662. χas. *to run through, traverse.*—G. 529. ⲩⲉⲓ, ⲩⲏ, ⲩⲉ.
663. χasu. *a shepherd.*—M. R. xlviii. ⲩⲱⲥ.
664. χat. *to cut.*—M. R. lxxxi., D. 267. ⲩⲱⲧ.
665. χau. *a boar.*—G. 321., D. 210. see χaau.
666. χba. *a slice.*—E. S. tab. 51.
667. χbn. *glass.*—B. M. rect. sarc.
668. χbu. *a kind of collar.*—D. 267.
*cords.*—D. 267. ⲩⲃⲱ.
669. χb-χb. *to transform?*—sepulchral figures. ⲩⲱⲃ.
670. χf. *a ram.*—L. B. D. 165. 13.
*to desolate?*—M. cul. xi. ⲩⲱϥ.
671. χft. *to desolate.*—D. 268. ⲩⲱϥ, ⲩⲱϥⲧ.
672. χiu. *long, when.*—D. 402. ⲩⲓⲁⲓ, ⲩⲏⲟⲍ.

673. ḫm. *to arrange.* — G. 306. ϩⲉⲙⲙⲓ.
*to walk.* — D 460. ϩⲱⲙⲙ.

674. ḫna. *a net.* — B. M. tab. 467. ϫⲛⲉ.

675. ḫnti. *a tunic.* — M. C. T^ex. ii. 418. ϫⲩⲑⲏⲛ, ϫⲉⲛⲧⲱ.
*flax.* — B. M. statue of Pecht. ϫⲉⲛⲧⲱ.

676. *ḫp. *to take.* — D. 295. ϫⲱⲙ, ϭⲱⲙ.
*an hour.* — D. 295. ϫⲉⲙ.

677. *ḫpn. *a kind of bread,* or *grain.* — early tomb, Berlin. ϫⲙⲉⲛ.

678. *ḫr. *struck.* — D. 266. ϫⲁⲣ.
*a case.* — B. M. rit. ϫⲁⲣ.
*towards.* — H. 474. ϫⲁ.
*night.* — B. M. coffin. ϭⲱⲣϩ.

679. ḫra. *a nostril.* — D. 267., G. 92. ϫⲣⲟϯ.

680. *ḫrau. *a child.* — G. 76. ϫⲙⲡⲓ.

681. ḫs. *a kind of antelope.* — M. C. xviii. ϭⲁϩⲥⲓ.

682. *ḫsf. *to turn back, stop.* — S^h. 82. 9.

683. ḫta. *shut, place.* — M. C. clxvi. ϫⲱⲧ.
*tomb.* — sepulchral figures, passim.
*prison.* — B. M. tomb, 157.
*confine.* — M. C. clx.

684. ḫta. *sin* or *crime of some kind.* — mummy at Leeds.

685. ḫtrau. *kind of antelope.* — M. C. xix. 1. 4.

## LIST OF NAMES OF THE GODS IN THE MONUMENTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Amen (Ammon) | Tab. Louvre. |
| Anup (Anubis) | Tomb, B. M. |
| Atem . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Athor (Athyr) | Tomb, B. M. 157*. |
| Heka . . . . . | Tab. B. M. |
| Hes (Isis) | Tab. B. M. |
| Hes ari (Osiris) . . . . | Tab. B. M. |
| Hunnefer (Honnophris) . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Mau . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Mentu (Month) . . . . | Tab. at Florence. |
| Nemu (Chnumis). . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Nupe (Menpe) . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Net (Neith) . | Tomb, B. M. 157*. |
| Ptah (Phtha) . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Repa . . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Sbak (Suchis) | Tab. B. M. |
| Sekir (Socharis) . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Setp (Sothis, dogstar) . . | Tab. B. M. |
| Seti (Satis) | Tab. Louvre. |
| Tat . . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Tefru . . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Teti (Thoth) . . . . . | Tab. Louvre. |
| Xem (Harsaphes). . . . | Tab. B. M. |

# APPENDIX II.

A

## COMPLETE LIST OF HIEROGLYPHICAL SIGNS,

ACCORDING TO THEIR CLASSES,

ARRANGED IN NATURAL ORDER.

A

# COMPLETE LIST OF HIEROGLYPHICAL SIGNS.

THE principles on which we think the general arrangement of the hieroglyphics must be made have been laid down in the text. The main object of that arrangement is, to bring before the reader the Egyptian writing as a great fact in primeval history, of which we are to discover, as far as possible, the origin and development. Upon these principles of historical analysis, I have, together with Mr. Birch, submitted to the test of accurate criticism all the hieroglyphical signs hitherto collected and explained, and have classified each of them in its proper place, according to that arrangement. At the same time, I have requested that gentleman to add his own valuable remarks to this collation, so as to complete and correct it. This distinguished philologer and archæologist has met my wishes with so much friendly readiness and scientific zeal, that, through his assistance, I am enabled to give, not only a more critical, but also a more complete exposition of the hieroglyphical signs, than has hitherto been embodied in previous works, all of which are very expensive, and some very rare. The learned world will, I hope, soon be indebted to him for a complete and extensive work on hieroglyphics, containing every variety of representation, and a quotation of the text of the passages on which their interpretation is based.

The following analysis will give in three columns, first, the explanation of the sign; then its meaning and pronunciation, where ascertained; lastly, the authority for our interpretation. Wherever the grammar or dictionary of Champollion is not quoted, the signs and interpretations are supplied by Mr. Birch from other authorities or his own researches. Those who have read this work in the original will not only observe the additions that have been made to the hieroglyphical signs in this translation, but also the improvement effected by printing them side by

side with the explanations. These types, the first executed in England, were drawn by Mr. Bonomi and engraved by Mr. Leopold Martin.

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## A.

### IDEOGRAPHICS PROPER, OR OBJECTIVES.

The Ideographics, according to us, comprise all non-phonetic signs, with the exception of such as form a class of their own, either as generic specifications of a preceding word, which we have called Determinatives, or as possessing the peculiarity of being used ordinarily with phonetic supplements, and forming consequently, according to our arrangement, under the name of Mixed Signs, the last class of hieroglyphics.

Our list contains several of these. Among them are some which differ from other representations of the same object solely by the accidental circumstances of their employment. We have only admitted these repetitions as an exception, accompanied by a slight variation in form, in cases where there appeared any serious risk of misunderstanding, as, for instance, in the different representations of deities, or of the papyrus and lotus plants. The arrangement, as has been already intimated in the text, is the natural one, proposed and adopted by Champollion in the early stages of the study of hieroglyphics: viz. signs of astronomical or geographical objects; human forms, standing, sitting, and lying down; animals, according to their genera, from the quadruped down to the worm; plants, stones, instruments, utensils, &c.; and signs as yet undeciphered.

The first column gives the Number of the object in our arrangement;

The second, the Object, with an Explanation of what it represents;

The third, its Pronunciation (printed in italics), as written in phonetic hieroglyphics, which either precede the ideographics in the texts, or are found in place of them, followed by its Signification;

The last, the Authorities, the abbreviations being the same as those employed in the Vocabulary.

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. |  Half heaven. | *kar*, Sun's orbit; half course. | D. 3. |
| 2. | Heaven raining? | unknown. | M. R. cviii. |
| 3. | Star in a circle. | *sb aa.u*, abode of stars; subdivision of the Celestial World: gate. | D. 13.; Sarc. of Amyrtæus, B. M. 10. |
| 4. | Winged disk. | *Hut*, or celestial sun: good demon? *api*. | M. Cul. xlvii. 4. |
| 5. | Same, with pendent wings. | same. | D. 164. |
| 6. | Sun's disk with two uræi. | *api*, sense unknown. | M. Cul. xxviii. 52. |
| 7. |  Disk of sun entwined with uræus serpent. | *Ra*, the sun; Sun-god, or Helios. | D. 14. |
| 8. | Sun on hills. | *sb*χ, solar dwelling. | D. 25. |
| 9. | Full and new moon. | *aah*, the moon. | D. 14. |
| 10. | Same. | same. | D. 14. |
| 11. | Layer of earth. | *ta*, the world. | D. 18. |
| 12. |  Same, with three stones. | same. | D. 18. |
| 13. | Same, with edge of a rock and pool. | same. | D. 18. |
| 14. | Same. | same: all these used for sound *ta*. | D. 18. |
| 15. | Feather standard. | West, land of truths. | D. 23. |
| 16. | Man entering. | to go in. | D. 26. |
| 17. | Man going out. | *hm*, to turn back. | D. 26. |
| 18. | Same. | to go out. | D. 26. |
| 19. | Man with upraised arms. | *sbaau*, to praise, glorification. | D. 30. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | A man looking behind him. | *an-nu*, to look back. | Cf. action and inscription, M. t. iv. pl. ccc. xiv.; D. 31. |
| 21. | A man bending down. | *ks*, to beseech, to beg. | L. B. D. vi. 37; Sarc. of queen of Amasis, B. M.; G. 318. |
| 22. | A man standing on his head. | *χt*, to invert. | G. 369., L. B. D. ix. 42. |
| 23. | A man tumbling. | *χtb*, to tumble. | G. 370. |
| 24. | A female touching the ground with her hands. | *p'*, the heaven. | D. 50. |
| 25. | A pygmaic figure. | *nmm*, a Pataikos, pygmy. | L. B. D. lxxix. 164. 13. |
| 26. | A man walking, wrapped up in a cloak. | *amn*, to conceal, envelope. | G. 369., D. 197. |
| 27. | A man clad with a panther skin. | a high priest, or judge. | G. 55. |
| 28. | A bearded Asiatic bound. | Asiatic prisoner. | D. 465. |
| 29. | Negro prisoner. | negro prisoner. | M. R. lxxxiv. |
| 30. | An archer. | *maχ*, soldier, archer. | Sarc. of Hapimen, B. M. |
| 31. | A man wearing a feather? and holding a staff. | chief? | Coffin of Anχ, B. M. |
| 32. | A man walking, bearing a flail. | *maan*, to guard cattle. | D. 26. |
| 33. | A man holding a whip. | *χiχi*, to whip. | Sarc. of Q. of Amasis, B. M. |
| 34. | A man bearing a whip. | *maan ?*, feeder, driver. | G. 346., D. 27. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 35. | A man walking, bearing a stick and noose. | *ma*. . . . . | Tablet of Abydos, upper line. |
| 36. | A man walking, bearing a stick and reversed noose. | *p-hrr*. . . . . | Fragment of a coffin, B. M. |
| 37. | A man holding two staves. | *aba*, to play; a kind of game. | M. C. c. |
| 38. | A man holding a stick or club, and striking. | *nχt*, to be powerful. | G. 380. |
| 39. | A man striking with a club. | *hu*, to strike. | D. 29., G. 368. |
| 40. | Same, holding a club. | *s-hr*, to frighten, terrify. | Sarc. Q. of Amasis, 32. B. M. |
| 41. | A man pouring out seed or water. | to make libations. | Sh. 73. 10. |
| 42. | A man pouring a libation out of a jar. | *uah*, to pour out, feed. | Mummy at Leeds: communicated by Mr. Osburn. |
| 43. | A man holding an offering. | *ta*, to offer, to sacrifice. | G. 345. |
| 44. | A man ramming down earth. | *atn* ?, to build. | G. 348. |
| 45. | A man beating. | to beat, to pound. | M. t. iv. cccIxxxi. |
| 46. | A man bending down, and raking corn into a bushel. | *χa*, to measure grain. | Memphite tomb: communicated by Mr. Bonomi. |
| 47. | A man playing on the harp. | *hs*, to sing. | G. 345. |
| 48. | A man overthrowing an Asiatic foreigner. | *tb*, to subdue. | G. 349. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 49. | A man bending down an Asiatic foreigner. | *χtb*, to subdue. | G. 349. |
| 50. | A man crowned with a uræus, holding tam or kukufa sceptre. | *tut*, statue. | Ros. Inscr. 1. line. |
| 51. | Man holding a cord. | sense unknown. | Tablet, B. M.; L. B. D. xxv. 64. 31. |
| 52. | A man measuring. | same. | M. Cul. lxii. |
| 53. | Man standing, holding two giraffes. | ..*si*; occurs in name of a region. | M. t. ii. cviii. 4. iii. cclxxviii. |
| 54. | Man driving a quadriga. | *hrri*, quadriga. | Sh. 73, 10. |
| 55. | Man blowing up fire with a pipe. | *nbi*, *hbi*?, to gild, work in gold. | Tablet, B. M. 574. |
| 56. | Divinity wearing tall plumes, holding a tam and symbol of life. | *Amn*, Ammon. | G. 116. |
| 57. | Divinity with tall plumes, spearing. | *Nu-p'*. | Tex. 276. |
| 58. | God with horns and feathers, holding a stick. | *Phtha-Tatann*, "the chief, or proper Phtha." | D. 38., G. 54. |
| 59. | Divinity with horns, plumes, staff, and whip. | to terrify. | M. i. lxxxiii. |
| 60. | A man with pχent, and stick in each hand. | *atát*. | M. iv. ccci., M. Cul. lii. |
| 61. | Man wearing pχent, and holding staff. | *sutn*, king. | D. 38. |
| 62. | God holding sistrum and life, wearing pχent. | *Ahi*, son of Athor. | G. 117. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 63. | Man wearing texer, or lower crown, and holding staff. | *tut*, statue. | D. 38. |
| 64. | Same, with two whips. | ruler in Lower World. | M. i. lx. |
| 65. | Ass-headed god holding clubs. | *s-hr*, to terrify. | L. B. D. vii., K. 15., P. Ath. xv. iii. k. 15. |
| 66. | Same, with club and shield. | same. | L. B. D. vii., h. 15. |
| 67. | Hawk-headed god wearing sun's disk, and holding staff. | *Rā*, the Sun-god, Helios. | G. 117. |
| 68. | God mummied, holding kukufa sceptre and emblem of stability, at his back a collar. | *Ptah, Phtha*, Hephaistos. | D. 39. |
| 69. | God mummied, wearing the upper crown or het, in left hand life, in right tam sceptre and whip. | *Hsiri*, Osiris; Pluto, Dionysus. | G. 116. |
| 70. | Divinity mummied, wearing tall plumes, ithyphallic, and with whip. | *χm*, Khem [L. B. D. Uta, Ch. Harsaphes.] | G. 116. |
| 71. | Female holding staff and sash. | *hur*, elder. | G. 117. |
| 72. | Same, stick forked. | same. | D. 457. |
| 73. | Same, holding a sistrum. | *ahi*, assistant priestess. | G. 105. |
| 74. | Goddess wearing vulture and feathers, holding lotus sceptre. | *A-t-hr*, Athor, Hathor; Venus. | D. 457. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 75. | Female wearing feather, and holding life. | *Ma*, goddess of truth. | G. 124. |
| 76. | Same, holding a tam and life. | *Ma*, truth. | D. 457. |
| 77. | Same, with symbol usr. | *usr-ma*, victorious in truth. | Tex. p. 319. |
| 78. | Goddess wearing pχent and holding lotus sceptre. | *Mut*, Μούθ, Buto. | D. 457. |
| 79. | Female wearing pχent, holding life and lotus sceptre. | *sutn*, queen. | D. 51. |
| 80. | Goddess with pχent, and holding bow. | *Nt*, Νῆθ. | G. 124. |
| 81. | Goddess wearing modius, winged, holding life. | *χu*, to rule, ruling goddess. | W. M. C. ii., Pl. 66. 2. |
| 82. | Hippopotamic goddess with head of a lioness. | *Ap-t.* | G. 134. |
| 83. | Man addressing. | *han-nu*, to supplicate, a suppliant. | G. 343., M. Cul. xxxviii. |
| 84. | Same, both hands raised. | *sbaau*, to glorify. | G. 343. |
| 85. | Man squatting, with a pallet held to his breast. | *sχai*, a scribe. | D. 34. |
| 86. | Man squatting, holding a feather. | *han-han*, to command. | Coffin of queen of Amasis, B. M. |
| 87. | Man kneeling, and bearing a basket of bread. | *fa*, to bear, carry. | Tex, p. 357. |
| 88. | Man squatting, and holding a cup. | *s'hur*, *s-ur*, to drink. | Sarc. of Savaksi, B. M. 17. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 89. | Man whose hands are held up to a vase. | *ab*, pure, priest. | D. 35. |
| 90. | Same, pouring out the water. | same. | D. 269. |
| 91. | Man pouring water. | same. | D. 269. |
| 92. | Same, pouring water over his head. | same. | G. 386. |
| 93. | Man seated, with hands raised. | *haa*, to rejoice, a trillion. | Vyse, Journal, vol. iii. |
| 94. | Same, on his head a feather. | *haa-m-rnpa*, a trillion of years. | D. 53. |
| 95. | Same, on his head a palm shoot. | same. | D. 47., cf. Sh. pl. 27. l. 14. |
| 96. | Same, holding in each hand a knotted palm branch. | same. | D. 35. |
| 97. | Man seated on a bath. | *stm*, judge, one who hears truth. | D. 34. |
| 98. | Archer seated (sometimes two feathers on head). | *max*, archer. | D. 36. 141. |
| 99. | Man kneeling, holding up a basin. | *n'ham*, to save. | M. t. iv. pl. cxvi. |
| 100. | Man crowned with water plants, and holding in each hand a vase of libations. | *Hapi-mri*, "concealer of the waters," Nile. | D. 47. |
| 101. | Child crowned with triple reed crown and goat's horns. | *P-nb-ta*, Lord of World, god, son of Horus. | Sarc. Q. of Amasis, B. M. |
| 102. | Child crowned with tall plumes. | *Horus*, eldest son of *Amn*. | Ibid. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 103. | Man seated, with crook and leash. | *ari*, to guard: cf. Mixed Signs, 2. | D. 109. |
| 104. | Man squatting, wrapped up. | *hs*, to sing, bard. | Sarc. of Anχ-hepi, B. M. |
| 105. | Man with hands up to a level. | *amn*, to hide. | Ibid. |
| 106. | Man holding a whip. | guardian. | Pap. Sams, B. M. |
| 107. | Man with stability and power sceptres, at his back a counterpoise. | *Pth*, *Phtha*, Vulcan. | G. 111. |
| 108. | Same, no emblems. | *Ptah*, Vulcan. | G. 111. |
| 109. | Man squatting, on his head a solar disk, entwined with a uræus. | *Ra*, the Sun. | G. 112. |
| 110. | God wearing on his head a lunar disk. | *χuns-Aah*, Hercules Lunus. | G. 111. |
| 111. | Same, holding tam sceptre. | same. | G. 112. |
| 112. | Man squatting, holding a whip and a crook, star on head. | *Sb*, Chronos, Saturn, Time. | G. 114. |
| 113. | Man seated, on his head a solar eye, holding sceptre of power. | *Iri-'n-hr*, eye of Horus, god. | G. 112. |
| 114. | Man seated, holding whip, on his head a uræus. | *sutn*, king. | D. 35. |
| 115. | Same, holding a whip and crook. | same. | G. 54. |
| 116. | God seated, on his head a scarabæus. | *χpr* (B.), *Ter* (Ch.), name of a god, "creator." | Cf. sarcoph. of Amyrtæus, G, 112. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 117. | God wearing feather, and holding tam, power sceptre. | *Mau*, "light;" name of a god. | D. 46. |
| 118. | God seated on his legs, wearing on his head two plumes, disk, and horns, and holding crook and whip. | *Skr*, Socharis. | G. 112. |
| 119. | Same, holding only a whip. | *Ptah-Tatann.* | G. 112. |
| 120. | God with het, or upper crown, and counterpoise. | *Pteh, Phtha*, Vulcan. | Cramp. B. M. |
| 121. | God with feathers. | *Amn*, Jupiter. | G. 111. |
| 122. | Same, holding a tam sceptre. | *Amn-ra.* | G. 111. |
| 123. | Same, with whip. | *Amn.* | M. t. i. xxvi. 1. |
| 124. | God with pxent and tam sceptre. | *Neith*, masculine; *Seb*, Saturn; *Atum*, Pluto. | D. 46., G. 113. |
| 125. | God with horns, four plumes, and tam sceptre. | *Nu-p'.* | D. 46. |
| 126. | God with two plumes coming out of a lily lotus. | *Nfr-atum.* | G. 111. |
| 127. | God with atf, holding crook and whip. | Osiris. | D. 45. |
| 128. | Same, with crook. | same. | D. 45. |
| 129. | Same, no emblems. | Osiris. | G. 112. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 130. | God with atf and tam sceptre. | *Hs-iri*, Osiris. | D. 45. |
| 131. | God wearing pschent, holding life. | *Atum*, *Atmu*, name of a god. | D. 46. |
| 132. | Same, without life. | *Atmu*. | G. 111. |
| 133. | Man seated, in upper crown, het. | king of Upper Country; *Seb*, Saturn. | D. 40., G. 112. |
| 134. | God holding crook. | Osiris. | G. 112. |
| 135. | Same, holding life. | *Nt*, Νηίθ, Neith, male. | G. 112. |
| 136. | Same, in lower crown. | king of Lower Country. | D. 40. |
| 137. | Star-headed god seated. | *Sb*, Chronos. | G. 114. |
| 138. | Ape-headed god holding a tam. | *Hpi*, Apis. | G. 114. |
| 139. | Jackal-headed god. | *Anupu*, Ἄνουβις, Ἀνέβω, Anubis. | G. 114. |
| 140. | Goat-headed god seated. | *Num*, *Nmu*, Chnubis, Kneph. | D. 43. |
| 141. | Sheep-headed god seated. | same. | D. 43. |
| 142. | Ram-headed god seated. | *Amn*, Chnumis. | D. 43. |
| 143. | Same, wearing solar disk. | *Num-ra*, Num the Sun. | G. 113. |
| 144. | Same, wearing disk and plumes. | *Num-ra*. | G. 114. |
| 145. | Sheep-headed god wearing a disk. | *Num*, Chnumis. | G. 113. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 146. | Sheep-headed god having horns, and wearing uræus. | *Num neb* [*en*] *Suten* χ*enn.* Num, lord of Suten χenn, some part of Abyssinia. | G. 114. |
| 147. | Same, with the crown atf. | *Num*, lord of Tet-tu or Tet-ut, the established region, perhaps the island Tattu. | G. 113. |
| 148. | Crocodile-headed god. | *Sbauk*, Σοῦχις. | G. 113. |
| 149. | Same, with disk and uræus. | *Sbauk-ra*, Sebek the Sun, Suchis Helios. | D. 45. |
| 150. | Hawk-headed god seated. | *Her*, Horus. | G. 114. |
| 151. | Same, wearing the solar disk. | *Ra*, Helios. | D. 41. |
| 152. | Same, with solar disk and uræus. | same. | D. 42. |
| 153. | Same, with feather of truth. | *Ra*, [establishing] truth. | Tex. p. 301. |
| 154. | Same, holding symbol of life. | same. | D. 43. |
| 155. | Same, holding solar eye. | *Iri-'n-ra*, Eye of the Sun. | D. 42. |
| 156. | Same, holding tam sceptre. | *Ra*, Helios, the Sun. | D. 42. |
| 157. | Same, wearing lunar disk. | χ*uns-Aah*, Chuns-Lunus. | G. 111. |
| 158. | Same, wearing disk and plumes, and holding tam sceptre. | *Mntu*, *Munt-ra*. | M. Cul. liii. |
| 159. | Same, wearing atf. | *Skr*, Socharis. | G. 113. |
| 160. | Same, wearing pχent. | *Har-ur*, Ἀρούηρις. | G. 114. |

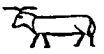
| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 161. | Hawk-headed god wearing p$\chi$ent, and holding tam. | *Har-si-hsi, Harhur*, Harocris. | D. 45. |
| 162. | Same, holding life. | same. | D. 46. |
| 163. | Ibis-headed god. | *T.ti*, Thoth. | D. 45. |
| 164. | Same, wearing lunar disk, and holding life. | *T.ti-Aah*, Thoth Lunus. | D. 45. |
| 165. | Same, wearing atf, holding tam and life. | *Thoth*, lord of the land of Truth. | G. 114. |
| 166. | Same, wearing atf, without life. | *Thoth*, lord of the land of Truth. | G. 116. |
| 167. | Heron-headed god seated. | *Bn-nu* (Phœnix), Osiris. | G. 114. |
| 168. | God with head of a peculiar black bird, of an ass, or of a giraffe, holding crook. | *St*, the ruler. | Tex. p. 301. |
| 169. | Scarab-headed god with spread wings. | $\chi pr$, "creator." | G. 113. |
| 170. | Goddess wearing vulture, disk, and horns, and holding lotus sceptre. | *Hms*, or *Hs*, Isis. | D. 52. |
| 171. | Same, having name of Athor on head, and lotus sceptre. | *A.t.hr*, Ἀθυρ, Venus. | Sarc. of queen of Amasis, B. M. |
| 172. | Same, holding tam, or power sceptre, and having on her head a scorpion. | *Srka, Slka*, Selk. | D. 53. |
| 173. | Same, wearing feather, and holding life. | *Ma*, Truth. | D. 51. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 174. | God with two feathers. | *Ma*, Truth, dual form. | D. 52. |
| 175. | Goddess having on her head a bunch of flax. | *An-ka*, Onka, Anucis. | D. 52. |
| 176. | Same, having throne and vulture on head, and holding lotus sceptre. | *Hs*, Isis. | D. 53. |
| 177. | Same, with tall spirals, and holding lotus sceptre. | *Tatann* [goddess]. | Sarc. queen of Amasis, B. M. |
| 178. | Goddess wearing phonetic symbol *pti*, and holding lotus sceptre. | *Pti*, *Phut*, Libya personified. | Ibid. |
| 179. | Same, wearing a basket and house. | *Nb-t-i*, Nephthys. | G. 124. |
| 180. | Female wearing plumes on her head, and holding drooping lotus bud. | *A.t.hr*, Venus. | Sarc. queen of Amasis, B. M. |
| 181. | Goddess wearing p$\chi$ent and vulture attire, and holding lotus sceptre. | *Mu-t*, Mouth. | D. 52. |
| 182. | Same, two plumes above. | *A-t-hr*, Athor, Venus. | G. 123. |
| 183. | Female seated, wearing het, and holding whip. | *sutn*, queen. | D. 51. |
| 184. | Same, with uræus and without whip. | same. | D. 51. |
| 185. | Same, wearing te$\chi$er. | *Nt*, N$\eta i\theta$. | G. 123. |
| 186. | Same, wearing te$\chi$er and holding tam sceptre. | *Nt*, Neith, Minerva. | D. 52. |

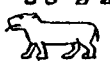
| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 187. | Goddess wearing water vase. | *Nu-p'*, B. Nutpe, "the firmament" goddess. | D. 52. |
| 188. | Goddess wearing het and horns, and holding tam sceptre. | *Sti, Satis,* Juno. | G. 123. |
| 189. | Lion-headed goddess. | *Mnhi.* | G. 124. |
| 190. | Same, on head a modius. | *Tfnu.* | Gr. 53. |
| 191. | Lion-headed goddess seated, holding lotus sceptre. | *Tf-nu, Hr-hka, Paϰ.t.* | G. 123., D. 53. |
| 192. | Same, wearing disk and uræus, and holding a lotus sceptre. | *Pϰ. t,* Bubastis. | D. 54. |
| 193. | Snake-headed goddess holding tam sceptre. | *ara,* uræus, goddess. | D. 54. |
| 194. | Man wearing uræus, seated on a seat, and holding a crook and whip. | *tut,* statue; rather, *as,* principal. | D. 34. |
| 195. | Man seated on a seat, building a wall. | *atn,* to build, form. | D. 31. |
| 196. | Man seated on a throne, wearing pϰent. | *tut,* a statue. | D. 47. |
| 197. | God seated on a throne, wearing plumes, and holding a tam sceptre and life. | *Amn,* Ammon. | D. 42. |
| 198. | God, hawk-headed, seated on a throne, wearing uræus and disk, holding tam sceptre and life. | *Ra,* Helios, the Sun-god. | D. 41. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 199. | Goddess on a throne, wearing disk, horns, and vulture, and holding life. | *Hs*, Isis. | D. 52. |
| 200. | Goddess seated on a throne, wearing feather, and holding life and tam sceptre. | *Ma*, Truth. | D. 51. |
| 201. | Same, with usr. | *usr-ma*, "defending truth." | Tex. p. 307. |
| 202. | Man seated on a chair, and holding a stick. | *hms*, to sit. | D. 30. |
| 203. | Man seated on a stool, and making a vase on a potter's wheel. | *atn*, to form, fashion, create. | D. 34. |
| 204. | Num seated on a cone fashioning clay. | *Num-atn* or *sapi*, Chnumis the creator. | M. xx. |
| 205. | Man dipping in a pool of water. | *nkb-t*, to wash [gold]. | M. C. lii. 4. |
| 206. | Head of an Asiatic foreigner. | head [enemy]. | D. 61., Tex. p. 339. |
| 207. | Pair of eyebrows. | *an-hu*, eyebrow. | G. 92. |
| 208. | Eye with lashes. | eyelash. | Stibium case, B. M. |
| 209. | Eye underlined. | *s-tm*, stibium, eyepowder. | D. 384. |
| 210. | Two eyes. | *maa*, to see. | D. 65. |
| 211. |  Two pupils. | the same. | D. 70, 71. |
| 212. | Lips and teeth. | *spt. u*, lips. | D. 71. |
| 213. | Two ears. | *mstr*, ears. | D. 62. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 214. | Arm holding a whip. | *χu*, to reign, rule. | D. 91. 334. |
| 215. |  Hand holding small vase with grain. | paint ? | Tex. p. 364. |
| 216. | Arm holding pet sceptre. | *χrp*, to be first, consecrate. | Tablet, B. M.; Sh. 19. 11. |
| 217. |  Arm with feather. | *χu*, to rule. | D. 112. |
| 218. | Hand holding flabellum. | same. | D. 326. |
| 219. |  Man's arms holding spear and shield. | *kar*, *kl*, to contend, fight. | D. 92., L. B. D. 1. 18. |
| 220. | Fist. | *kfa*, fist, measure of six fingers. | D. 98. |
| 221. | Hand hanging down. | open hand, a palm (measure). | D. 459. |
| 222. | Hand without thumb. | a palm, and palm measure. | D. 98. |
| 223. | Spine. | *at*, vertebræ; used as expletive for this sound in *pst*, back, *χat*, to strike. | D. 100. |
| 224. | Pelvis ? | ? same. | D. 266. |
| 225. | Knee-pan. | *kp* [*'n-rat*], knee-pan. | Vyse, Pyr. III., Campbell's tomb, M. C. cxxxvii. 1. |
| 226. | Leg in a trap. | *kar*, to rob, privily. | G. 459. |
| 227. |  The testes. | *karu*, testes. | Fragment of tomb of Sethos I., B. M. |
| 228. |  Bull with disk on head. | *Hpi*, Apis. | D. 119. |
| 229. |  Bull wearing disk and plume. | *Pa-ka*, Pakis, bull of Socharis. | G. 502. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 230. | Bull running with disk on head. | Bull Apis. | D. 119. |
| 231. | Cow with disk. | *ah*, cow. | D. 118. |
| 232. | Cow lying down, by its side a whip. | *hs* . . . ., Isis. | L. B. D. xl. 110. a. 8.; Salt, Essay, pl. iii. P. |
| 233. | Same, no whip. | *ahta*, cow. | Sep. fig. B. M. |
| 234. | Cow, legs tied below it. | cow. | Tablet in Bibliothèque Royale. |
| 235. | Frisky calf, or lamb. | *ab*, thirst. | D. 187. |
| 236. | Goat. | *ba*, goat, soul. | D. 124. |
| 237. | Ram or goat wearing disk. | *Num-ra*, *Chnumis*. | D. 124. |
| 238. |  Egyptian sheep. | *srr*, sheep. | D. 395. |
| 239. | Same, wearing disk and plumes. | *Amn-ra*, Jupiter. | D. 124. |
| 240. | Wild goat. | wild goat. | D. 124. |
| 241. | Gazelle. | *karχ*, *χahsi*, a kind of gazelle. | D. 126. 261. |
| 242. | Antelope. | *ar*, *al*, antelope. | D. 126. |
| 243. | Dorcas goat. | dorcas. | D. 126. |
| 244. | Oryx lying down. | oryx. | D. 126. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 245. | Kind of antelope, unicorn. | *St*, Typhon. | D. 115. |
| 246. | Kind of gazelle, with a collar round its neck. | *s-ka*, *sha*, to collect, a crowd. | Pap. A$^{i}$. 17. B. M., M. R. xxxix. |
| 247. | Ass. | *naa st*, ass. | D. 123. |
| 248. | Dog. | *uhar*, dog. | D. 127. |
| 249. | Dog, another kind. | dog. | D. 127. |
| 250. | Cat. | *χau*, cat. | D. 127. |
| 251. | Lynx. | *maft.t*, a lynx. | Rit. B. M. |
| 252. | Animal of cat kind. | *tsm*, tom cat? | Rit. B. M. |
| 253. | Rat. | *pn-nu*, rat. | Rit. B. M. |
| 254. | Jerboa. | sense unknown. | Communicated by Mr. Bonomi. |
| 255. | Cynocephalus. | *aani*, ape, cynocephalus, priest. | D. 117., Sh. 73. 3. 14. |
| 256. | Ape adoring. | *hati*, to worship. | Fig. B. M. |
| 257. | Cynocephalus. | *hant*, rage. | D. 114. |
| 258. | Basket, on which is an ape and hide? | *uχb*, a water-clock, clepsydra? | Tex. 206. |
| 259. | Jackal. | *sab*, jackal, to be crafty, cunning, magus. | D. 116. 176. |
| 260. | Same. | same. | D. 116. |
| 261. | Same, with whip. | same. | D. 116. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 262. | Jackal on a gate, with whip. | *sab*, jackal; to be crafty, cunning, magus. | D. 116. |
| 263. | Same, on a standard and pet sceptre. | *Anup* or *Ap-heru*, guide of paths of sun's orbit. | D. 116. |
| 264. | Same on standard, with uræus. | same. | D. 116. |
| 265. | Wolf. | *hunχa*, a wolf. | G. 72. |
| 266. | Hyæna. | *bhiu*, hyæna. | G. 72. |
| 267. | Lion. | *maau*, lion. | D. 114. |
| 268. | Lioness. | *Pχ-t*, n. of a goddess, the lioness. | M. t. iv. pl. cccxi. |
| 269. | Elephant. | *ab*, elephant, Elephantina. | D. 126. |
| 270. | Rhinoceros. | *ab*, ivory. | L. A. ix. |
| 271. |  Hippopotamus. | *tb-t*, *apt*, hippopotamus. | D. 126., G. 83., Arch. xix. 14. |
| 272. | Camelopard. | *srr*, giraffe; *sr*, to order, dispose, place. | D. 126., M. Cul. clxxiii., M. t. iii. pl. ccclxxviii. |
| 273. | Kind of ass. | *St*, Typhon. | D. 123. |
| 274. | Gryphon. | *bar*, Baal. | D. 116. |
| 275. | Gryphon, head of hawk. | gryphon, *Munt-ra*. | M. pl. ci. bis, t. ii. 4. |
| 276. | Gryphon. | *aχχ*, a gryphon. | G. 497. |
| 277. | Sphinx. | victory; *akr*, sphinx; *nb*, lord. | D. 127., M. S. tom. ii. pl. xiv. n. 156. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 278. | Hippopotamus with crocodile's tail, standing, and holding a cravat. | *Ta-hur*, Thoueris. | D. 115. |
| 279. | Lion's head. | *ph-ti*, vigilance? perhaps used for sound *peh* in *apeh-peh*, gigantic. | D. 114., Tex. 275. |
| 280. | Head of a cow. | *ah*, head of an ox, cow, flesh. | Sepulch. steles, passim. |
| 281. | Head of gazelle. | gazelles. | Arch. xix. 14. |
| 282. | Another kind. | dorcas. | Arch. xix. 14. |
| 283. | Head of an ass. | thirty. | Sh. 73. 7. |
| 284. | Cow's eye. | *uta*, sun's eye, symbolic eye. | D. 70. 123., L. B. D. lvii. 140. 1-7. |
| 285. |  Lower part of same. | *at*, substance? | L. B. D. vi. 15. 44.; Lion, B.M. |
| 286. | Skin of a panther. | skin of a panther. | D. 127. |
| 287. | Haunch. | χρχ, haunch, thigh, strength. | D. 123. |
| 288. | Nycticorax wearing the atef. | *bn-nu*, form of Osiris. | D. 145. |
| 289. | Nycticorax. | *bn-nu*, night heron. | G. 51. |
| 290. | Kind of heron. | *sn-sn*, Numidian crane. | D. 146. |
| 291. | Nycticorax alighted on a heap of corn. | *ab-hu*, *bah*, to inundate, inundation, to swill, harvest. | L. B. D. pl. xli. 110. xli. 110. a. 1., Descr. l'Eg. A. iv. pl. 47. no. 5. |
| 292. | Numidian crane. | *rχ*, pure spirit, dream. | Obelisk Amyrtæus, B.M. |
| 293. | Bird with tuft on its breast. | *ba*, soul, spirit. | D. 146. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 294. | Pelican with a fish. | *hma*, to fish. | D. 162. |
| 295. | Variant of same. | same. | D. 162. |
| 296. | Unknown bird. | *tf*, fragrance. | Tablet and coffin, B. M. |
| 297. | Bird in a trap. | *sk*, *ba*, or *sbaat*, to be idle. | L. B. D. xviii. 21. |
| 298. | Goose feeding. | *s-hm*, to strangle, bind? | L. B. D. li. 127. 2. |
| 299. | Hawk. | *bak*, sparrow-hawk; god. | D. 132., G. 73. |
| 300. | Hawk and dress. | *ntr kabi*, gold hawk. | Passim. |
| 301. | Hawk on standard of truth. | divine land of truths, i. e. holy West. | D. 139. |
| 302. | Hawk with whip by its side. | *ntr*, god. | D. 138. |
| 303. | Hawk on a standard. | *ntr*, god. | D. 138. |
| 304. | Hawk on solar hill or horizon. | *Ra*, Helios, Sun-god. | D. 136. |
| 305. | Hawk, on its head solar disk. | same. | D. 137. |
| 306. | Same, with uræus. | same. | D. 136. |
| 307. | Same, on its head moon's disk. | *Xuns-Aah*, Chons the Moon. | D. 136. |
| 308. | Same, on its head disk and plumes. | *Munt-ra*, Mandoulis. | D. 136. |
| 309. | Same, with atef. | *Hsiri*, Socharis, Osiris. | D. 136. |

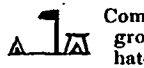
| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 310. | Hawk with pχent. | *Hr-hur*, Har-oeris. | D. 137. |
| 311. | Hawk, at its side a whip. | Haroeris. | D. 138. |
| 312. | Same, with het and a whip. | *Hr-si-ĥsi*, Harsiesis. | D. 135. |
| 313. | Same, without whip. | same. | D. 135. |
| 314. | Mummied hawk. | *aχm*, a falcon. | Tex. p. 467. |
| 315. | Vulture with wings fluttering. | *astt*, to frighten? protect? | D. 129.; M. t. i. xcviii., t. iii. cccxxxvi. |
| 316. | Vulture with whip. | *mu.t-hur*, goddess Mu-t. | D. 129. |
| 317. | Vulture as before, with het crown. | *mu-t*, Mu-t, Mouth. | Tablet, Lord Belmore's Collection, B. M. |
| 318. | Flamingo. | *tχr*, red. | D. 96. |
| 319. | Ibis. | *hab*, ibis; Thoth, ibis god. | G. 73. |
| 320. | Ibis on a standard. | *A, Tti*, Thoth, Mercury. | D. 142. |
| 321. | Bird pecking up seed. | *uχa*, to devour. | Tablet, 148. |
| 322. | Bird with human face. | *ba*, the soul. | D. 54. |
| 323. | Phœnix? | *rχ*, pure spirit, dream? | M. R. clix. |
| 324. | Bird with human hands. Phœnix and star. | *rχ*, pure soul, dream? | D. 161. |
| 325. | Nest of birds. | *s.* χ, a nest; water-places, to fill. | Coffin of Soter, B. M. Tab. 551. L. B. D. xxxii. 85. 9. 10. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 326. | Head and neck of vulture. | *nrau*, to vanquish. | D. 162. |
| 327. | Head and neck of goose. | *apt*, geese, fowls. | Arch. xix. 14., D. 160., coffin in Louvre. |
| 328. | Eye of sparrow-hawk. | to see. | D. 163. |
| 329. | Bird's claw, probably of ibis. | *σπιθαμή*, span, measure. | M. clvii. 3.; cf. D. 163. |
| 330. | A kind of fish. | *bs*, to bring over, enter. | G. 52., fragment at Bath; cf. E.H. pl. iii. |
| 331. | Crocodile with tail erect. | *msuh*, crocodile. | D. 75., G. 120. |
| 332. | Same, tail pendent. | *Sbak*, god Suchis. | D. 176. |
| 333. | Same, another kind. | same. | G. 120. |
| 334. | Same, with disk and horns, on a pylon or gate. | *Sbak-ra*, Suchis Helios. | D. 177. |
| 335. | Same, disk and two tall plumes. | same. | D. 177. |
| 336. | Same, on a standard. | name of a region of the Thebaid, Crocodilopolis? | Tex. 879. |
| 337. | Same, wearing atef. | same. | P. S. 42. B. M. |
| 338. | Same, hawk-headed, with disk and horns. | Horus. | G. 178. |
| 339. | Tortoise. | *apχ*, tortoise. | D. 178. |
| 340. | Frog. | *hka*, a frog, numerous. | D. 170. |
| 341. | Tadpole. | a million. | Tomb near pyramids (Bonomi). |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 342. | Tadpole. | numerous, million. | Coffin Q. Amasis, B. M. |
| 343. | Same on a ring. | numerous, innumerable, a million, higher number than 10,000. | M. t. iv. ccci.; tomb near pyramids (Bonomi). |
| 344. | Blindworm. | *fnti*, a worm. | D. 171. |
| 345. | Great snake. | *app*, the apophis, or gigantic serpent, dragon. | D. 170. |
| 346. | Same, wearing lower crown. | same. | D. 88. |
| 347. | Uræus, having on its head a disk and horns. | heavenly goddess. | D. 170. |
| 348. | Same, on head a disk and plumes. | *Rn-nu*, goddess. | D. 111. |
| 349. | Same, wearing het. | goddess of Upper Country, Sebenu. | D. 170. |
| 350. | Same, with texer. | goddess of Lower Country, Neith. | D. 170. |
| 351. | Same, vomiting flame out of its mouth. | fire-breathing serpent of the Hades. | G. 126., Sh. 73. 5. |
| 352. | Same, head of a goat. | *Num*, Kneph. | D. 172. |
| 353. | Rock lizard. | lizard. | D. 178. |
| 354. | Scorpion. | *srk*, *slk*, scorpion, to supply, give breath to. | D. 108. 170. |
| 355. | Locust. | *hm*, locust, grasshopper. | D. 178. |
| 356. | Mantis. | mantis. | D. 168. |
| 357. | Wasp, yellow body. | χ*b*, χ*ab*, wasp (Lepsius, *ht*, bee), king of Lower Egypt, Lower Country, prefect, honey. | Lepsius, Annali d. Cor. Arch. tom. x. p. 103.122., stele in Louvre. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 358. | Fly. | *af*, fly. | D. 85. |
| 359. | Bunch of dates. | *bnr*, date palm. | Sh. xxi. 6. |
| 360. | Vine on its props. | *arr*, grapes. | D. 273. |
| 361. | Variation of preceding. | to garden. | M. t. iv. cccxviii. |
| 362. | Same. | same. | D. 273. |
| 363. | Sheaf of hemp. | *χm*, hemp. | M. C. xxiii. |
| 364. | Bundle of flax. | *hma*, flax. | G. 77., M. C. xxxv. |
| 365. | Truss of fodder. | *χrχ*, truss. | Tex. 373. |
| 366. | Flower. | *hrr*, flower. | G. 77. |
| 367. | Lily lotus. | Upper Egypt. | D. 217. |
| 368. | Lotus bud. | lotus bud. | D. 228. |
| 369. | Same. | same. | D. 228. |
| 370. | Ear of corn. | *su*, corn, wheat; possibly a determinative, as *hu* (Rosetta St. l. 3.) expresses the same idea. | G. 76. |
| 371. | Pod or leaf. | delicious? | G. 76. |
| 372. | Bunch of flowers. | *ih*, nosegay. | Tex. 373. |
| 373. | Kind of nosegay. | *masi?*, flowers carried in procession. | Tex. 373. |
| 374. | Lotus plant. | Upper Egypt. | D. 212. |
| 375. | Lily lotus on symbol of land. | same. | D. 212. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 376. | Common lotus (nymphæa) on a clod of earth. | Upper Egypt. | D. 215. |
| 377. | Lotus on symbol neb, lord. | same. | D. 211. |
| 378. | Root of papyrus and clod. | *χb*, Lower Egypt, land of the papyrus. | D. 215., stele of Louvre. |
| 379. | Same on symbol of land. | same. | D. 213. |
| 380. | Papyrus plants in a pool. | Lower Egypt. | D. 215. |
| 381. | Same on a round clod. | same. | D. 213. |
| 382. | Reed bound to inverted vase? | *ab*, *uab*, pure, clean. | L. B. D. xxii. 53. 4. 21. |
| 383. | Kind of bud. | *χa*, born of. | Ring of Ptolemy XIII., Wilk. Topogr. Thebes. |
| 384. | Pomegranate. | pomegranate. | D. 216. |
| 385. | Stalk of corn. | *usχ*, to reap. | D. 228., M. C. xxxiii. 1. |
| 386. | Leaf or nosegay. | delicious (?) | Bronze situlus, B. M. |
| 387. | Lotus leaf. | *χr*, leaf. | Bronze situlus, B. M. |
| 388. | Same. | *χr*, same. | Hier. Pap. B. M. |
| 389. | Pod or two leaves. | sense unknown. | M. R. xxvi. 1. |
| 390. | Heap of corn on threshing floor. | *sn-ut* granary. | Side of tomb in the Louvre, S. P. lxiv. 4. |
| 391. | Two heaps on same. | same. | Stamp, B. M. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 392. | Heap of corn on threshing floor, on it a sword. | *nm*. . . . . | L. B. D. xlvii. 125. b. 29., P. S. 828., Barker, 217. loco. |
| 393. | Bunch of onions. | onions? | M. t. i. lv. lvi. |
| 394. | Mæander of labyrinth. | *Mra* or *Mr-tar*, Egypt, labyrinth-land. | D. 18., H$^{ka}$. 1847. |
| 395. | Gate. | pylon, gate. | Sepulch. tablet, B. M. |
| 396. | Enceinte. | *rhi*, a garden? | Sandstone tab. Belmore, B. M. |
| 397. | Ground plan of a hall. | *usχ*, "hall" of two Truths. | D. 251., L. B. D. l. a. xlviii. 35. c. |
| 398. | Pool? with eye. | *an*, precinct. | M. t. iii. cclxx. p. 275. |
| 399. | Same, with water. | abode? name of Amen. | D. 269. |
| 400. | Enclosure. | sense unknown. | D. 273. |
| 401. |  Compound group: hatchet, hill, and side of chair. | *Kar-ntr*, divine subterranean region, Hades. | D. 255. |
| 402. | Hatchet and pyramidal object with feather of truth. | same. | D. 255. |
| 403. | Pyramid. | *br-br*, pyramid, pyramidion of an obelisk. | S. P. pl. xlix. p. 15. l. 4., D. 266. |
| 404. | Pylon. | a pylon. | D. 252. |
| 405. | Propylon. | *sb*, door, propylon. | D. 251. |
| 406. | Variation of the same. | same. | D. 251. |
| 407. | A cornice of disked uræi. | *sbχ*. *t*, gate. | Tex. p. 388. |
| 408. | A flag-staff for placing on pylon. | *χakr*, to adorn. | Ros. stone, l. 4., Tab. B. M. 551. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 409. | Reticulated pylon. | *mr*, enceinte, circuit. | Tex. 426. |
| 410. | Bolt of a door. | *xm*, bolt, shrine; Khem. | M. Cul. xxix. 1. |
| 411. | Obelisk. | *txn*, obelisk.; name of Amen. | D. 267., obelisk of Amyrtæus, B. M., S. P. xlix. p. 15. l. 2. xxv. 9. |
| 412. | Column with capital of truncated lotus buds. | column, with lotus-bud capital. | D. 254. |
| 413. | Same, with papyrus capital. | same, with papyrus capital. | D. 254. |
| 414. | Same, with lotus capital. | same, with lotus capital. | D. 254. |
| 415. | Same, with capital of lily lotus. | same, with capital of lily lotus. | D. 254. |
| 416. | Doum palm capital. | doum palm column. | D. 254. |
| 417. | House and feather. | temple. | D. 238. |
| 418. | Part of roof of a kind of hall. | *hb*, festival. | Leemans, xxii. a. |
| 419. | Same complete, with two thrones. | *hb*, panegyry. | D. 253. |
| 420. | Same, without thrones. | same. | D. 254. |
| 421. | Throne. | *hs*, *ka-t*, throne. | D. 255. |
| 422. | Same. | same. | D. 255. |
| 423. | High chair. | *kani*, chair. | P. S. 121. B. M. |
| 424. | Sofa, couch. | *hs*, *ka*, sofa, couch; variant above. | D. 306. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 425. | Palanquin. | *uts ?*, palanquin. | D. 306., G. 494. |
| 426. | Kind of seat. | seat. | M. t. ii. cxxxv. |
| 427. | Altar. | *χaui*, altar. | D. 254. |
| 428. | Portable shrine. | shrine. | D. 252. |
| 429. | Shrine, chapel. | shrine, chapel. | D. 252. |
| 430. | Apparently a kind of stone. | *an ?* total, account. | M. C. cxxxiii. |
| 431. | Furnace. | *karr, kll*, furnace. | G. 76., D. 452. |
| 432. | Tablet. | *ht*, tablet, stele; perhaps *hai*, same. | D. 255., Roset. Stone, last l., and tomb in Louvre. |
| 433. | Potter's stand or chimney. | potter's stand. | D. 255. |
| 434. | Same, lump of clay above. | same. | M. Cul. xxii. |
| 435. | Potter's furnace. | *nhp*, potter's stand, to mould. | M. Cul. xlix. |
| 436. | A manger. | *ap-t*, a manger; Thebes. | D. 452. |
| 437. | Head-rest, pillow. | *hurs, huls*, pillow, head-rest. | D. 255. |
| 438. | Altar bearing a calf's head, cake of bread, and jug. | *χaiu*, altar. | D. 255. |
| 439. | Table with vases and cakes. | *ht-hu*, table, kind of altar. | D. 255. |
| 440. | Stand with liquids. | *χaui*, altar. | D. 285. |
| 441. | Same. | same, altar. | D. 306. |
| 442. | Sort of altar. | *χau*, altar. | D. 155. 464. |
| 443. | Chest. | *kara*, chest | R. C., sep. figures, B. M. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 444. | Boat with sail and oar. | *χt*, to navigate. | Sharpe, 82, 9. |
| 445. | Fishing, or bird, boat. | boat [archaic form]. | M. C. v. |
| 446. | Boat with chest. | *χsf*, to anchor a boat, go back, stop. | Tab. B. M. |
| 447. | Boat with throne. | *ba*, a boat. | Tab. B. M. |
| 448. | Boat with naos. | *uaa, ba*, boat, barge. | Tab. B. M. 551. |
| 449. | Boat with disk of the sun. | *ua enra*, sacred barge of the Sun. | D. 272. |
| 450. | Boat with hatchet in it. | *ta*, a boat. | |
| 451. | Sacred barge with ark, the prow and stem terminating in disked rams' heads. | barge of Amen. | D. 272. |
| 452. | Same wearing atefs and collars. | boat of Xuns. | D. 272. |
| 453. | Same, female heads wearing the p*χ*ent. | barge of Mu-t. | D. 272. |
| 454. | Barge of Socharis and couch. | barge of Socharis. | D. 272. |
| 455. | Hawk on shrine in barge of Socharis. | same. | D. 272. |
| 456. | Sledge with a block of stone. | sledge of stone | Bronze situlus, B. M.; Tab. A[1]. 60, 61. |
| 457. | Tow-line of boat. | *ha-ti*, the tow-line. | Pap. Burton, 120. B. M. loco L. B. D. xxxv. 99. 8. |
| 458. | Raised prow | *utu*, the stern. | Ibid. 9. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 459. | Poop. | *hptu*, poop. | Ibid. 10. |
| 460. | Mast. | *ꜥa-n-tka*, "wood of the sail," mast, spar. | Ibid. xxxvi. 99. 11. |
| 461. | Rigging. | *a-tu-kar*, rigging. | Ibid. 12. |
| 462. | Blocks. | *bta*, the blocks, shrouds. | Ibid. 13. |
| 463. | Keel? | *mat-bt*, the keel? | Ibid. 17. |
| 464. | Lines by which the oars were pulled. | *nfri*, the haulyards. | Ibid. |
| 465. | Oarlock? | *bas-t*, the oarlock. | Ibid. 20. |
| 466. | Paddle with hawk's head. | *hms*, a rudder. | W. M. C. ii. pl. 47. |
| 467. | Paddle. | *usr*, oar. | D. 140. |
| 468. | Blade of a paddle. | *hpi*, *hpt*, blade. | Pap. Burt. 120. B. M. loco L. B. D. xxxvi. 99. 16. |
| 469. | Sail. | *thai*, sail. | Pap. Burt. 120. B. M. |
| 470. | Crown. | *mahu*, chaplet, crown. | D. 285. |
| 471. | Another kind of crown. | *mahu*, a crown. | D. 285. |
| 472. | Crown of flowers. | *mh*, crown of flowers. | D. 285. |
| 473. | Helmet. | *χprχ*, helmet. | G. 76. |
| 474. | Upper crown with uræus. | *ht*, upper crown, white crown; Upper World or Country. | D. 284. |
| 475. | Upper crown. | same. | D. 281. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 476. | Lower crown. | *tχr*, red crown, lower crown, Lower Egypt. | D. 281. |
| 477. | Two crowns united. | *pχnt*, ψχέντ, diadem of Upper and Lower Country. | Ros. Stone, D. 281. |
| 478. | Wig with uræus. | *nmms*, wig, royal wig. | D. 281. |
| 479. | Wig for head. | wig. | D. 285. |
| 480. | Two full plumes. | two feathers. | D. 165. |
| 481. | Two feathers and disk. | disk and feathers. | Statue of king Horus, B.M. 5. |
| 482. | Two ostrich feathers. | sense unknown. | Tox. 379. |
| 483. | Crown of Upper Egypt, two feathers, disk, and two horns. | *atf*, crown of Osiris, and gods of Lower World. | G. 76. |
| 484. | Same, with pendent uræi and wig. | *atf*, crown. | Tab. B. M. 551. |
| 485. | Crown of goat's horns and three conical caps. | head attire of Horus. | M. Cul. xv. |
| 486. | Pair of horns on a stand. | *ba-ba* or *ab-ab*, to tip, horns, extremities. | D. 121., G. 359. |
| 487. | Forepart of a crown. | kind of buckle, or forepart of a crown. | M. C. li. 4. 12., lxxvii. 10. |
| 488. | Collar. | *usχ*, a collar. | D. 285. |
| 489. | Same. | *usχ*, *χb*, a collar. | D. 285. |
| 490. | Same. | *usχ*, a collar. | D. 285. |
| 491. | Kind of the same. | *χna*, a collar? | Tablet, B. M. |
| 492. | A kind of chain?, perhaps a signet. | *mna.t*, signet. | D. 235. |
| 493. | A pectoral plate. | *uta*, pectoral plate. | D. 286. |
| 494. | Bracelet. | *mn-nfr*, *ar.t*, *maft*? bracelet, anklet. | Cf. M.C. lxxvii., D. 185, 186., rect. sarc. B.M. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 495. | Bracelet or anklet? | occurs only in name of a region. | M. R. lxi. |
| 496. | Metallic armlet. | *mska*, metal armlet. | L. A. xiv. B. |
| 497. | String of beads. | string of beads. | Tomb at Memphis (Bonomi). |
| 498. | Apron. | *χnti*, a, shent, apron. | G. 53., rect. sarc. |
| 499. | Tunic. | *basu*, an apron, a tunic. | G. 53., rect. sarc. |
| 500. | Sandal. | *tb*, *tb-tb*, sandal. | D. 288.* |
| 501. | Shoe latchet. | *ths*, shoe latchet. | M. C. lxiv. 4. |
| 502. | Flyflap. | *sr*, flyflap. | D. 318. |
| 503. | Variant of same. | *χaibt*, a fan, repose? | M. t. iii. ccxix. |
| 504. | Sistrum. | *s.χχ*, a sistrum; to play the sistrum. *Pχ-ti*, goddess. | Young, H. Pl. 57.; M. t. i. xxxviii. |
| 505. | Same. | same, sistrum-player, inferior priestess. | D. 291. |
| 506. | Kind of same. | sense unknown. | Mummy case, B. M. |
| 507. | Standard with two plumes, and counterpoise of a collar. | *Nfr Atum*, name of a god. | Luxor obelisk, M. t. iv. pl. cccxx. |
| 508. | Standard with two ostrich feathers. | region of two truths. | L. A. taf. x. |
| 509. | Standard with moon, sense unknown. | lunar standard. | Sh. Pl. 16. |
| 510. | Kukufa sceptre, and ostrich feather. | *Usr* or *Nsr*, name of a region. | Tex. 305. |
| 511. | Standard with star, surmounted by inverted horns. | *Sfχ-abu*, "inverted horns," "seven horns," "blank paper?" mistress of writing, n. of a goddess. | Tex. 359. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 512. | Ostrich feather standard. | *nχt, χiu*, power. | Tex. 388. |
| 513. | Variant of same. | standard. | D. 326. |
| 514. | Another standard. | same. | D. 159. |
| 515. | A circular ingot. | *s-χa*, shekel. | L. A. xii. 31. 51. |
| 516. | Perhaps only a variant of a basket. | measure of precious stones. | L. A. xii. 49. |
| 517. | Lotus sceptre. | Upper Country. | D. 329. |
| 518. | Papyrus sceptre. | Lower Country. | D. 329. |
| 519. | Mace. | *ht*, mace? | Leemans, 6. 42. |
| 520. | Plectrum. | *s-ka*, to strike. | M. C. ii. 3. p. 23. |
| 521. | Mace. | *ht*, mace. | M. St. iii. 2d p. 220. f. |
| 522. | Whip. | χχ, *nχa*, a whip, to whip. | D. 224., sarc. B. M., M. cccxxiii. |
| 523. | Rod, stick. | a stick. | M. C. lxxvii. 2. |
| 524. | Prop. | *sba*, prop, impious. | M. R. lxxix., L. B. D. xi. 10. 4. |
| 525. | Cord, or horn, standard. | *aau*, honour, glory, title. | D. 192. |
| 526. | Hatchet, war axe. | *aka*, battle-axe. | D. 337., L. A. |
| 527. | Another kind. | *χtn.i*, war axe. | G. 334., rect. sarc. B. M. |
| 528. | Woodman's hatchet. | *snχ.t*, woodman's hatchet. | G. 533., rect. sarc. B. M. |
| 529. | Dagger. | *baasu*, a dagger. | B. M. rect. sarc. |
| 530. | Poniard, sword. | *χaa*, dagger, first, chief, above. | D. 338. |
| 531. | Bow unstrung. | *Pti*, in *Na.pti*, Libyans, black race, Libyan colour, yellow ochre. | D. 389. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 532. | Bow strung. | *pti*, bow. | D. 339. |
| 533. | Buckler. | *akam*, a shield. | D. 342. |
| 534. | Chariot. | *hurr*, chariot. | D. 333. |
| 535. | Bunch of hooks. | hooks. | Tomb at Memphis (Bonomi). |
| 536. | A pair of scales. | scales. | |
| 537. | Balance. | *ma-χa*, balance. | D. 359. |
| 538. | Scale of a balance. | scale? | M. Cul. lxvi. |
| 539. | Weight by which balance was regulated. | *tχ*, weight, appointed. | L. B. D. 125. 9. |
| 540. | Scribe's pallet, and pen and inkstand. | *s-χai*, inkstand, to write. | D. 303. |
| 541. | Scribe's pallet. | pallet. | D. 303. |
| 542. | Roll of papyrus. | *χaa*, book, period at end of sentences. | D. 304. |
| 543. | Polisher? | shadow? | M. t. iii. ccxlii. |
| 544. | A packet or bag of leather tied up. | *arf*, a bag, a pouch, a purse. | Rect. sarc. B. M. |
| 545. | Bag. | in "overseer of the . . . ." | Tablet, B. M. 199. |
| 546. | A spindle. | *sat*, to sew. | D. 424. |
| 547. | Spindle or shuttle. | *Nt*, Nηίθ; in name of a goddess. | D. 362. |
| 548. | Same. | same. | D. 362. |
| 549. | Ball of string. | *sta*, ball of thread to tow, to spin. | D. 363. |
| 550. | Coil of thread. | to reel. | M. C. xlii. 4. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 551. | A kind of spindle. | *s-mn*, to establish, prepare; det. of name of a metal. | L. A. xiv. l. 30. |
| 552. | Looped cords. | *sah*, side, Sais. | Sarc. B. M.; small statue, B. M. 134.; Arch. xix., pl. xv. 19. |
| 553. | A tie. | *sah, sa*, side. | Arch. xix. pl. xv. 19. |
| 554. | Linen bands apparently. | sense unknown. | Standard of Xiufu, L. A. |
| 555. | Net closed. | a net. | Pap. Burt. 20. B. M. |
| 556. | Net in profile. | *s-χt*, to net. | D. 359. |
| 557. | Kind of net. | to net. | D. 359. |
| 558. | Sculptor's chisel. | to chisel. | D. 361. |
| 559. | Saw. | *us*, saw, to saw, n. of bird. | D. 351. |
| 560. | Plane. | *stp*, to judge, approve, select, δοκιμάζειν, κρίνειν. | D. 382., M. C. ii. 54. |
| 561. | Instrument for dividing leather, arbelon. | *uta*, to divide, between. | L.B.D. i. 1. 2. 4. |
| 562. | Mason's level. | χχ, to balance, adjust. | D. 356. |
| 563. | Sling, or halter for animals. | *rut*, to sow, engrave, renew. | D. 395. |
| 564. | Incense burner. | incense burner. | G. 190. |
| 565. | Jug. | jug. | D. 424. |
| 566. | Vase with steam issuing from its mouth. | *art*, milk. | D. 185. |
| 567. |  Two small vases tied together. | *arp*, wine. | L. Let. A. 6 |
| 568. | Tall jug. | jug, spondist. | D. 424. |
| 569. | Same, with cover, libation coming out. | *kabh*, libation, refreshments. | D. 426. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 570. | Tall jug without cover, libation coming out. | *kabh*, libation, refreshments. | D. 426. |
| 571. | Same, water coming out of the top. | same. | D. 427. |
| 572. | Same on a stand. | same. | D. 427. |
| 573. | Vase, placed on a stand under tables. | *hka*, refreshments, liquids: see Syllabic *ta*. | Rect. sarc. of Munthept, B. M. |
| 574. | Inverted vase. | stand on the head. | M. C. ciii. |
| 575. | Inverted vase. | χ*pn*, slave?, purity, majesty. | D. 427. |
| 576. | Goose laid on a basket. | goose. | Vyse, Pyram. vol. iii. Dashour. |
| 577. | Packet on a basket. | *stm*, stibium, στίμμι. | Ibid. |
| 578. | Cake in a basket. | *at*, bread. | H[ks]. 1847. |
| 579. | Two cakes in a basket. | cakes, basketful. | Vyse, l. c. |
| 580. | Basket with grains or fruit. | either *bsn* or *nbs*, probably "dates." | S[n]. xiii. xvii.; Tablet A[i]. x. |
| 581. | High basket filled with bread. | *hpt*, food, bread. | Tablets, passim. |
| 582. | Conical cake. | cake. | M. C. lxvii. 2. |
| 583. | Conical cake. | *nbs.t*, date bread. | Tomb, B. M. |
| 584. | A honeycomb. | *kabi*, honeycomb. | G. 75. |
| 585. | Vase with spikes. | *rut*, to germinate, to sow. | Bronze situlus, B. M. |
| 586. | Same. | same. | Ibid. |
| 587. | Basket. | *nb*, lord, all. | D. 403. |
| 588. | Basket and house. | *Nb-t-i*, Nephthys; name of a goddess. | D. 405, 406. |
| 589. |  Crucible. | *ba*, wood, iron, cloud? | D. 361., G. 90. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 590. | Archaic form of same. | *ba*, wood, iron, cloud? | M. C. xxiii. 3. |
| 591. | Apparently a stand. | *menχ*, utensils, *ata* . . . . ? | Sep. box, B. M.; sarc. in Louvre. |
| 592. | Same. | same. | Tab. passim. |
| 593. | Same. | same. | D. 428. |
| 594. | Curved line. | ten. | D. 442. |
| 595. | Horizontal line. | *u*, one in *Ssn*; i. e. Shmoun, 8th region, Hermopolis. | Sarc. B. M. 3. |
| 596. |  Vertical line. | *u*, one, indefinite article, masculine. | D. 438. |
| 597. |  Square. | *ta*, the world. | D. 438. |
| 598. |  Pyramidal object. | *St*, *Sp*, Sothis, the dog-star. | D. 356., G. 96. |
| 599. |  Pyramidal cake. | *sns*, a kind of food, ragout. | M. c. xxxviii., Tex. 373. |
| 600. |  Object, pyramidal form, and stroke at bottom. | *ta*, "to give;" also used as termination of present participle. | D. 356. |
| 601. | Ball of incense. | *ntr-str*, incense. | M.t.iv. cccxi. 1. |
| 602. | Imperfect, perhaps barge of Socharis. | *Spr*, name of a god. | Sarc. B. M. |
| 603. | Legs of a stool united, or two reels. | sense unknown. | Tab. B. M. 440. |
| 604. |  Same. | . . *m*, name of a god. | L. B. D. ix. 17. 54. |
| 605. |  Probably variation of preceding. | *sah*, constellation. | Sarc. Qu. Amasis, B. M. 32. |
| 606. | Same. | *sah*, constellation, Orion, nails of body. | G. 95. |
| 607. | Three looped strings. | *s.sah*, assemble, Orion. | Pap. Sams, 15. B. M.; L. B. D. ii. 18. |
| 608. |  Unknown. | *nnnu*, sense unknown. | E. H. xxxiv. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 609. | Claw. | sense unknown. | Tablet, B. M. 440. |
| 610. | Lock of hair? | *rut*, posterity, race. | Sep. fig. B. M. |
| 611. | Packet. | *han*, to command, acquaint. | L. B. D. xxviii. 8., sarc. B.M. 3. |
| 612. | Uncertain. | Tentyra. | Tex. 468. |
| 613. | Uncertain object. | *sp*, a time. | |
| 614. | Uncertain object. | *Tata-nn*, "proper, peculiar, appointed to." | Tab. B. M. 305. |
| 615. | Unknown object. | *kar*? sense unknown. | Fragment, Dr. Lee's Coll. |
| 616. | Unknown object. | sense unknown. | Statue of Senmaut, Berlin Museum. |
| 617. | An arbelon. | *sχa*, to fabricate. | M. C. li. 4. |
| 618. | A chessman. | determinative of sound *ab*, in dumb and an animal. | M. t. i. cccix. |
| 619. | Twisted cord. | *snt*, to found. | G. 387. |
| 620. |  A pod? | *aχa*, a laburnum? | L. A. xiv. |

## B.

### DETERMINATIVE SIGNS.

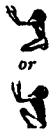
In the progressive formation of the Old Egyptian system of writing, certain signs, which had gradually obtained a more general value, began at an early period to be set apart from the common mass of symbolic elements. The sycomore, for instance, as being a tree more especially common and useful in Egypt, became the representative sign of all trees. This is the transition from the visible to the ideal, from definite and individual to universal and generic ideas. It is the transition from the Representative to the Symbolical type, although, of course, the original meaning was still retained. In like manner, the sun's disk (*ra*) was affixed to several words or signs

which express the divisions of time regulated by the sun, as *hr*, day, *hunnu*, hour; or those expressive of light, as *ht*, to illumine. The disk, so employed, does not express the word of which it is the symbol, it only determines the meaning of the preceding phonetic sign, the sense of which would otherwise remain doubtful to the reader, owing to the various significations of the same Egyptian roots. This mode of employing the signs opened up a fertile field for the depicting of ideas which did not admit of direct representation. Thus the sign egg, while it continued to depict the object represented, became also determinative after the name of a woman or goddess; the sucking child, raising the hand to its mouth, not only denoted a child in general (*χn*, *χr*), but also all offices connected with childhood; as *rr*, to dandle, &c.

The principle on which we have separated the Ideographics from the Determinatives is therefore this: every ideographical sign becomes determinative as soon as it denotes more words than one, whether homogeneous, or quite distinct in their meaning, although belonging to the same comprehensive class of ideas. But these signs do not therefore cease to be ideographic, and as such to indicate the words for whose representation they were in the first instance employed. The Egyptian writing here exhibits the same law of development as we have observed in every language and every root. Thus the German word *thier*, signified originally a stag (deer), then a quadruped, and then an animal in general (compare θήρ, θηρίον). Again *whelp*, a young hound (in German, *wolf*), became the young of any animal; and the cock, which originally was the male chicken, became the male of all birds; and so on in a great variety of instances.

The number of signs in the old language, which fulfil the functions of Determinatives, appears to amount to 163; 43 of these are a supplement to our previous list, and it is possible that the discovery of other monuments may hereafter furnish us with a few more. We may, however, confidently state that the principle of Determinatives was in full activity at the commencement of the chronological epoch. In certain cases a few of these signs appear to be introduced in order to determine the sound, rather than sense, of the preceding Phonetics: thus the block of stone in the name of the god Seth merely indicates that his name was pronounced in the same way as *st* (limestone); while the following figure of the ass-headed god is the second and real Determinative.

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | A ceiling. | things above; as *hai*, a ceiling: *p'*, the heaven; *hri*, above. | G. 190. 402., D. 1. 254. |
| 2. | Heaven, or ceiling supported on four stakes. | *abhth*, . . .; *s tahn*, . . . .; *akap*, . . . | M. R. cxiv., Tab. B. M. 552., L. B. D. xxxv. 99. 2. |
| 3. | A ceiling, with a star suspended. | darkness: as *uχa*, darkness; *krh*, darkness; *aχrh*, night; *aχχ*, shades; *kk*, obscurity. | L. Lettre, A. vi. 13.; G. 79. 97.; Tab. 551. B. M.; M. Cul. xliv. 4. |
| 4. |  Disk of the sun. | 1. light: *atn*, disk; *ra*, the sun; *s'ht*, to give light to; *ubn*, to shine; *pst*, to gleam. 2. solar time: as *rnpa?*, a year; *tar*, time; *abt?*, a month; *rhu*, dawn; *hau*, a day; *hr*, a day; *sf*, yesterday; *kar*, sunset; *krh*, night; *hb*, a festival; *kp*, an hour; *hnnu*, an hour. | G. 96. and foll. 377.; Tablet, B. M. 551.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847. |
| 5. | Disk diffusing rays of light | light: as *sti*, a sunbeam, (sun's ray); *ht*, daylight; *ubn*, to illuminate; *mau*, to gleam; *ui*, brilliancy; *hai*, light; *am*, a beam. | G. 377.; B. M. Sarcoph. 34.; Tex. 316.; Tablet, B. M. 551. |
| 6. | Moon. | lunar time: *aah*, moon; *abt* (?), a month; *tna*, a fortnight. | G. 97. |
| 7. | A star. | 1. sidereal time: *sb*, a star; *abt*, a month; *tna*, a fortnight; *hnnu*, *kp*, an hour. 2. constellations: *apt*, the swan; *χpχ*, the thigh, ursa major. 3. also used for *sb*, to adore; *sb*, a gate. cf. PHONETICS. | G. 95, 96., D. 12, 13. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | or A hill. | districts and countries. | G. 149. and foll. |
| 9. | Three streams of water. | liquids, and actions of liquids: *ab*, to thirst; *sa*, or *shr*, to drink, &c. | G. 98. 375,376.; L. Lettre, A. vi. 2. |
| 10. | A jet of flame. | 1. fire. 2. actions of fire | G. 99. |
| 11. | Elderly man seated on the ground. | names of men. | G. 129. and foll. |
| 12. | Same, holding symbol of life. | names of gods (living gods). | G. 111. |
| 13. | Same, holding a kukufa sceptre. | names of gods (powerful gods). | G. 111. |
| 14. | Man wearing a teϰer, or red cap. | persons of dignity: *sutn*, king; *atai*, chief, noble. | Tablet of Amenisneb, Louvre. l. 2. 5. 8. |
| 15. | Man seated on a chair, holding a whip. | names of persons of high rank: *asi*, noble. cf. Mixed Signs. | G. 127. |
| 16. | Same, seated on the ground. | *asi*, noble: det. of names of nobles. | G. 127., M. C. cxxxv. |
| 17. | Man kneeling on the ground. | names and qualities of persons. | G. 129. and foll. |
| 18. | Same, holding his hand to his mouth. | actions of the mind and mouth: *tt*, to speak; *mr*, to love, to kiss; *am*, to eat; *sau*, *sr*, to drink; *s-*ϰ*ai*, to paint. | G. 378, 379., L. B. D. xxxix. 107. 2. |
| 19. | Man seated, with the hands down. | sitting: *hms*, to sit; *hrt*, to be peaceful; *bka*, to be prostrate; *hft*, to squat? ϰ. *rt*. . . to . . . | L. B. D. i. 3. 6. 12. xxxvii. 101. 1. |
| 20. |  or Man kneeling in adoration. | adorations: *sb*, to adore; *s-ua*ϰ, to glorify. | G. 387., L. B. D. xxix. 78. 21. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | An archer seated, on his head two feathers. | *mχ*, an archer; *menf*, a soldier; *kelaχer*, a calasiris. | D. 141., Lady Tennyson's L. Papyrus. |
| 22. | Man dancing. | dancing: *χb*, to dance; *abu*, to sport; *trf*, to dance; *χtb*, to tumble. | G. 370., M. Cul. xxix. 3. |
| 23. | Same, variant. | same. | G. 370., M. Cul. xxix. 3. |
| 24. | Same. | same. | G. 368. |
| 25. | Man adoring. | invocations: *sbaau*, to adore; *aχ*, to cry out. | D. 29., G. 368. |
| 26. | Man holding up both hands. | rejoicing: *ka*, to rejoice, applaud; *aχ*, to proclaim, to raise up; *haa*, to rejoice. | G. 368. 386. 389., D. 29. |
| 27. | Man bearing a basket on his head. | carrying: *fa*, to carry; *atp*, to bear or load; *kat*, to make, construct. | G. 379, 380., M. Cul. xlvii. 1. |
| 28. | Man building up a wall. | constructing: *atn*, to build, make; *χm*, to construct? | Tablets, B. M. |
| 29. | Man holding a stick. | striking: *h'*, to strike; *ufa*, to chastise; *tr*, to bruise. | G. 389., pyramidion in the Louvre. |
| 30. | Man beating out his own brains. | evil persons: *χft*, a reprobate; *χmi*, enemy; *sbi*, profane. | G. 103. |
| 31. | Man fallen. | overthrowing: *χtb*, to be overthrown; *χr*, or *ꜥr*, to smite; *sfχ*, to lay waste, overtake. | G. 369. 373., P. S. B. M. |
| 32. | Asiatic foreigner. | names of Asiatic people. | G. 139. |
| 33. | Same, hands tied behind him. | same; *tnhu*, prisoner. | G. 139. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | Same tied by arms to a stake. | Names of Asiatic people; *tnhu*, prisoner. | G. 139. |
| 35. | Man holding a stick and sash. | old men: *hr*, a senior, elder; *sr*, a prince; *aa*, noble; *sms*, preference. | G. 116., M. C. ii., L.B.D. xliv. 118. 2. |
| 36. | A child sucking its finger. | children: *χn*, a baby; *rru*, a nursling; *χr*, a child; *χart*, offspring; *rnpa*, to grow; *sn-χn*, to nurse; *ms*, to bring forth. | G. 134. 321. 77. 374. 1. 2. |
| 37. | God with head of a peculiar black bird, of an ass, or of the giraffe. | devils: *St*, *Sti*, Typhon; *Bar*, Baal; *Sutχ*, Sadak; *Naa-ai*, Ass. | Flaminian obelisk; M. t. i. pl. xxvii.; sarc. Amyrtæus, 10. B. M. |
| 38. | Female seated on the ground. | 1. names of females. 2. names of goddesses. | G. 129. 132. |
| 39. | Same, with a lotus flower. | 1. same. 2. same. | G. 128. 136. |
| 40. | Same, wearing a tiara and holding a lotus bud. | 1. same. 2. same. | G. 144. |
| 41. | Female seated, with a modius on her head. | names of goddesses. | G. 122. |
| 42. | Same, holding a lotus sceptre. | names of goddesses, and queens. | G. 122. |
| 43. | Woman bringing forth. | bringing forth: *ms*, to bring forth; *papa*, to lie in. | G. 367, 368. |
| 44. | Woman dandling a child. | nursing: *rnn*, to bring up; *mna*, to wet-nurse; *rr*, to dandle; *χnm*, to make to sleep, dry-nurse. | G. 368. 77., E. H. xxxii. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 45. | Mummy laid out. | embalming: *χat*, a body; *kars*, to embalm. | G. 76. |
| 46. | Mummy placed upright. | 1. form: *tut*, an image; *χpr* (*tr* ch.), a type; *ka*, a form; *kars*, a mummy; *χb-(ti)*, a transformation; *s-ka*, a case?; *aru*, a ceremony. | G. 76., P. B. B. M., G. 80. 498., Tab. 55. B. M., M. t. iii. |
| 47. | Bier with or without mummy. | embalming: as *χaat*, a body, corpse; *s-tr*, to lay out; *kars*, an embalment. | G. 76., S$^{h}$. pl. 12. |
| 48. | Head. | 1. head and its parts: *api?*, head; *thni*, forehead; *ha*, face, above; *tata* (*gog*, c.), head. 2. articles calculated by heads. | G. 93., D. 95., H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847., S$^{t}$. G. 299. |
| 49. | A lock of hair. | hair: *sn*, a curl, a lock; *kam*, black-haired; *anm*, wool; *hanksti* . . . .?; *akb*, grief? &c. | G. 91. 321.; L. A. t. xii. l. 16.; L. B. D. xl. 110., a. 3. 2.; coffin of Anχhepi, B.M. |
| 50. | Eye with its brow (*an*). | *an*, to adorn; *maa*, to see; *nhas*, to raise up; *rs*, to suspend; *thaka*, . . . .; *χtr*, to consent; *χmhu*, to conceive, imagine, &c. | Tab. 551. B. M.; pyramidion, Louvre; T$^{ex}$. 451.; L. B. D. xlii. 110. 3.; S. P. x. 10., xiii. 2., xviii. 1., xxi. 7., lv. lvi. lvii. 2. |
| 51. | Eye shedding tears. | weeping: *aχni*, . . .; *rm*, to weep; *akb*, to lament. | G. 389., D. 71. |
| 52. |  Tongue (coloured red and blue). | *haka*, to chew; *uχa*, to gobble up. | L. B. D. xl. 110. a. 1, 2.; side of tomb, B. M. 541. |
| 53. | Tooth or angle (*hu*). | all angular objects: *uχa*, to swallow. | G. 92. 97., L. B. D. xvii. 33, 2. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 54. | Arm, hand fallen. | peaceable actions: *kahu*, shoulder. | G. 381., M. C. xcv. 7. |
| 55. | Hand holding a club (*neχt*). | forcible actions: formative of verbs. | G. 380. |
| 56. | Two arms held downwards. | *kan*, the breast; *hpt*, to unite; *ank*, to embrace?; *a-ka*, to divide; *apt*, rib, peg. | G. 250. 372.; sepulch. vases passim; L. B. D. xxxv. 99. 10., lxv. 145, 79. |
| 57. | Heart. | 1. *hati*, heart. 2. actions connected with heart: *har*, *hrt*, peaceful; *χaka* . . . . | G. 91., L. B. D. 1. 3., Tab. 148. B. M., L. B. D. i. 1. 1. |
| 58. | Two breasts. | breast and its actions: *mna*, a nurse, to wet-nurse; *snkau*, to suckle. | G. 372., M. R. cxlii. 1. |
| 59. | Phallus. | 1. male animals: *ka*, a bull; *naa*, an ass; *hau*, a husband. 2. male organ and its actions: *utt*, to engender; *baah*, penis; *karnata*, a foreskin; *hannu*, phallus. | G. 382.; L. B. D. xxxi. 86.; Tab. 551. B. M.; large tablet, Louvre; Tex. 348.; G. 94. |
| 60. | Bent leg. | leg and its actions: *sn*, to kneel; *χnt*, to approach, tread on; *uar*, the leg?; *rt*, the feet; *ar*, an ärura, acre; *ustn* . . . .; *suten*, to lay down, &c. | Rect. sarc.; G. 94.; L. B. D. xxxv. 98. 1., xxxvi. " 22.; Sh. 106. 6.; Tex. 394. |
| 61. | Leg with a knife through it. | *ska*, to . . .; *aati*, to . . .; *tha*, to be drunk [Ch.], to deprive [B.]. | L. B. D. xi. 17. 95., xxxviii. 101. 1. xlvi. 13. |
| 62. | Two legs walking. | locomotion. | G. 382, 383. |
| 63. | Two legs going back. | *sna*, to turn away; *χsf*, to stop, not to go; *hm*, to stay, &c. | L. B. D. i. 15.; sarc. of Sabaentet, B. M. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 64. | Drop of blood. | parts of the body; | G. 91. |
| 65. | Bleeding wound (flower, seed falling out). | liquids: *snf*, blood; *tχr*, gore; *muau*, water; *χt*, . .; *χp*, . . .; *hn* . . | G. 99.; L. B. D. lv. 6., xvii. 32. 7., xviii. 39. 2. |
| 66. | Horse. | horses: *htar*, a horse; *ssm*, a mare. | G. 72. |
| 67. | Bull. | *rni*, cattle?; *aua*, a bull; *ka*, a bull; *aka*, fat; names of sacred bulls. | Tab. Louvre, L. B. D. lxii. 145. f. 24. |
| 68. | Cow. | cows: *ah*, cow; *aua*, a cow; *maht*, a white antelope; *mn mn*, cattle; *kau*, a cow. | G. 72. 126.; L. A. xii.; Tex. 373.; sarc. Q. of Amasis, B. M.; L. B. D. lxix. 148. 9. |
| 69. | Calf. | calves: *ab-hus*, a calf; *aua*, steer; *hnhu*, calf; *husu*, same; *ab*, thirst. | M. C. xxvii. 6., sarc. 32. B. M., G. 375. |
| 70. | Head of a calf. | nostril and its actions: *χra*, a nostril; *fnt*, a nose; *ssn*, to breathe; *sna*, breath; *rχ*, joy, *χnm*, to sleep? | G. 92., M. S. xxv. 4., D. 79., L. B. D. xxxvi. 29. |
| 71. | Hog. | swine: *rru*, a boar; *χaau*, a sow; *apha*, a hog? | G. 72., Tex. 373. |
| 72. | Lower part of a hide. | 1. quadrupeds: *ab*, an elephant; *kamr*, a camel; *apt*, a hippopotamus, &c. 2. skin (*bes*), and objects made of leather: *tb*, a sandal; *χnr*, a casque. | G. 83.; S. P. xcvii. 5., lxxxi. lxii. 2. |
| 73. | Head and gullet of an animal. | 1. throat and its parts: χχ, the throat; *bb*, the gullet; *ahi.t*, windpipe. 2. actions of throat: *am*, to eat. | G. 93.; L. B. D. xxxvi. 99. 13., xxxvii. 101. 7.; G. 386.; sarc. B. M. 3. |
| 74. | Same, variant. | same. | Ibid. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 75. | Fore part of a ram. | *ϰft*, to fashion, a ram. | L. B. D. lxxix. 165. 13. 111. 9. 2., Hks. R. I. A. 1847. |
| 76. | Fore part of a gazelle. | *tntn*, to rise up, pride, revolt; *χft*, demon, liar. | L. B. D. i. 1. 4. cf. M. Cul. xl. |
| 77. | Shoulder of an animal. | *aau*, flesh; *ϰaa*, to be born. | Sarc. Mycerinus, B. M.; M. S. iii.; Tes. i. 85. |
| 78. | Hind quarters of an animal. | violence: *kfa*, to disturb, hunt; *tn-tn*, to rise up, pride; *χpt*, thigh. | G. 94. 493., Pap. B. M. |
| 79. | A duck (*hept*). | 1. waterfowl. 2. birds generally. 3. flying animals: *χprr*, a scarab. 4. *sinm*, to doctor; *χnm*, to sleep? | G. 85, 86. M. C. i. p. 271., L. B. D. i. 1. 3. |
| 80. | A duck trussed. | cooked fowls: *ru*, duck; *trp*, another kind; *snt*, to prove? | Pyr. Dashour, rect. sarc. B. M., Tab. 551. B. M. |
| 81. | Bird of the finch kind (*mena*). | evil actions: *nts*, little. | G. 102. 107., L. B. D. lviii. 141. 8. |
| 82. | Bird tied to a stick. | *kam*, to create; *tnnu*, to move. | L. B. D. v. 15. 29., lxv. 146. a. 1. |
| 83. | A flying goose. | *pai*, to fly; *tnnu*, to move; *sr*, kind of goose. | P. S. B. M., L. B. D. xxii. 58. 1.; M. t. iii. ccxiii. |
| 84. | A wing. | flying: *tnh*, a wing; *pai*, to fly; *ap*, to mount up; *aχm*, to soar. | G. 371, 372. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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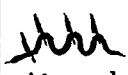
| 85. | An egg. | 1. substances: *suh*, an egg; *au*, substance; *mai*, same; *rpa*, a youth; *pai*, person [cf. the syllabic part]. 2. of females and goddesses. | G. 74.; Pap. Sams, B. M.; M. R. lvi.; G. 122–24. 35. 43. 74.; calc. stone, B. M. |
| 86. | Crocodile. | crocodiles: *msuh*, a crocodile; *sbak*, lay out, a land crocodile &c.; *ati*, . . . . | W. M. C. ii. pl. 50., G. 74., L. B. D. lx. 144. d. |
| 87. | The fish botti. | all kinds of fishes: *rm*, a ray; *but*, abominable; *abut*. ., *χpt* . ., *hutu*, a kind of fish; *baru*, a mullet; *χaua*, a kind of fish; *an*, a perch? | G. 87.; L. B. D. iii. 141–44.; S. P. lxxv. 2. 6. 7. 8., xcvi. 7, 8. |
| 88. | A sort of snake (occasionally only three coils). | snakes: *ru*, snake, used for mouth; *mhn*, an asp; *hfi*, a snake; *fnti*, a worm; *rf rf*, a viper; *rr*, a . . . | D. 176. 366. 370., Tab. in Louvre, L. B. D. xvii. 33. 1. |
| 89. |  Same, pierced with swords. | *App*, Apophis; *sba*, the wicked; *btχ*, abominable. | D. 176., M. iv. cccxx. ccxxii.; L. B. D. lvii. 140. ii. |
| 90. | Uræus serpent. | names of goddesses: *ara*, a uræus, king. | G. 122., L. A. x., M. Cul. xxvii. 1. |
| 91. | A tree. | names of trees. | G. 88. |
| 92. | Shoot of a palm tree. | *tr*, a shoot, a time; in *h-tr*, a horse; in *ptr*, to show; *rnpa*, to grow, increase, plants; *χr*, youthful. | G. 321. 235.; Tex. 373.; coffin of Soter, B. M. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 93. | Bunch of water-flowers. | flowers: *hrri*, a flower; *arp*, vine?; *uχm*, maize? *hu*, corn; *maχ . . .*; *rnpa*, dates?; *bt*, corn, barley; *mahu*, a crown of flowers, &c. | G. 88, 89.; Sh. pl. 34. 2.; L. B. D. xiii. 19., xxxix. 109. 4.; Sh. 106.; early tablet, B.M. |
| 94. | Root of reeds. | reeds: *sm*, fodder; *aak*, reeds. | Tex. 373. |
| 95. | Branch of a tree. | 1. woods: *ba*, wood; *χaa*, wood; *kam*, gum wood; *hbni*, ebony; *ssm*, sesamum. 2. objects made of wood: *marhabuta*, a chariot; *χrp*, a rudder; *hutu*, a prow; *apt*, hold; *nsr*, ? *usr*, paddles; *kar*, a bolt; *ati*, a lintel; *maχa* a balance. | G. 100.; Sh. 56.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, MS. in Trin. Coll.; L. B. D. xxxv. i. 99, 7–21., xlix. 125. 52–58., xlv. 120. 1. |
| 96. | Three grains. | corn and its processes: *su*, corn; *nap*, *napr*, barley; *bti*, corn, barley; *χa*, a bushel, to measure; *ska*, to plough; *asχ*, to reap. | M. C. xxxii., G. 77. 374. 419., Rosetta stone. |
| 97. | Three berries. | *arr*, grapes; *rnpa*, dates. | G. 79., Tex. 373. |
| 98. | Called a cake. | 1. names of towns. 2. *snnu*, the sun's orbit; *pkar*, the horizon. | Tab. B. M., G. 151., L. B. D. xvii. 36. 1. |
| 99. | Ground plan. | abodes, temples. | G. 157. |
| 100. | A road, two trees planted on one side, one on the other. | objects connected with roads: as *hr*, a road; *shr*, to approach; *ar*, to go up; *uaa*, a distance; *matn*, a path. | L. B. D. i. 1. 13., xxxv. 98. 4.; G. 303. |
| 101. | Wall. | *sb-ti*, a wall; *ab*, a . .; *χmχm . . . .*; *anb*, a cornice?; *atr*, to form. | G. 76.; Sh. 32. B.M.; L.B.D. xi. i. 144. g., xlii. 111. 3., xlix. 125. 64. |
| 102. | House. | houses and their parts. | G. 101. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 103. | Staircase. | *kaa*, floor; *arr*, steps, hall, to mount up; *χnt*, an approach. | L. B. D. vii. 17. a. 2.; Vyse, Journal, iii.; Tablet, B. M. |
| 104. | Corner of a building. | *kan*, to bend, relations; *arr*, a hall; *au* (*arru*?) same?; *snhu*, to bind? | E. H. xxvi.; sarc. Amyrtæus, B. M. 10. |
| 105. | Door. | doors and their actions: *ru*, a door; *hn*, to open; *s.χ*, to shut?; *matbt*, boat's hatches. | G. 80. 373., P. Burt. 120. B. M. |
| 106. | Walled fort. | names of foreign prisoners which it encloses. | G. 159. 161. |
| 107. | Pool. | water: *muaa*, water; *iuma*, sea; *ht-hr*, ocean; *a[t]r*, a river. | M. H. xi. 3., G. 98., S$^{h}$. 106. 1. 9. |
| 108. | Block of stone. | 1. all kinds of stones. 2. composite bodies, as *tb*, a brick. 3. objects made of stone, as *ka*, a floor. 4. colours of mineral substances. | G. 100.; L.B.D. xxv. 64. 31., xlix. 125. 55.; H$^{ks}$. Cat. of MSS. Trinity Coll. Dublin. |
| 109. | Sign of festivals. | *hb*, panegyries. | G. 80. |
| 110. | Lower part of same sign. | festivals: *hbi*, a festival; *tna*, half festival, *hakr*,... festival, as Sothis festival; manifestation of *χm* festival; tip of the year festival. | G. 97., S$^{i}$. f. 175., S$^{h}$. |
| 111. | Boat. | 1. boats: *ta*, a boat; *uaa*, a boat; *mna*, a barge, &c. 2. parts of boats; *usχ*, a hold; *nχm*, the deck; *suak*, the cabin; *maat*, the hatches. 3. actions of boats, and actions like those of boats: *ta*, to go; *χn*, to place; *χsf*, to stop, anchor a boat; *kaa fnti*, to stay. | G. 75.; L.B.D. xxxv. 99. 1., xxxvii. 99. 22., xxxviii. 106. 2. &c. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 112. | Boat without oars. | bird's name, the *Fulica atra:* *nχm*, deck or bulwark. | M. C. x. 17.; Sharpe, 17. |
| 113. | Boat with oars. | *pnti*, or *snti*, to detain; a kind of boat; also *ua* a boat? | M. C. cvii. 1., G. 75. |
| 114. | Same, with oars and throne. | *ua*, a boat; *ha*, to stop? | M. C. cviii. |
| 115. | Boat with naos. | same, *sbakt*, a cabin. | Tab. B.M. 571. |
| 116. | Boat with sails furled. | *iti*, *sbkt-t*, a cabin. | D. 272., M. C. viii. |
| 117. | Boat with sail. | *ta*, to sail; *χsf*, to stop. | Coffin of Hapimen, B. M. |
| 118. | Sail. | 1. sails and their parts. 2. air: *ssn*, to breathe; *ss*, *ssr t*, the same; *nif*, breath, air, winds; *tpak*, snow?, &c. | L. B. D. xxxvi. 99. l. 11. 14.; G. 309.; S$^{h}$. pl. 56. l. 7, 8.; S$^{h}$. pl. 104. 7. |
| 119. | *or* Scimitar. | *χpχ*, to smite with a scimitar; *χrtb*, to prostrate. | M. t. i. xvii. lxiii. t. iv. cccxxxiii |
| 120. | Sword. | cutting actions. | G. 384. 5. |
| 121. | Bow. | bows: *pt*, to shoot, to extend; *pst*, yellow paint; *pχt*, to extend. | Tab. 551. B.M.; S$^{i}$.; G. 466.; statue Paχ.t, 15. B.M. |
| 122. | Club. | names of foreigners: *kam*, to create; *sba*, wicked. | G. 138, 139.; Tab. B. M.; L. B. D. v. 15. g. 33. |
| 123. | Arrow. | arrows: *sti*, an arrow; *sr*, an arrow head. | G. 76. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 124. | Mallet. | *mnχ*, to fabricate; *kaut*, to build, make. | G. 372, 373. |
| 125. | Sculptor's chisel (*rk*). | carved objects: *s-rka*, to sculpture; *kas*, to embalm; *krs*, a coffin; *ab*, ivory work; *sbh*, the bones, nails? | L. L. B. n. 43., M. C. xlvi. 9., G. 372., L. A. xii., L. B. D xix. 42. 9. |
| 126. | Called by Champollion an open knife, rather tie of a book. | *s-χa*, a roll; *ark*, a binding, close of month, *s-fχ*, a noose, to noose; *χr*, to fall down; *χft* . . . | G. 104.; L. B. D. vi. 15. 47. 8., xv. 29. 2., xlvi. 125.; E. H. xxxiii. |
| 127. |  Seal. | *χtm*, to shut; *snnu*, to enclose. | G. 381., L. B. D. xvii. 36. 1. |
| 128. | Same, elongated. | *s'ha*, to encase; *sna*, to turn away, knee. | L. B. D. i. 15., xxiii. 89. 7. |
| 129. | Skein of thread. | linen generally: *hbs*, clothes; *hnχ*, a girdle; *mr*, to bind; *kras*, to embalm; *sχt*, a slip; ? *hap*, to hide; *haa*, to be naked. | G. 385.; L. B. D. xxxvii. 101. 6., xlviii. 125. c. 38. |
| 130. | Twisted cord. | *snh*, to bind; *snt*, to found; *nuh*, a cord. | G. 77. 381.; Tablet, B. M. |
| 131. | Basket and cord. | clothing: *hbs*, to clothe; *hnχ*, a girdle; *mru*, a packet; *hap*, to conceal; *aft*, a cartonage. | Tab. B. M. Belmore, 15.; rect. sarc.; B. M. sarc. Amyrtæus, 10. |
| 132. | Packet. | things wrapped up: *χa.t*, a mummy; *kas*, to embalm; *hbs*, to wrap; *abu*, Elephantina; *hs*, . . .; *aχ*, . . .; *aχ*, . . .; *but*, bad; *sta*, to conduct. | G. 76. 252, 374.; Tab. B. M., Belm. pl. 1.; Tab. A. B. M.; S. P. xvii. 1–4. xviii. 1. |
| 133. | Same, with seed issuing out. | scents: *sti*, smell, stink; *hu*, filthy; *hs*, the same. | L. B. D. xxxvi. 99. 17., xxx. 45., xxii. 53 |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 134. | Ring of metal; often a row of three. | 1. metals. 2. paints: *ant*, yellow; *χsbt*, blue; *ut*, green. 3. gems: *kam*, jasper; *χbt*, porcelain. | G. 89., L. B. D. lxxix. 125. 16., S. P. xcvi. 11. |
| 135. | Coffer. | boxes: *han*, a box; *kara*, a sarcophagus, shrine. | Pap. Trin. Coll. Dublin, G. 485., D. 92., L. B. D. ii. 19. |
| 136. | Lid of a box. | places: *kârs*, a coffin; *tb*, a box; *aa*, a bier. | G. 154.; M. C. cxxxviii. 1., L. B. D. xxxvi. 12., xlviii. 125. 49. |
| 137. | Cloth, apparently part of dress (*kubi*). | metals. | G. 89., rect. sarc. B. M. |
| 138. | Oil jar. | oily substances: *tt*, oil; *mrh*, wax; *sthbi* . . ?; *hati* . . . . | G. 79., Tab. B. M. 157.* |
| 139. | Oil vase. | oils: *tt*, oil; *nms* . . . .; *hati*, extract or essence; *abr*, . . .; *mrhu*, wax. | W. M. C. II. ii. 370., L. B. D. lxii. 145. e 12. e 19. k 45. |
| 140. | Balsamary vase. | vases and liquids: *hk*, drink; *han*, vase; *buka*, conserve or balsam; *anhu*, . .; *iua*, to wash; *hrhu*, to anoint; *mrhu*, to wax; *hknu* . . .; *sf.t* pitch, cedar oil; *aka*, fat?, &c. | Tex. 373.; L. B. D. xxxvii. 99. 31., xlix. 145. 66., lxii. 145. f. 24. g. 27. l. 32. |
| 141. | Basket. | objects reckoned by baskets: *ab*, food, viand; *usχ*, broad. | Tomb d'Athanasi, register of names; rect. sarc. B.M.; Sl. |
| 142. |  A bushel with corn. | *χa*, to measure; *bt*, corn, barley. | B M. Tab. 148., Sl. pl. 41. No. 18. |
| 143. | Small ampulla, vase. | a jar of ointment; *han*, a jar; *hrhu*, anointed. | L. B. D. lxii. 145. e. 19.; G. 78. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 144. | Mirror. | *ma hr, hn-hr,* mirror. | G. 77., D. 237. |
| 145. | Flute. | *sba,* a flute; *mm,* an oblique flute. | M. C. pte ii. t. iii. ii., D. 141. |
| 146. | Unknown object. | *χta,* a tomb; *hri,* to fear; *hati,* to be afraid. | Coffins passim, G. 386. |
| 147. |  Uncertain if same as preceding. | measures: *tna-t,* half?; *hpt,* a pint; *sbχn,* . . . . | Tex. 373. |
| 148. |  Cake of bread. | objects made into cakes like bread: *ak,* bread; *tfi, kuphi,* fragrance; *at,* bread; *sns,* kind of bread; *χa,* food; *hs,...*; *χnf.* . . . ; *snnu,* loaf; *bt,* corn; *hpt,* solid food. | L. A. x.; L. B. D. xxxvii. 99. 31. 34.; Sh. 12. l. 10.; G. 107.; coffin of Soter, B. M.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847; sarc. Am. 10. B.M. |
| 149. |  A cord, or noose, for an animal's foot [Cf. W. M. C.] | names: *rn,* a name, encloses royal names; *sn-n,* to bind, an orbit; *utau,* a pendant. | G. 80.; M. t. iv. cccxxxviii. 2. a., iv. ccccxliii. |
| 150. |  Half names. | *tna,* half; *pχa,* to . . . . | L. B. D. xlvi. 125. |
| 151. |  Pool. | pools?: *Pet,* Nubia, Argo; *Het,* Upper Egypt?; *Barnu,* Barnea. | M. R. lxi. |
| 152. | Hoe or hand-plough. | ploughing: *ska,* to plough; *hab,* a plough; *χbua,* to plough. | L. B. D. xlv. 124. l.; Young. Hier. Pl. 41. F.; Sarc. Amyrtæus, b. B. M. |
| 153. | Plough. | ploughing: *hab,* a plough; *habni,* in ebenum, ebony; *hr,* to harrow; *s'ka,* to plough. | L. A. ix., M. clviii., L. B. D. xlv. 124. l. |

| No. | Form. | Determinative of | Authority. |
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| 154. | Marsh ? | names of countries. | E. H. xxvi., D. 25. 274. |
| 155. | Standard. | names of gods and regions. | D. 331. |
| 156. | Stand of a balance. | *ts*, to transport; *uts*, to carry, go out; *rs*, to suspend; *nhas*, to excite. | L. B. D. i. 1., D. 460. |
| 157. | Same. | same. | S[1]., G. 42. 68. n. 42., L. A. ii. |
| 158. | × Cross bar (*hr*). | verbs in general: *sχ*, to open; *sχm*, a shrine; *haṛ*, to fight; *han han*, to beat, &c.; *haḳ*, to bind; *aχm*, to extinguish; *hp*, to receive. | D. 205.; L. B. D. xv. 26. 3., iii. 7. 2., xi. 18. a. 3., xiv. 22. 3.; coffin of Soter, B. M. |
| 159. | Claw ? | bearing; *kaf*, or *nkaf*, . . .; *tuh tuh*, . . .; *ta* or *tam*, to carry, bear off, steal ? | L. B. D. lxv. 146, 6., xv. 29. 1., xlvii. 143. 21. |
| 160. | Similar object, resembling a finger. | bearing: *ta* or *tam*, to bear; *tkai*, to adhere to, flour. | Tex. 373. |
| 161. | Object resembling the hook which holds the counterpoise of the balance. | *ta*, to bear or carry; *tka*, to adhere. | G. 68., Tex. 373. |
| 162. | Band of metal. | *utn*, a consecration, an ingot; *kabi*, a fold, redoubled; *tb* ?, . . | M. C. lxxvii., Tab. B. M. 575., Tex. 373. |
| 168. | Variation of above. | *utbu* (pl.), wells; *utn*, an ingot-weight. | Leemans, xiv. 45.; Tex. 373.; L. B. D. xvi. 31. 10. |
| 164. | Band of metal ? | interchanged with the preceding. | Leemans, xiv. 55. 9. |

# C.

## PHONETICS.

THE next step, after separating the determinative from the general mass of ideographic hieroglyphics, was the formation of syllabic signs. The step from Symbolic to Determinative depends upon the progress of the mind—in bringing the external world into subjection by means of thought, of language, and of writing—from individual to general, from concrete to abstract ideas. The step by which the syllabic signs were formed is a still greater triumph over matter. It implies the intentional separation of the entire sound from the meaning of a word, of which the hieroglyphical sign is the representative. By this process the sign becomes the representative of a certain collection of sounds without any reference to the sense. Now, as the oldest Egyptian words are monosyllabic, so that the syllable and word are identical; it follows that almost all these signs represent syllables. This is the origin of Phonetics, and of the whole alphabetical system.

Upon the principle thus established, we have been enabled to collect, from the whole circle of hieroglyphics hitherto found on the monuments and in the papyri, 103 Syllabic signs. They are arranged as a subdivision under the letters with which they begin.

The first signs under each sound are the pure Phonetics, or those which seem to have pure alphabetic powers. Lepsius had reduced this alphabet to thirty-four signs, exclusive of those first introduced during the Greek and Roman periods. The number of these we have reduced to 27, by subtracting ten signs. (*h* 4. *ḥ* 3. *m* 2. *m* 3. *m* 4. *n* 3. *t* 5. *u* 3. *χ* 3. *χ* 4.) which we have placed among the Syllabics, and by the addition of three new signs (*ḥ* 1. *ḳ* 2. *t* 2.) to the Alphabetics. Four of these twenty-seven signs are not found used as pure Phonetics under the Old Empire; three (*ḳ* 2. *n* 2. *u* 2.) being first employed in this manner under the 18—19th Dynasty, and one (*r* 2.) perhaps not before the 20th Dynasty. Thus, then, we have 23 *signs, as the alphabet of the Old Empire*, to repre-

sent the fifteen letters of which the phonetic system of the Old Egyptians consisted from the earliest times. Nine of these fifteen letters have, in the Oldest Empire, only *one* sign each, namely,

u, b, f, p, m, r, χ, ϫ, k;

four two signs,

i, n, s, h:

of the remaining two (a and t), the first has three, the second four signs; almost all with traces of an original distinction, either as to sound or position.

The alphabet, as constituted at the beginning of the New Empire (the 18th Dynasty), gives us on the other hand four signs more (marked by an asterisk), that is, the 27 which are registered first under the various letters.

With the 20th Dynasty, however, there suddenly commences a very obvious and remarkable progression in the alphabetic system. A considerable number of hieroglyphics are used as alphabetic signs which had previously either a mere syllabic value, or no phonetic value whatever. This fact did not escape the sharp-sighted Champollion. His view, however, that they are to be considered the symbols of a secret character, is no way substantiated by the monuments. The opposite conclusion seems to us quite clearly to follow from the fact, that in the time of the Romans these same signs were used on the public monuments in the same way that all the phonetic signs were. During that period new signs were obviously sought for, particularly to represent the foreign names and titles of the Roman rulers; and such signs especially were selected in preference for phonetic use, as represented or conveyed the idea of something honourable, fortunate, exalted, or divine. In a word, the change in the old alphabet does not begin with the Ptolemies, nor the Psammetici, but with the 20th Dynasty; it then gradually advanced, and was pushed to the extreme under the Romans.

Under the head Later Alphabet, we have arranged, as the third and last division, 100 new signs for thirteen of those fifteen letters: χ and ϫ have received no augmentation whatever. Those hundred signs consist of two classes; some having been used in the same manner from the 20th or 26th Dynasty downwards, others were coined into letters only in the time of the Romans.

The Roman alphabet of hieroglyphics is a mere corruption and confusion of the old system, and is besides the most doubtful portion of the whole hieroglyphics; in no other do we find the same arbitrary, contradictory, and uncertain data. Some of the elements which have been incorporated into the alphabet rest to this day, as far as we know, on the sole authority of Champollion having admitted them into his works, his grammar more particularly. From the monuments no proof of their existence has hitherto been adduced. We have, nevertheless, given them a place in our collection, as not having, doubtless, been admitted by the immortal founder of the hieroglyphic system without some reason; and have assigned them the same signification given to them in his work.

Most of these hundred new alphabetic signs are old hieroglyphics, which were used in the good times as Symbolics, Determinatives, or Syllabics. We have endeavoured to make this as clear as possible by referring to the number assigned them in their respective divisions.

It is self-evident that neither syllabic nor alphabetic signs cease, in consequence of the phonetic value usually attaching to them, to denote likewise the objects of which they are the representatives. Thus the arm is used as the arm, the eagle as an eagle. The signs, when thus employed to express masculine nouns, have a vertical line | beside them; when feminine, the same line, with the mark of the feminine gender ●.

In the following list of Phonetic signs, those which are purely Alphabetic have been placed first, and arranged in the usual order of the Roman and Greek alphabets. Under each of the fifteen letters of the Old Egyptian alphabet we have placed such Syllabics as begin with that letter.

Dr. Hincks's remarks on the Egyptian alphabet, published last year, have been often quoted as reference respecting some new opinions of his, which, although they seem to us, with very few exceptions, to be more than doubtful, still deserve to be attended to, as possibly leading to further inquiries. Our readers will find, at p. 733., an examination into the grounds on which Dr. Hincks's "new principle" and "new method" seem to us to rest.

## I. ALPHABET AND SYLLABARIUM.

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **A.** | |
| 1. | Arm. | Ã, strong nasal sound, resembling the Hebrew ע: often followed by the eagle, as if nearly syllabic, *ᵑaa.* | G. 37. n. 24., L. L. i. 1. a. |
| 2. | Eagle (*aχm*). | ʿA, pronounced with a slight aspiration; hence the Coptic ⲉ, *hori*, derived from this sign. | L. L. p. 18. n. 15., i. i. 1. 6. |
| 3. | Reed. | A, initial, as the א; whence it is often omitted, as *a-tf*, *tf*, father, &c.; is represented in Coptic by all the short vowels: occasionally followed by ⲩ l. as *au.* | L. L. i. i. 1. c.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, a. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 4. | Pike; compl. hand and eagle. | AA, in *Apep*, the Apophis; *âa*, *naa*, great; *manaa*, some material. | L. L. ii. 2. d.; L. B. D. vii. 17., xlvii. 140. 9.; M. 17.; G. 100. |
| 5. | Chisel; complement the leg. (Many varieties of this symbol.) | AB, in *sab*, a jackal; *sabu*, a magus; *abu*, ivory, elephantina; *abut*, Abydos. | L. A. ii. 1. d.; G. 80. 83.; Hoskin's Travels in Ethiopia, tomb at Thebes; M. C. cix. 9. |
| 6. | An altar, with cakes of bread; compl. the leg. | AB, in *Abt*, the East; *abχ*, to dance; *aba*, to dance, sport; *abt*, sense unknown. | L. B. D. vi. 15. 40., xxii. 57, 6., iv. 15., a. 2., vi. 40., iy. 15. c. 11.; G. 83.; M. Cul. xxix.; E. H. xxvi. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Spotted skin of an animal; complement the leg. | AB, in *absi*, a jackal; *rabu*, *labu*, a lion; *ab*, spotted; *sba*, a flute player. | G. 83., M. R. xxvi. 2., M.C. |
| 8. | Bird of goose kind; complement the knee. | AK [A], to move, go; Ptolemaic, *ak*, bread. | L. B. D. I. i. 14, 15. D. 147., B. M. Pap. A[i]. loco, B. M. Tab. Belm. 15. |
| 9. | Tree; complement the owl. | AM, in *amaχ*, to devote, hallow; *amam*, some plant; *ama*, sun's rays; *am*, with or by, pavilion? | Early tablet in Louvre, rect. sarc. B. M., S[h]. 29., B. M. Tab. 571., M. t. i. xviii. |
| 10. | A cross; complem. the owl. | AM, in *am*, with, by, resident in; *am*, to eat. | G. 482. 484., S[h]. H. 239., L. B. D. xlvii. 125. 29. |
| 11. | Eye with its brow; complement water line. | ÃN, determinative sign of *an* in *anhu*, eyebrow; *annu*, to appear. | L. L. ii. 2. c., D. 16. 242., L. L. 81. c., E. H. xxiv., M. St. ii. tab. i. p. 91. |
| 12. | A perch fish, with its spine like an eyebrow; complement water line. | AN, in *an*, a valley; *anhu*, an eyebrow. | L. A. ix., G. 92., S[i]. 11. 252. |
| 13. | Two horns; complement a mat. | AP?, in *app*, or *ap*, to guide, lead, lay, place; *apt*, to agree, accompany? | Sarc. of Amyrtæus, B. M. 10.; D. 121.; S[i]. D. 109. |
| 14. | Purse?; complement chair-back or bolt. | AS, in *as*, an apartment for repose, chamber; *asf*, idleness, fault. | S[i]. 40, 41.; Coffin of Her, B. M.; M. C. xxxviii.; D. 462. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | Cow's ear; complement hand, or semicircle. | AT, determinative of *at*, an ear; a boy in *s-at*, to hear; *satm*, to hear; *at*, a cartonage, a day; *at-n-nu*, kind of functionary. | Revue Archæologique, 1844, p. 372.; B. M. tomb, Tab. A$^{1}$. 15.; G. 387, 388.; D. 121.; B. M. sepulchral cone. |
| 16. |  Kind of penknife; complement a hand or semicircle. | AT, in *s-atn*, to lay a net; *atn*, to form, create; *atu*, builder; *Atχ*, name of a foreign land. | D. 336., G. 397., B. M. Tab. A$^{1}$. 22., M. R. xxviii. l. i., L. B. D. viii. 17. 39. |
| 17. |  An unknown object; complement a hand. | ÃT, in *atu*, some liquid; *at*, kind of centipede?; in *mam-at*, fore-cabin? of a boat, an action. | L. B. D. xxii. 57. l.; B. M. Tablet Belm. 15. 571.; Pap. Burton, 120. |
| | **B.** | | |
| 1. | Human leg. | B, occasionally by exception for BU? | Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet b. |
| | SYLLABIC. | | |
| 2. | Heron; complement reed, and generally with leg prefixed. | BA, in *Aba*, p. n. m.; *baχn*, green basalt; *bak*, to decorate, carve; *ba*, soul; *baba*, to . . . | Sepulc. cones, B. M.; L. B. D. xxiv. 64. 12.; B. M. obelisk of 100.; D. 147. |
| | **F.** | | |
| 1. | Cerastes, horned snake. | F, occasionally *fi*. | G. 87. 44.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet f. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | SYLLABIC. | |
| 2. | Four vases; compl. water, semicircle, and two bars. | FN-TI, breath, nose, to stop. | L. L. A. ii. 13. b. B. 13. 85. e. 212., M. C. cviii. |
| | | H. | |
| 1. | Finger or club, difficult to distinguish. | H, in *htu*, a gazelle or goat; *Hs*, a foreign country; *hm*, to create; *Hpi maau*, Nile; *krhu*, night. | M. Cul. xxxviii.; Si. G. 207. |
| 2. | Twisted cord. | H, occasionally perhaps *hu*. | G. 45. 209., L. L. L. A. i. 15. a.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 3. | Fore part of a lion or couch; complement the arm. | HA, in *ha*, to begin; *hati*, the heart. | G. 94. 562., D. 114. f., L. B. D. i. 1., L. L. A. ii. 15. e., Si. 206. |
| 4. | Mæander; compl. the eagle. | HA. | D. 239. 241. |
| 5. | A water-plant; complement the eagle. | HA, in *ha*, the head; *hati*, to fear; *haka*, to bind; *hara*, uræus; *hama*, to fish; *hap*, to hide. | D. 214. n. 227., G. 90. 389., D. 216., Si. 222., M. t. i. xxxi. 79. |
| 6. | Kind of reel? complement the arm. | HÂ, in *ha*, to endure, the head, a day, abode; *hai*, a tablet; *s-ha*, to set up. | G. 11. 439.; L. B. D. xi. 18. c., lii. 128. 8.; B. M. Pap. Belm. 18. 43. loco L. B. D. xiii.; Si. G. 224.; D. |
| 7. | Crook; complement the knee and eagle. | HK, in *hka*, to rule, a frog. | L. L. A. ii. 15. a., B. M. Tab. No. 567. 573., M. R. cxliii. |
| 8. | Face; complement the mouth. | HL, HR, in *hr*, a face, a road, above, to terrify. | G. 481. 511., coffin of Mycerinus. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | A well or bucket (*hooms* c.); complement owl or stand. | HM, in *hma*, a lady, a wife; *hms*, to sit; *hma*, to fish; *hmka*, some, substance. | L. L. A. ii. 15. b.; G. 389.; Sh. 104.; obelisk of Amyrtæus, B. M. |
| 10. | Hare; complement water. | HN, in *hn*, to be, to appear, *ouon*, c., *hn-nu*, or *hunnu*, an hour; *hunχ*, a wolf; *hunnu*, a child, young, νεός; *hunχ-i*, straps, girdles. | L. A. ii. 3.; G. 96, 97.; B. M. rect. sarc.; for strong proof of value *hn*. |
| 11. | Flower; complement water, at a later period vase. | HN, interchanged with the preceding; of which in *hn-nu*, young, it is found as the determinative; *hn hn*, kind of bird. | D. 217., Tab. 551. B. M., cf. L. A. taf. xvii. A. 1. A. 4. |
| 12. | Flowers, generally found with prefix and comp. water. | HN, in *hnnu*, phallus; a vase, a vessel; c. *hno*, *hn*, to command?, acquaint. | G. 94. 107., B. M. sarc. Queen of Amasis. |
| 13. | Mason's level; complement the mat. | HP, in *hp*, to judge; the bull *Apis*, a paddle. | L. L. A. ii. 1. a., B. 71. 78., D. 441. |
| 14. | Edge of a table; complement mat and semicircle (*tehu*). | HP-T, in *hp.t*, to offer, offering, bread, solid food, birds, a measure. | Sh. 92., M. C. cxxvi., B. M. Tab. Ai. 10., Tex. 573. |
| 15. | A mace of silver; complement the snake. | HT, in *ht*, a mace, to afflict?, silver, *hat*, c.; *s'ht*, white, luminous. | L. B. D. xli. central line; B. M.; P. S. 280. ib.; Si. 89. |
| 16. | Hill; complement the quail. | HU, in *huu*, evil, a cave; *hu-un*, a calf. | G. 102. 45. 221., D. 108. 9. |
| 17. | Tongue; complement the duckling. | HU, in *hu*, a calf; *pshu*, . . .; *abhu*, a calf. | Sh. 12. 5. 17., M. R. xxvi. 2., L. A. xii. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **I.** | |
| 1. | Two reeds. | I, originally AA; seldom at the beginning of words: with inherent *u* as IU (H[ks]); *ini*, an ape; *i[u]ma*, the sea; *Iutaha maluk*, Judæa; *I[u]rtana*, the Jordan. | G. 98., H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet I; L. L. A. vi. 18.; S. P. lvii. 1. |
| 2. | Two oblique signs. | I, with inherent *u* as IU; usually at end, as sign of dual. | G. 36. 38., L. L. A. 2. b. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 3. | Two legs; complement a quail or duckling. | I-IU?, as preceding. | H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet I. |
| 4. | Eye; complement the mouth and two oblique lines. | IR?, *iri*, an eye, a pupil of the eye, a child; *allu*, c. same, to do: not certain if not AR, as *art*, milk; *aru*, form. | L. L. A. ii. 2., G. 36. 18., M. R. cxlii., S[h]. pl. 60. bis. |
| | | **K.** | |
| 1. | Bowl with a handle. | K, if with inherent vowel KA (H[ks]). | G. 49. 66.; H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847, alph. K. |
| 2. | *A collar or twisted cord. | K, in Kbtu Coptos: *ks*, *kspu*, jasper; *ksm*, emerald? | G. 153. 100., M. R. lvii. 10., M. C. lxii., Hoskin's Ethiopia, E. H. v. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 3. | Knee; complement the eagle. | K[A], affects complement *a*. | D. 450—453. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Upraised arms; complement the eagle. | KA, in *kam*, black; *s-ka*, *skai*, c. to plough; *kaut*, *koot*, c. to build; *ka*, a bull, a goat, to receive; *mfka*, copper; *tka*, a spark. | L. L. A. ii. 5. b, G. 90. 373. 89. 99., D. 92. 112. |
| 5. | Woof, a web; complement the eagle. | KA, to call, . . . name of a god; *kant*, anger. | M. C. xliii., B. M. Tab. sep. fig., Rosetta stone, L. B. D. xlix. 125. 67. |
| 6. | Side of a seat; complement the eagle. | KA, scarcely distinguishable from KR, in *kahsi*, *χahsi*, c. a goat; *ka . t*, a throne; some evil action, then; *ka*, *nu*, a bird. | Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alph.; D. 261.; G. 529. |
| 7. | The same object; compl. the mouth. | KR, in *kr*, secret, under, bear, have, to fight; *krhu*, night. | G. 43, 181., D. 259. 261., L. L. B. 266. |
| 8. | Counterpoise of a collar; compl. the mouth. | KR, interchanges with KA: as a verb and adverb sense unknown; determinative of *apr*. | L. B. 66., L. A. taf. ix. |

## L.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mouth. | L, R, if with inherent vowel, RU or RA. | G. 41. 98., L. L. A. i. 7. a. |
| 2. | Lion (*labu*). | L, R; perhaps rather RA or RU; certainly not used as a pure Phonetic before 18th dynasty, if then: *ra*, a storehouse. | Ibid. L. L. A. i. 7. b., B. M. Tab. 303., M. t. i. 1. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | M. | |
| 1. | Owl (*mulag*). | M appears as early as the fourth dynasty; if with an inherent vowel, MA ($H^{ks}$). | $H^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, alph.; L. L. A. 8. a; G. 42, 117. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 2. | Sickle; complement an arm, or eagle. | MÃ, in *ma*, truth; *amaχ*, hallow; *mas*, a calf; *mat*, granite; *mahu*, a crown; *maa*, to see. | D. 337—338., L. L. A. 1. 8. d. |
| 3. | Stand of a boat; complement an arm. | MÃ, as a syllabic in the eighteenth dynasty; *ma*, a place; *matai*, mercenaries, soldiers; *mak*, to regulate. | D. 298. 301., L. L. A. 1. 8. b. |
| 4. | *A stake or pen; complement an eagle. | MA occurs only syllabically in the Old Empire; in the New, perhaps not earlier than the Ptolemies. | G. 41. 121.; D. 479. 301.; $S^h$. 83.; for proof of its employment as early as twelfth dynasty, B. M. Tab. 148. |
| 5. | Hand holding a vase. | MA, in *ma*, mother; *mafka*, copper. | G. 89. |
| 6. | An ostrich feather; compl. a duckling. | MAU, in *Mau*, light, death; *mou*, c. | M. t. ii. lxxxiii.; M. R. xliv.; B. M. coffin, 34. |
| 7. | A vulture, or with a whip at the side. | MU?, in *mu*, mother; *ssmu*, brood mares; *nχmu*, bulwark of a boat. | M. R. xxxv., L. L. A. xii., $S^i$. G. 243. |
| 8. | Girdle; complement a twisted rope. | MH, MAH: for a strong proof see the foreign name, *Tamahu*; *mh*, a crown, a wing, a cubit, the North. | L. L. A. ii. 8. f, B. 54. a-54. g; G. 46, 240.; $S^h$. 64. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | A band or frontlet; complement the mouth. | MR, NSR?, to be distinguished from NSA, qd *vide*. | L. L. b: vii. col. B. 22., G. 533., D. 286—288. |
| 10. | Plough or hoe; complement a mouth. | MR, in *mr*, to love, kiss, enveloped, isle; *mrh*, wax. | L. L. A. ii. 8. b., G. 115., D. 342. f., L.B.D. xi. 18. c. |
| 11. | Pool (*maau, mooui*), water; complement a mouth. | MR, to love, a pool. | M. S. x. 32., L. L. A. ii. 8. a. |
| 12. | Basket, called an embattled wall; complement water. | MN, in *mn, s-mn*, to place; *s-mn*, a goose; *hsmn*, natron; *mn-a*, a nurse, &c. | L. L. A. ii. 8. d, G. 41. 114., D. 230. and foll. |
| 13. | Thongs of a whip (*messe*), string; complement chair back, or bolt of a door. | MS, in *ms*, to be born; *mstr*, an ear; *mska*, a bracelet. | L. L. A. ii. 8. c, G. 41. 135., D. 229. |

## N.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | An undulating line of water. | N, occasionally for NA (H[ks]). | G. 42. 129., L. L. A. 1. 9. b., H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847. |
| 2. | Crown of Lower Egypt; determinative of *net*. | N, under twelfth dynasty only, a preposition, *of*; commences to be a pure Phonetic under xix—xx. dynasties: NA (H[ks]). | G. 257., L. L. A. 1. 9. a. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 3. | Small water-vase; complement the duckling, in later times, a prow or rope. | NU, in the Old Empire, chiefly at the end of words. | G. 42. 107. 131., L. L. A. i. 9. b. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Cloth, part of the attire called *kabi*; complement the leg. | NB?, in *nb*, gold; *nmb*, same, in the time of Alexander; *nbi*, to swim. | L. L. A. ii. 9. b, M. R. clxii., G. 376., B. M. rect. sarc. |
| 5. | A black bird, with ears and long beak; compl. twisted cord. | NH, in *nhh*, for ever; *nhsu*, negroes. | G. 41, 140. 93., B. M. Tab., A$^{i}$. 10. |
| 6. | Kind of vulture, different from the preceding; compl. twisted cord. | NH, variant of the preceding. | G. 93. |
| 7. | Pard skin on a pole; complement the owl. | NM, in *nm*, kind of place, block; *χnm*, to sleep?; *s-nm*, to take; *χnms*, a tutor, diviner? | L. B. D. xlviii. 28.; B. M. Pap. Barker, 212. 217.; P. S. 828.; Tab. B. M. 570.; A$^{i}$. 552. |
| 8. | Acacia pod; complement the owl. | NM, in *χnms*, tutor; variant of preceding. | B. M. Tab. 580. |
| 9. | Water-jug; complement the owl and chicken. | NMU, in *nm*, water, to follow?, direct; *si-nm*, to doctor. | G. 42. 133. 425.; alabaster pallet, B. M.; M. C. xxi. 3. |
| 10. | Thong; comp. the bolt. | NS, in *nsa*, behind; *nsr*, flame; *nsai*, the condemned. | M. C$^{ul}$. xxiv. 2., xviii. 3., xli. a., xlvi. 2.; sarc. Queen of Amasis, B. M. |

## P.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mat or blind. | P, perhaps with U, syllabic, as PU (H$^{ks}$). | G. 187.; M. t. iv. cccxxv. cccxxvi.; H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet, P. |

SYLLABICS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Goose flying (*pai*, to fly); compl. the eagle. | PA, the, this, to fly. | L. L. A. ii. 10. b, D. 151. 158., G. 371. 373. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | The upright beam of a balance; complement water or vase. | PN, in *Pn-nu* (*Pon*, c.), name of a region. | D. 379. |
| 4. | Same? variant of above; com. a hemisphere. | PTI, in *pti*, a bow. | D. 379. |
| 5. | Consecration sceptre (*pet*); complement a sieve. | PX, in *Pch . t*, n. of a goddess; *pχm*, to prevail? | M. C. lxxvii. 5., M. t. iv. cccxi., B. M. S. P. iii. pl. 210., M. C. cxxviii., S$^{i}$., D. 129. 286., L. B. D. li. 128. 2. |

## S.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Back of a chair. | S, often faces the other way at an early period. | G. 43. 157., L. L. A. i. 11. a. |
| 2. | A bolt of a door. | S, rare in the Old Empire, often used after twelfth dynasty. | G. 43. 158., L. L. A. i. 11. b. |

### SYLLABICS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | A star; complement the leg. | SB, the god Seb, to praise, adore, a gate; *sba*, a gate, to . . . . | M. C$^{ul}$. xvi. 1., D. 383. 680., L. B. D. li. 127. 8., G. 76., M. t. i. pl. xxxviii. |
| 4. | Goose; compl. an eagle. | SBA, SWA (H$^{ks}$), in *sba*, a son; Seb; *sbaâ*, to omit; *sbah*, to subdue? | G. 389., D. 152. H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, 2. c. |
| 5. | The cover of a quiver; compl. an eagle. | SBA, SWA (H$^{ks}$), variant of same; *sba*, behind. | G. 389., D. 462. H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, 2. c. |
| 6. | Shoot; complement a chicken. | SU, often as a symbol for *su tn*, king; they, it, she: *Suti*, Seth; *sua*, south; *Su-bn*, n. of a goddess. | L. L. A. ii. 11. b; G. 43. 165.; M. R. v. 17., viii. 28. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Borer; complement an eagle and owl. | SM, in *sm*, to command; *sm-u*, wicked, reprobate; *smta*..... | B. M. stone, 135.; sepulchral vase in Louvre; S$^{i}$. E. 147; L. B. D. 101. 6. |
| 8. | Kind of water-plant, trap, or signet; complement water. | SN, in *sn*, breath; *sna*, an elbow. | L. L. B. 67.; Pap. Belm. 1843; L. B. D. ii. 2. l. 18. in loco, i. l. 15. |
| 9. | Upper part of above; complement water. | SN, all these signs interchanged with *χa*, each, every; *sna*, a knee; *χnti*, sindon, flax; *snn*, an orbit. | S$^{i}$. alphabet, I; L. L. B. 67. p. 75.; statue of Peχt, B. M. rect. sarc. |
| 10. | Unknown object; complement water, at a later period water-vase. | SN, in *sn*, brother, to breathe; *sntr*, incense; *snti*, to steal. | D. 379., L. L. A. ii. 11. a, S$^{h}$. I. |
| 11. | Hand and arm, holding an ear of corn; comp. mouth. | SR, in *sr*, to distribute; n. of a region; a substance. | L. L. A. ii. 11. d; coffin of Anχ-hapi, B. M. |
| 12. | An arrow piercing a skin; appears as a kind of standard; comp. hemisphere and oblique lines. | STI, in *sti*, to . . .; rays, sunbeams, a kind of goat, production, arrow. | B.M. Tab. 216*. 551.; D. 342.; G. 379. 436.; L. B. D. xxv. 68. 2., xxx. 79. 1. |

## T.

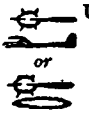
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Open hand. | T, TI (H$^{ks}$)? | G. 40. 76., L. L. A. 6. b. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Snake (*tetbi, gatfi*, c.). | T, as early as fourth dynasty; value derived from place in names of *Titus, Adrian,* and *Domitian,* and its replacing T 1: T 3. T 4., in *stmu,* stibium; *nut,* to avenge, grind; *χsḃt,* blue, tin; *tu,* to speak; in foreign names TI, supposed by Hincks to be *ts,* or *c.* | M. R. xxvi. ; G. 86.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet, C. |
| 3. | Cord, with loop at each end. (See B. M. rect. sarc.) | T, changed with T 2. T 4.; inherent *u* as TU (Hks). | D. 94., M. C. lxiv. &c., M. t. iv. cccxi., B. M. rect. sarc. |
| 4. | Segment of a sphere. | T, generally final, or for suffixed feminine article; inherent *u,* TU (Hks). | G. 40. 80., L. L. A. 6. a. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 5. | Band or bag, perhaps spindle with thread; compl. a reed. | TA, pure phonetic L.; see for proof of its force name of Otho. | L. A. 1. 6. d. D. 288. f. M. ii. clxviii. b. |
| 6. | Vase on a stand; complement an eagle. | TA, JA, in *mata,* a mercenary; *ta,* a boat, to go in a boat; *uta,* pectoral plate, symbolic eye, to be borne; *tata,* temple (of the head): for proof of its value of T, compare names of Kambyses. | G. 77. 142., St. F. 178., D. 181., E. H. viii. |
| 7. | Kind of pillow; complement an eagle and semicircular object. | TA, in *s. ta,* to tow, take in tow; *ta,* a hank of thread; *χta,* a foreign nation; *ϫta,* extended, distant; *tau,* to burn; *taϫ,* a frontier; *s-ϫta,* a jail; *ϫta,* a tomb. | Sarc. Her, Louvre; D. 449.; B. M. tomb, 157. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Nestling; complement the reeds. | TAI, in *tai* or *tami*, to bear or carry; *tamka*, a kind of wood, or object made of wood; *tam-ua*, hair. | Pap. Ath. B.M. 1844, No. 264. give syllable, Tab. 6. M. 1., loco L. B. D. xlvii. 125. c. 21., and again ibid. xlviii. c. 43.; G. 73. |
| 9. | Unknown object; complement a leg. | TB, occurs as determinative of *tb*, a chest (*taib*, c.); found with other determinatives. | M. C. cxxviii.; B. M. sarc. of Amyrtæus, 10., of Q. of Amasis, 33.; S$^{h}$. 87. |
| 10. | Bundle of twigs or reeds; complement the mouth. | TL, TR, JR?, occurs as r in the name of *Soter*; in *mster* (*masge*, c.), an ear; *tr* (*gal*, c.), to embalm, embalmer, *tr*, *ntr*, to work; *tr* (*ge*, c.), whilst, actual. | G. 43. 186. 92. 502. 513.; D. 341.; L. B. D. 66.; M.C. xliii. cxxxv.; B.M. coffin of Soter; Tab. A$^{i}$. 12. |
| 11. |  Kukufa sceptre (*tam*); complement an owl. | TM, JM,? in *tam*, a sceptre, to deprave, ravish; *tam*, mixed gold; *tam-ti* (*gom-ti*, c.), brave. | S$^{i}$. F. 179, 180.; Rosetta stone, B. M.; sarc. Q. of Amasis, 32.; coffin of Anχhapi, in loco L. B. D. |
| 12. | Leg of an animal; compl. an owl. | TM, interchanged with the preceding. | S$^{i}$. F. 180. |
| 13. |  Stocks of a boat; complement the mat. | TP, JP?, in *tp* (*gp*, c.), to receive, an hour. | Rosetta stone, G. 96. |
| 14. | Kind of bolt; complement a bolt. | TS, in *ts*, to bear, conduct, contract, bank, bend of a river?, vicissim, in turn; *tsm*, a male cat. | S$^{i}$. pl. 42. No. 68.; D. 322.; L. B. D. i. 1., lii. 129. 3., lxiii. 130. 8., lxiii. 145. k, 40.; S$^{h}$. 87. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | U. | |
| 1. | Duckling (*hen*). | U, affects *i* as UI ($H^{ks}$). | M. C. xii. b, G. 37. 31., L. L. A. i. 3. a., $H^{ks}$. l. c. |
| 2. | * Coil of rope of a boat (*utu*). | U, not as a common phonetic under the Old Empire; in examples $S^{h}$. 80., probably determinative; affects *i* as UI ($H^{ks}$). | M. R. xxxiv. G. 37. 27., L. L. A. i. 3. b., $H^{ks}$. l. c. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 3. | Cord; complement the eagle. | UA, in *uai*, long; *uah*, to consecrate, make a libation; *Uauah*, name of a country; *uaka*, division of time. | B. M. sarcoph. of Amyrtæus, 10.; $S^{h}$. 89.; L. L. A. i. 2. b. |
| 4. | Kind of flower; complement a twisted cord. | UAH, the first sign occurs as determinative of *uah s-uah*; *uah*, to make a libation, purify; *uahu*, kind of crown or chaplet; *suakh* (*sook*, c.), to molest. | B. M. Tab. $A^{i}$. 12., Pap. $A^{i}$. gd. 70., Mummy at Leeds, M. C. lxxxviii. 2., M. iv. ccci. ccciii., E. H. |
| 5. | Swallow; complement the mouth. | UR, HR?; in the name of Haroeris; in *s'hr*, to drink; *hr* (*hllo*, c.), elder, chief; *hrs* (*ouols*, c.), a pillow; *hurt*, mild. | G. 121. 376., L. A. ii. 3. c, rect. sarc., L. B. D. i. 1. 6. |
| 6. | Cross; complement a mouth. | UR, HR, HL?, interchanged with preceding. | L. A. ii. 3. c. |
| 7. | A kind of mace; complement the snake. | UT, in *utu* (*oueit*, c.), a tablet, the prow of a boat; and in *utb* (*ouotb*, c.), to pour out (uncertain if to be distinguished from HT, qd. vide), a command; *ut*, to go forth; *uthu*, a sideboard. | $S^{h}$. 29. 2. 3., col. i. 30., 82. 4.; D. 228.; E. H. xxxiii. 21.; B. M. sarcoph. of Amyrtæus; M. R. clii.; L. B. D. ii. 6. 3., iv. 15. 2., ii. 3. 2.; L. A. taf. xii.; B. M. Tab. 580. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **χ.** | |
| 1. | Sieve (*seb*, c. *χi*). | χ, at a later period appears as a ϰ; early syllabic χ I (H[ks]), *χiufu*, Χέοψ. | Vyse, Journal, i.; L. L. A. i 14. a; G. 44. 195.; H[ks]. R. I. A. 1847. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 2. | Calf; complement an arm. | ΧA, in *χa-*, or archaic form *χar*, born of; *χau*, hypocrisy, some action of locomotion, length. | G. 44, 206.; coffin of Mycerinus, B.M.; S[i]. 19. 6.; L. B. D. xlvii. 125., liii. 130. 13. 126. |
| 3. | Oxyrhynchus; complement the eagle. | ΧA, in *χa*, many; *χabu*, a sickle, to be a hypocrite; *χa.t*, a body, mummy. | G. 44, 201. 77. 335. 384.; M. S. iii. 2. p. 263. 1., iii. p. 2. n. 260.; D. 179.; L. A. taf. ix. |
| 4. | Water-plant; complement the reed or eagle. | ΧA, in *χa*, many; *χaui*, an altar, to follow, a bushel, to measure; *χanr*, to disperse; *χaib.t*, a fan. | D. 206–207.; G. 491.; M. t. i. cccxxxi., t. iii. ccxix. cccxxxi. |
| 5. | Leaf of a water-plant; complement the eagle. | ΧA, interchanged with the preceding. | D. 207. |
| 6. | Weight; complement the reed. | ΧA, in *χa*, like; *χau*, a cat; *s-χai*, to paint. | L. L. A. ii. 12. a, G. 44, 202., D. 241., M. S. ix. 35. |
| 7. | Unknown object; complement the chicken. | ΧU, long; perhaps *χu*, a kind of bread; *χui* (*χaui* c.), an altar, magnanimous. | G. 44. 205.; D. 207. 402., B. M. Pap. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Man's breast and arms, holding a paddle; complement water. | ϧN, in ϧ*n*, to place, to conduct, likeness. | L. L. A. ii. 14. b, 63.; R. S. last line. |
| 9. |  Unknown object; complement arm or mouth. | ϧA, in ϧ*a*, to make, a body; ϧ*atb*, to throw down; ϧ*ak*, to shave; ϧ*arti*, child; ϧ*as*, evil, wretched; *s*-ϧ*a*, *s*ϧ*ar*, to make; ϧ*ams*, ear of corn. | L. L. A. ii. 14. c, B. 17—21.; M. R. lxiv.; M. C. xliii. 3.; M. C$^{ul}$. xliii. |
| 10. | Decapitated animal; complement water. | ϧN, to place, a vestibule. | L. L. A. ii. 14. a, B. 61-63.; G. 229, 230. |
| 11. | A phallus; compl. the hemisphere. | ϧT, in ϧ*t* . . .; ϧ*trka*, to place ?, assent, allow. | Cf. M. R. lviii., M. t. iv. cccxi. t. i. xliv., L. B. D. xxiv. 64. 12. |
| 12. | A scarabæus; complement a mouth. | ϧP-R (*tr*, Cham. L.), [to plant? Ch.] type, form, transformation; ϧ*prr*, a scarabæus; ϧ*p-rϧ*, a helmet. | G. 76, 79.; Des. del Eg. A. v. 40.; S$^{h}$. 32.; L. B. D. xvi. 30. 4., xxvii-xxxiii. 77-88., lxxix. 165. 12.; M. R. cxxiv.; G. 78.; D. 168. |
| | | ϧ. | |
| 1. | Pool of water, a cistern. | ϧ, doubtful if not in the earliest times identical with the ϧ with 1 2., ϧ*i* (H$^{ks}$). | Cf. G. 44. 197.; H$^{ks}$. R. I. A. 1847, alph.; L. L. A. i. 12. a. |
| | | SYLLABICS. | |
| 2. | Water-plant; complement an eagle. | ϧA, in ϧ*aa*, to rise, the first; ϧ*aau*, a sow; ϧ*as*, to cross; ϧ*a*, kind of gryphon; ϧ*abti*, metamorphosed. | L. L. A. i. 12. b, D. 210., G. 44. 196., M. C. xxiii. 1. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | A diadem; complement the arm. | ϰA, in ϰ*a*, a crown, to be raised, wood. | L. L. A. ii. 12. b; G. 44, 208. 440.; D. 318. 329.; L. A. taf. xi.; Sh. 56. l. 11. |
| 4. | Log of wood (ϰ*a*); complement a sieve and semicircle. | ϰA, in *n*ϰ-*at* power; *m*ϰ*at*, and, when; *ma*ϰ*a*, balance; ϰ*a*, .... | Cf. L. L. B. 70.; sep. cone, B. M.; D. 432. 140. |
| 5. | Unknown object; compl. a hand. | ϰT, in *a*-ϰ*t*, the Persea; ϰ*tu*, some leather ties of a boat; ϰ*t*, unknown sense, to work, hollow? | L. B. D. xxxvi. 15., xlviii. 125. 41.; D. 199. 366.; B. M. Pap. 120.; G. 520. |

## II. LATER ALPHABET.

### A.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Arm holding a club. Determinative No. *55.* | A, in Domitian. | Ungarelli, Pamphylian obelisk at Rome, xix. 18.; D. 91. |
| 2. | Arm holding a ball. Phonetic M. *5.* | AN, in Antoninus (Caracalla), on earlier monuments MA. | M. S. i. l. xxix. 18. a., D. 91., Ungarelli l. c. |
| 3. | Head of a sparrow-hawk crowned with a disk. | A, on the authority of Champollion only. | G. 35, 6. |
| 4. | Flower. | A, initial in Anubis, xx. dynasty. | G. 36, 17., St. A. 17. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Flower or water-plant. | A, at the period of xx. dynasty, on authority of Champollion, in Anubis. | G. 36, 16., Si. A. 16. |
| 6. | Bunch of flowers. Syllable HN. | A, in the same name, final at the end of many words. | G. 38, 36. |
| 7. | Four-petaled flower. Syllable HN, No. 10. | A, in *ah*, cow; a very uncertain example. | M. C. xxvii. 6. |
| 8. | Feather? | A, on the authority of Champollion in foreign names. | G. 38, 39. |
| 9. | Man looking behind him. Symbolic No. 13. | AN in Antoninus. | M. S. ii. tav. xxvii. 12., L. L. A. iii. 1. b. |
| 10. | Basket. Det. No. 141. | A, in many words, at xx. dynasty; in Trajanus, Adrianus. | M. S. ii. tav. xxvii. 10. f. 12., G. 535. 368., L. L. A. iii. 1. a. |
| 11. | Kind of hook. | A, on the authority of Champollion. | G. 35, 8. |

## B.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Goat (*ba*), soul. Ideographic No. 236. | B, in Tiberius, and Sebastos. | L. B. D. xix. 5.; M. S. ii. tav. xxiii. 2. 4., xxvi. 9. f.; L. L. A. iii. 4. b. |
| 2. | Sparrow-hawk (*bak*). Ideographic No. 299. | B, in Sebastes at the time of Trajan. | M. S. ii. xxvi. 10. 6., G. 83. |
| 3. | Nycticorax (*bennu*). Mixed Sign No. 11. | B, in Sebastes. | M. S. ii. xxvi. 10. 6., G. 83. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Burning censer (*ba*), soul. (Hor. G. 412.) | B, in *bak*, hawk; *ubn*, light; *χsbt*, tin; *nb*, lord; time of xx. dynasty: Berenice, Tiberius. | G. 535.; M. S. xxii. 10. a. 10. c., xxiii. 2. b. |
| 5. |  Same, variant. | B. | Ibid., L. L. A. iii. 4. a. |
| 6. |  Basket filled with grains of some kind (*besn*). Ideographic No. 580. | B, is interchanged with the preceding. | D. 412. 485.; M. S. ii. xxvii. 13., xxiii. 4. a. |

## C.

See under K.

## D.

See under T.

## E.

See under A.

## F.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Man bearing a basket on the head (*fai*, to bear). Determinative No. 27. | F, as suffix of third person singular or masculine. | G. 260. |
| 2. | Piece of flesh or drop of blood. Det. No. 64. | F, in *nf*, to him; *mfk*, copper, xx. dynasty. | G. 44, 189. 91. 535. |
| 3. | Same reversed. | F. | G. 44, 190. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **G.** | |
| | | See K and T. | |
| | | **H.** | |
| 1. | Sun's disk shining (*hi*). Determinative No. 5. | H, in Ptah. | G. 45. 223., B. M. 33. |
| 2. | Man with disk on head, holding two palm branches (*haa-en-renpa*). | H, in Ptah. | G. 45. 230., D. 53. |
| 3. | Same without the disk. | H. | G. 45, 228. |
| 4. | Same, with palm twig on head. | H. | G. 45, 228., Sl. F. 198. |
| 5. | Face (*her*). Phonetic H 7. | H, in *Hk*, name of a god at Esneh, a ruler; *Hsr*, name of a region. | M. ii. pl. cxlv.; M. Cul. xlviii. 2., xxix. 1. li. |
| 6. | Cow's horn. Phonetic A 13. | H, in *Hs*, Isis. | M. i. lxxxix. |
| 7. | Fore leg of a couch, probably only variant of the fore-part of the lion (*ha*). | H. | G. 45, 225.; D. 14. |
| 8. | Frog (*heka*). Ideographic No. 340. | H, only found in *Hka*, name of a region. | M. t. i. lviii. bis. |
| 9. | Flying scarabæus (*âp*); to mount. | H, in name of Ptah. | G. 45, 227. |

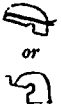
| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | Panegyry. See Determinative No. 109. | H. | G. 45, 226. |
| 11. | Lower part of same. Determinative No. 110. | H. | G. 45, 222. |
| 12. | Crooked stick or tongue. Phonetic H 1. | H, in *rkh*, a brazier, heat; *hr*, together; *hrr*, a flower; *hna*, together with; *hsk*, to cut, xx. dynasty. | D. 234., M. C[ul]. xlvi. 2. |
| 13. | Lid of a box. Determinative No. 136. | H, in *H-lk*, Philae; *Hs*, Isis. | M. C[ul]. xiii. 1. xi. |

## I.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eye, *ir* or *ar*. Phonetic I 1. | I, in Arsinoe, Berenice, Antoninus. | M. S. ii. xxvii. 2., cf. xviii. 26. 2., xviii. c. 3. a., xvii. 1. a.; D. 410. |
| 2. | Jackal (*salu*). Ideographics No. 259. | I, in Im-hpt, Imouthos. | G. 36. 12.; cf. S[i]. B. 36. |
| 3. | Kind of perch. Determinative No. 87. | I. | G. 36, 13. |

## K.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Man holding up both hands, *ka*, to rejoice. See Determinative No. 26. | K, in Commodus; perhaps syllabically KA, as Kammatis. | M. S. ii. xxix. 15. 15. a. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. |  Wig, *nemms*. See Ideographics No. 478, 479. | K, in *bak*, a hawk; *nuk*, I, me; *mfk*, copper; used also for pronoun *k*, thou, thee; *k*, in Claudius, Cæsar, Germanicus. | G. 535., D. 280. |
| 3 | Tear. | K, in *Kasr* (Cæsar), time of Augustus, and in Claudius. | M. S. ii. xxiii. l. 16. 4. b. |
| 4. | Angry ape (*kant*, rage). Ideographic No. 257. | K. | G. 86, 73. 40, 73. |
| 5. | Uræus (*ktbi*). Determinative No. 90. | K, thou, thee, xx. dynasty; in Kaisers, autokrator. | D. 170. 132. |
| 6. | Reptile (*jatfi*). Determinative No. 98. | K. | G. 39. 63. |
| 7. | Side of a seat (*ka* or *ker*). Phonetic K 6. | K, in Berenice, autokrator; by preference KR, or KA. | M. S. ii. xvii. l. a., xviii. e., xxiii. l.; L. L. A. iii. 5. d. |
| 8. | Angle (*hu*). Determinative No. 53. | K, in Africanus?, in *aha?*, a ceremony; perhaps H. | D. 131., Rosetta stone. |
| 9. | Vase on a stand, or potter's furnace (*krer*). | K. | G. 40, 74. |

## L—R.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eye with its eyelash. Ideographic No. 208. | R. | G. 41. 108. |
| 2. |  Tear (*rem*, to weep). | R, xx. dynasty. | G. 41, 101. 535. |
| 3. | Lion seated (*rabu, labu*). Phonetics L 2. | R, in Hakar, Hakeris, Acoris; xx. dynasty, used by preference for the L. | L. L. A. i. 7. b. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Head and neck of a cow or ram. Determinative No. 73. | R, in Trajanus. | L. L. A. iii. 7. b., M. S. ii. xxvi. g. |
| 5. | Leg and sinew of a bird? | L, R, in Philous Φιλοῦς, female name, time of Trajan. | Coffin of Soter, B. M.; G. 41. 107. |
| 6. | Snake. Determinative No. 88. | RU, in autokrator. | M. S. ii. xxvi. 9. c.; L. iii. 7. b. |
| 7. | Grasshopper. Ideographic No. 355. | R, time of xx. dynasty. | G. 41, 105. |
| 8. | Calyx of a flower. | R, in Teberes (Tiberius); autokrator, title of Domitian and Hadrian. | M. S. ii. xxiv. 4. d. 5., xxvii. 11. b. |
| 9. | Variety of calyx of flower. | R, xx. dynasty. | G. 538. |
| 10. | Leaf of a water-plant (*reχ*). Ideographics, No. 388. | R; this was, however, sometimes used for ϫ, xx. dynasty. | G. 535. |
| 11. | Penknife? Determinative No. 126. | R, in Pselcis. | G. 41, 104., D. 301. |
| 12. | Man holding up both his hands to a corner. Ideographic No. 105. | TL-TR, in Talmis. | D. 35. |

## M.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Hand holding a vase (*ma*). Phonetic M 5. | M, interchanged with the following, xx. dynasty. | G. 535. 282. 348., D. 91. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Vulture. Syllabic mu. Phonetic m 7. | M, in Senem, name of Beghe. | D. 322., G. 318., Si. H. 243. |
| 3. | Pool (*mer*). Phonetic m 11. | M, in Domitianus, Senem. | M. S. ii. xxvii. 9. c., M. Cul. xxvi. |
| 4. | Boat-slip (*ma*) Phonetic m 4. | M, in Senem, Domitian. | G. 154., D. 20. |
| 5. | Pole. Phonetic m. 4. | M, in Commodus, and in many words at the Roman and Ptolemaic period. | M. S. xxix. 15. 15. e. |
| 6. | Cross. | M? on the authority of Champollion only. | G. 41. 127. |

## N.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Vase on two legs. See Mixed Signs, No. 38. | N, in *ntaruχ*, for Darius. | L. A. iii. 9. a. |
| 2. | Crocodile. Determinative No. 86. | N, in *nti*, in the titles of Vespasianus. | M. S. ii. xxv. 7. b. c., L. A. iii. 9. c. |
| 3. | Fish. | N, in *Sna*, for Esnah. | G. 42. 103., Si. D. 118. |
| 4. | Pool or tank. | N, in Antoninus, seems employed before, and undistinguishable from the usual χ. | D. 86. |
| 5. | Water jug (*nem*). | N, in *Anuk nuk*, I; *nti*, being. | G. 248. |
| 6. | Water-jug without a handle Phonetic n 3. | N, xx. dynasty; in Germanicus, title of Claudius. | G. 535., D. 280. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | **P.** | |
| 1. | Ceiling (*p*, heaven). Determinative No. 1. | P, in Vespasian; used for *p*, masculine article; and in Ptah; *ps*, to stretch. | M. S. xxv. 7. b., L. A. iii. 10., D. 2. |
| 2. | Capsule shedding seeds. Determinative No. 65. | P, in Anup (Anubis). | G. 42. 154., St. D. 127. |
| | | **S.** | |
| 1. | Star (*siu, seb*). Determinative No. 7. | S, in Vespasian, Trajan, Sebest, Commodus. | G. 76., M. S. ii. xxix. 16. xxvi. 10. b., 10. d. |
| 2. | Seated female Determinative No. 38. | S, in Arsinoe. | G. 43. 107., M. S. ii. xvii. 2. d. |
| 3. | Seated child (*sn-sn*). Determinative No. 36. | S, in Domitianus, Sebestes. | L. A. iii. 11. h., M. S. ii. xxvi. 9. d. 9. c. |
| 4. | Jackal (*sahu*). | S, interchanged with the goose in the sense of son, xx. dynasty. | G. 43. 169., M. C. |
| 5. | Sheep (*sau*). Ideographic No. 238. | S, in Vespasianus, Domitianus. | L. A. iii. 11. b., Sh. xii. 5., M. S. ii. xxvi. 7. b. c. 9. 9. a. |
| 6. | Goose (*su*). Det. No. 79. | S, in Sebasta, title of Sabina. | M. S. ii. xxvii. 11. g. |
| 7. | Egg (*shu*). Determinative No. 85. | S, in Vespasianus. | G. 74. 535., M. S. ii. xxxv. 7. |
| 8. | Arrow. Determinative No. 128. | S. | G. 43. 171. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | Reed (*su*). Phonetic s 6. | S. | G. 43. 166. |
| 10. | Footstool? not be confounded with ʞ 7. | S, in Sebestes, time of Domitian and Trajanus. | L. A. iii. 11. e., M. S. ii. xxv. 9. b. 10. |
| 11. | Flute (*seba*). Determinative No. 145. | S, in Kasers (Cæsaris), time of Trajan. | L. A. iii. 11. b., D. 344., M. S. ii. xxvi. 1. |
| 12. | Unknown, woof? | S, in Sebastes. | D. 341. 170. |
| 13. | Cover of a quiver (*sa*, side). Phonetic s 5. | S, in *asf*, fault, *Osorkhon;* xxii. dynasty Philippus; Sebestes, time of Trajan; Tiberius, Soter. | D. 462. 341.; M. S. ii. xii. 46. xvii. xxix. 14.; sarc. of Soter, B. M. |
| 14. | Skein. Phonetics, ʞ 2. | S, in Sebtu Coptos, in Domitianus; and his title Germanicus. | E. H. xi.?, G. 153., M. S. xxvi. 9. e., M. C. lvii. 10., G. 100. |
| 15. | Basket and cord. Determinative No. 131. | S, xx. dynasty. | G. 43. 173., S. E. 152. |

## T—D.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Hand holding a pyramidal object. Mixed Sign No. 6. | T, in Domitianus. | L. A. iii. 6. b., M. S. xxvi. 9. c. d. |
| 2. | Legs walking. Phonetic ı 3. | T?, according to Champollion an ʜ; Hks. an I. | L. A. iii. 6. f.; G. 45. 224.; Hks. R. I. A. 1847, alphabet i. |
| 3. | Scarabæus (*χeper*). Phonetic χ 12. | TA, in *ta*, world (copt. *to*); and in *χta*, a tomb; xxvi. dynasty, in Domitianus and Trajanus. | G. 78., M. S. ii. xxvi. 9. d. 10. f. |

| No. | Form. | Sound. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. |  Sail (*taka*). Determinative No. 118. | T. | D. 49. 94. |
| 5. | Vase on its stand. Phonetic T 6. | T, in Kenbut, Cambyses. | Cf. G. 142., E. H. viii. |
| 6. | The weight or adjustment of the balance (*tχ*). Ideographic No. 539. | xx. dynasty, in *taf*, or *fat*, father; *nχt*, power. | G. 535., M. Cul. xlix. |
| 7. | Head of a mallet. | T. | D. 40, 92. |
| 8. | Layer of earth. Ideographic No. 11. | TA, xxvi. dynasty; in *χta*, sepulchre; in Darius, Domitian, and Antoninus. | D. 20., M. S. ii. xxviii. 12. b., E. H. iv. i. |
| 9. |  Same. Ideographic No. 12. | TA, in Antoninus. | M. S. xxvi. 9. c. 12. d. |
| 10. |  Same. Ideographic No. 13. | T, same in autokrator. | M. S. ii. xxiii. 2. a. |
| 11. | Same. Ideographic No. 14. | T, in autokrator. | D. 122. |

## U.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. |  Tear? | U, probably only another way of writing F 2. in Domitianus, Marcus Aurelius. | M. S. ii. xxvi. 9. d., xxxviii. 13. a. b. |
| 2. |  Sling? (*rut*). Ideographic No. 563. | U, in Ntaru$_{\chi}$, Darius. | G. 142, 38, 48. |
| 3. | Heart between two angles. | U, in Antinous. | Ungarelli, Pincian obelisk; D. 425. |

# D.

## MIXED SIGNS.

The Mixed Signs are, according to our definition, hieroglyphical groups, the principal element of which, while essentially ideographic or symbolic, admits however commonly a perfect or imperfect phonetic complement, so that one part of the sound of the word, generally the latter part, is expressed phonetically. Thus the so-called Crux ansata betokens the idea of "life" (an$\chi$), and, as such, is an ideographical sign; but very often an *n*, or *n* with $\chi$, is appended to it, clearly to indicate the exact pronunciation. The consequence is, that the particular ideographic sign *appears* as the first letter of the word which is represented by the whole group. Lepsius was the first who proved that this *appearance* is illusory, because in reality the hieroglyphic always remains ideographical or symbolical.

We have collected fifty-five of these signs.

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Man seated on a chair, holding a whip [several varieties of this type]: comp. a chair back. | *as*, noble. | S$^{t}$. pl. i. 127., D. 34., Wilk. M. H. 37. |
| 2. | Man seated on ground, holding a whip and crook [several varieties of this type]; comp. mouth and oblique lines. | *ari*, to guard (*arch*, c.). | L. L. A. ii. 1. c. |
| 3. | Human head; comp. mat and oblique lines. | *api* (*ap*, c.), head, upon. | L. L. A. ii. 1. b., M. S. x. 40., M. C. ii. 3. p. 357., D. 60, 61. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | God with ibis head; comp. hemisphere and oblique lines. | *Teti*, Thoth. | D. 47. |
| 5. | Arms held down; comp. water. | *nn?*, no, not; also det. of negation. | D. 95. 115. |
| 6. | Hand holding a pyramidal offering; comp. the arm. | *ta*, to give. | D. 88. 111. |
| 7. | Head of a calf; comp. water, hemisphere, and oblique lines. | *fn-ti* or *sn-sn* [also employed as a determinative]. | L. L. A. ii. 13. c., B. 85, 1–12. 85. |
| 8. | Rib; comp. mouth. | *spr*, side, to come to the side. | Tab. A[1]. B. M., D. 13., M. C. cxxv., L. L. B. vi. 39. |
| 9. | Bird with a tuft (hoopoe); compl. a leg. | *tb*, (*toobi*, c.), a brick. | L. B. a., L. B. D. xxv. 31., M. C. iii. 254. |
| 10. | Heron; comp. leg. | *χb*, hypocrisy. | S[1]. 44. 194. |
| 11. | Bird with a tuft on its head; comp. sieve. | *bχ*, or *uχ* (*abaχ*, c.), illuminated, "splendour," B.; "ceremony," C. | Cf. Roman Alphabet; M. t. iv. cccxii., M. R. xxxi. |
| 12. |  Head of the same. | same. | D. 142. foll.; side of a tomb, B. M.; G. 502. |
| 13. | Ibis; comp. hemisphere and oblique lines. | *Tt*, Thoth: the ibis by itself reads *Hb*. | In the name of a man, Thothmes, tablet, B. M. |
| 14. | Ibis on a standard; comp. hemisphere and oblique lines. | *Tt*, Thoth. | D. 142. foll. |
| 15. | Bird feeding; complement owl. | *χm*, to create, delight, imagine. | M. t. i. pl. xxii., S. P. xx. 1. 7. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16. | Trussed bird; comp. water and hand. | *snt*, to found. | L. L. B. 74. a. b. 75., D. 160. |
| 17. | Tail of a crocodile, with owl, at a later period, for complement. | *kam*, black, black land, Egypt. | L. L. A. ii. 5. a., D. 170., G. 90. |
| 18. | Lizard; comp. sieve and hemisphere. | *nχ-t?* (*naχt*, *naχ-u*, c.), many. | Sepulchral figure, Belmore collection, B. M. in p. n. m.; M. t. iv. cccxlix. |
| 19. | Water-plant with a clod of earth; comp. hemisphere, eagle, and oblique lines. | Occurs only in name of Sati?, a goddess. | Cf. D. 217., G. 112. 122. |
| 20. | A kind of plant or reed; comp. water? | *tatann*, head, chief, proper. | D. 180. 218. 223. 228. |
| 21. | Pod of the acacia or lentisk tree; comp. an owl. | *χm*, delight, imagine, create? | L. L. p. 54. m. |
| 22. | Ear of corn; complem. hemisphere, and oblique lines. | *bti* (*boti*, c.), corn. | D. 228. |
| 23. | Reed on two human legs; comp. reed, and oblique lines. | *aai*, *ii*, to come. | D. 204. f. In the name I-em-hep-t, Ἰμουθ; D. 205.; W. M. H. xx.; M. R. xxvi. |
| 24. | A slug?; comp. water. | *sn*, to open. | xii. dyn. L. L. A. ii. 11. e., B. 60. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | Standard of plumes, sun's disk, and counterpoise; comp. a leg. | *ib* (*ibt*, c.) "the East." | D. 23. |
| 26. | Painter's easel; comp. hand. | *tt*, "to establish." | Tab. A$^{i}$. 24. as determ. of Tt, where A$^{i}$. 33. has this sign; D. 261. |
| 27. | Mallet; comp. ampulla and hemisphere. | *nt*, *nk*, to grind, knead, support. | Cf. L. L. A. ii. B., D. 333. f., M. C. lviii. 6., sarc. B. M. 54., Tex. 247. |
| 28. | Hatchet; comp. hemisphere and mouth. | *ntr* (*noutc*, c.), god. | L. L. A. ii. 9. c., G. 502., D. 225. |
| 29. | Head of an oar; comp. chair-back and mouth. | *ssr*, L., usually read *ousr*, an oar, victory (*ouosr bosr*, c.), possibly *nsr*. | L. L. A. ii. 3. f. comp. book ii. xii., dyn.; S$^{i}$. G. 221.; Pap. Burton, B. M.; M. t. iv. cccxlii.; Revue Archæol. 1847, p. 429. |
| 30. | Blade of an oar; comp. hand and chicken. | *tt* (c. *got*), to speak, Champollion; *tu*, *taouo*, command, often preceded by T 2. | D. 378. f., L. B. D. xxv. 99 horizontal line, G. 331. |
| 31. | Guitar or lute נֵבֶל, the nabla; complement cerastes and mouth. | *nfr*, good (*nofr*, c.). | L. L. A. ii. 9. a. B. 80.; Osburn Eg. Test. to the truth. |
| 32. | Cubit; comp. arm. | *ma* (*mci*, c.), "truth." | L. L. A. ii. 8. e. B. 72. c. d. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 33. | End of a fishing-spear, with cord to bring it back; comp. arm. | . . . . *a* (χ*aa*, c.), "first." | B. M. Tab. 55. vice naa, L. B. D. |
| 34. | Kind of stick. | χ*sf*, to stop, to turn back. | B. M. Tab. 597.; sarc. Nesaenamen, B. M. |
| 35. | Feather flap; comp. stand of a boat, and oblique lines. | . . *mi*, west. | D. 24., Tex. 395. |
| 36. | Plan of a house, or upper part of a door; complement mouth. | *hr*, to come, appear. | D. 257. |
| 37. | Sort of seat?; comp. hand and hemisphere. | *pt-t*, a bow. | D. 259. comp. 42. No. 153. |
| 38. | Jar (syllable *nu*) on two legs; comp. water. | *nn* (*ñ*, c.), to lead, to bring, tribute. | xii. dyn. tab. B. M. in Sh. v. in name of King Enentef, M. R. lvi. |
| 39. | Jar on leg, with water running out. | *ab* (*uab*, c.), pure, pure man, priest. | L. L. A. ii. b., D. 418. |
| 40. | Jar with water running out; comp. horn. | the same: the horn, pronounced *ab*, here used for the sound. | Ritual A1. 35. B. M. |
| 41. | Spindle or jar to hold thread; comp. chair-back. | *hs* (*hos*, c.), to sing, to praise, order. | L. B. 79. |
| 42. | Vessel like a goblet; comp. vase. | *hn*, *hn-nu* (*kno*, c.), to command. | L. B. 73. a. c. |
| 43. | A basket of incense on fire. | *ba*, the soul. | D. 124. |

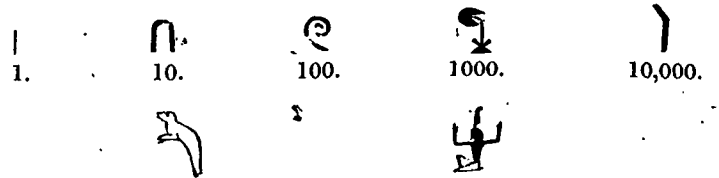
| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 44. | Sledge or truck; comp. stand of a boat. | *tm*, *atm* (*thom*, c.), to avoid, escape. | L. B. 69. a – *f*. L. B. D. xx–xxi. c. 70. |
| 45. | Net shut up; comp. sieve, hemisphere, and oblique lines. | *s-χti* (*sχt*, c.), to take, to net. | D. 152. 359. 521. 385. 375., M. C. v. xliii. |
| 46. | Seal or trap, with whips; comp. hand and stand of a boat. | *χtm* (*χtam*, c.), to shut up, total, the whole, included. | D. 305., M. R. lxxxi. |
| 47. | Seal or trap; complem. ampulla. | *sn nu*, to bind, turn away, prohibit. | L. B. D. xvii. 36. l., Sh. 10., tab. of Ptolemaic period. |
| 48. | Garment with mat and sword (hitherto supposed to be a furled sail); complem. chair-back. | *χs*, to serve. | xii. dyn. B.M. Tab. Ai. 10. 12., D. 346. |
| 49. | Girdle buckle, commonly called crux ansata; comp. water and sieve. | *anχ*, life, living. | L. L. A. ii. 3. a., B. 12. |
| 50. | Kind of tool?; comp. leg. | . . . *b*, to pass through, penetrate. | L. B. D. iii. c. 8. l. 1., xxvii. 72. 4. 73. 1.; sarcoph. with name of Q. of Amasis. |
| 51. | Folded object; comp. mouth. | *rr*, according to Lepsius: see also Determinatives. Champoll. *mr* (*mour*, c.), to bind, encircle, go round. | L. B. 64.; Sh. 10. l. 5.; Tab. Ai. B.M.; Si. ii. 244.; G. 485.; cf. L. B. D. vi. 15., i. 47. 48. |

| No. | Form. | Sound and Signification. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52. | Variant of the same. | same. | Ibid. |
| 53. | Key? comp. sieve. | *amaχ*, attach to, support, strengthen (*amahi*, c.), bless. | Arch. xxix. pl. 14., sarc. Amyr., Sh. 2. 28., Hks. on Egypt. Stele, R. I. A. 1842. pt. 11. |
| 54. | A chisel; complement stand of a boat and mouth. | . . . . | L. B. D. |
| 55. | Kind of drill and guard; comp. ampulla and tow-line. | *nn-nu*, water: this symbol is the determinative of *sctp*, tried. | M. t. ii.pl. cv. |
| 56. | Unknown object; comp. water. | *tn*, *tn-nu* . . . | In a proper n. on mummy at Shrewsbury, and at the B. M. |

## E.

### I. THE NUMERALS, GRAMMATICAL SIGNS, AND HIEROGLYPHICAL GROUPS.

The Hieroglyphical Numerals are



1. 10. 100. 1000. 10,000.

1,000,000. 1,000,000,000,000,000,000.*

* Gr. p. 215. We shall return to the subject of these remarkable Hieratico-Demotic numerals in the Fifth Book. Some of them are still used by the physicians and chemists throughout Europe.

The units are expressed by a stroke, but in groups; namely,

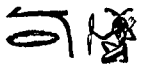
| | |
|---|---|
| 4, as 2+2. | 7, as 4+3. |
| 5, as 3+2. | 8, as 4+4. |
| 6, as 3+3. | 9, as 3+3+3. |

This grouping is connected, perhaps, with the mode of designating the units in pronunciation from 4 upwards, as we have intimated in the grammatical synopsis, in accordance with Lepsius's valuable essay on this subject.

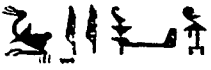
As regards the Grammatical Signs, we have placed under the Ideographics (No. 542.) the hieroglyphical *stop* or end of a group; those of *verbs* (cross bar) and of the *active verb* (the legs stretched) under the Determinatives. The line | for marking the masculine noun is the Ideographic No. 596., which, as well as the line with the T sign (*t* 2.), we have classed among the Phonetics; they are the affixes of other signs, when they betoken nouns. The Egyptians expressed the plural by three straight | strokes; the dual, in a corresponding manner, by two straight || or oblique ⟍ strokes, or by a T (𓏏) placed before the two oblique strokes, as 𓏏⟍⟍.

It only remains to add a few words upon the compounded Hieroglyphical Groups. We have pointed out this grouping to a certain extent in the Determinative No. 3., the sign of *night* and *darkness*. We here allude to the grouping together of several hieroglyphics, which conjointly express a compound, sometimes a derivative, word. This juxtaposition of signs corresponds exactly with the juxtaposition of unchanged words in the spoken language. We subjoin some of the most important of these groups.

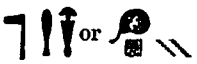
*Sut.n ʌb*, King of all Egypt (of Upper and Lower Egypt).

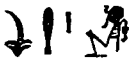


*Mur maχi*, Commander of soldiers.


*Tai . . .*, Fan-bearer.

*Ntr hnt*, Priest.


*Ntr hntr ap*, High priest.


*Sutn hntr*, His Majesty.

*Hsiri ntr*, the Osirian (blessed, deified).

*Ma-tu*, the Justified (deceased).

## II. EXPLANATION OF THE SPECIMENS OF HIEROGLYPHICAL WRITING.

The grammatical, lexicographical, and hieroglyphical chapters of this work are principally intended to be a naturally connected representation of the historical facts and periods of development of the two great monuments of the primeval time. They may, moreover, in the present state of Egyptian philology, be used as a grammar, dictionary, and handbook of hieroglyphics, by those who wish to form an independent judgment on this subject, without wading through large and costly hieroglyphical works. Any materials we could find in these, which appeared to be certain and authentic, we have collected to the best of our knowledge and judgment. We think, too, that the strictly historical order and character of our representations of those primeval facts will not be without its use for the scholar; for the aim and goal of all grammatical, lexicographical, and hieroglyphical or alphabetical research must be to understand each word or sign as a historical fact, as part of a history. Finally, the indefatigable and kind assistance of our learned friend, Mr. Samuel Birch, has enabled us to exhibit those facts more completely, and, we hope, more correctly, than

is the case in other works. We subjoin a few remarks as to the application of those chapters and lists, in learning to read and understand the hieroglyphics.

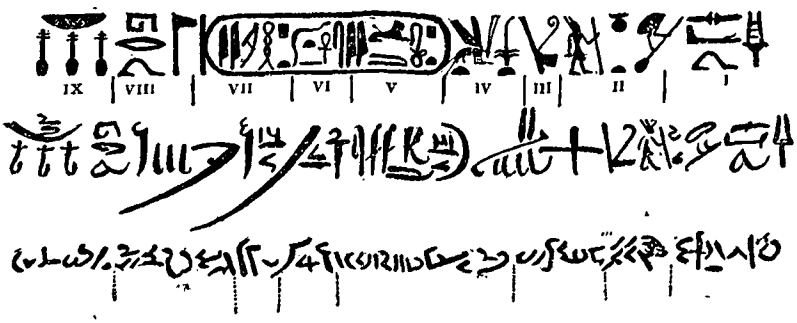
Whoever makes use of these lists in reading an inscription, or testing the accuracy of a translation, will naturally, in the first place, endeavour to ascertain or recollect whether the sign is Ideographic, Determinative, or Phonetic, and he will then easily find it with its full explanation. For understanding the grammatical forms, the order followed in the fourth section will be found useful. In conclusion, the unpractised reader will find in the first Appendix an exposition and explanation of the Coptic alphabet, as generally used in books on Egyptology for transcribing the hieroglyphical texts. We have most carefully abstained from all use of this alphabet in the body of the work; the Latin alphabet, with the addition of two Greek forms, is amply sufficient for the purpose of a correct transcript. The plan hitherto adopted of transcribing, or rather rendering, ancient Egyptian words into Coptic, is quite unphilological and unscientific. There is no harmony between the Coptic alphabet with its great variety of letters, and the fifteen simple sounds of the Egyptian; besides, the Coptic word scarcely ever corresponds literally with the Egyptian, least of all in the vowels. In regard to these it is impossible to adhere too closely to the critical principle of never putting in a vowel where none has hitherto been found in the hieroglyphic text. The E might be made use of as a *scheva*, for facilitating the pronunciation and dividing a syllable, remembering always the fact of there being no E in Egyptian: but, in order to preserve the strict correspondence of the number of signs between the original and the transcript, we have abstained from the use of it in this edition.

As regards the arrangement of the hieroglyphical signs, we believe we have made considerable improvement on the German edition, by placing each sign by the side of its explanation in the text, instead of representing them with their numbers in distinct plates.

We hope the time is not far distant when we shall be able to print hieroglyphics everywhere, as we do Chinese. The printing of Chinese characters with movable types in Europe is the invention of the Leipzic publishers (Breitkopf and Haertel); and another publisher of the same metropolis of the German book

trade, M. Ambrose Barth, who has exerted himself so zealously for the advancement of all scientific undertakings, has likewise the merit of having made the first real attempt at casting a complete fount of hieroglyphics for the publication of Schwartze's work. These types, however, are evidently calculated for the phonetic signs alone; and they are defective as to Egyptian style and character in their outlines. In this respect, Champollion's grammar is a masterpiece; and the signs reproduced there lithographically have since been admirably formed by Messrs. Didot into a complete fount of movable types, designed by the late M. Dubois, and executed with the greatest elegance. M. Letronne has given a beautiful specimen of these characters in his valuable remarks on the tablet of Abydos. We are happy to announce that the Royal Academy at Berlin have granted to Chev. Lepsius the means of directing the execution of a complete set of hieroglyphical types, and that a specimen of these will soon appear. We hope this may be in the shape of a complete edition and interpretation of the Rosetta stone by Lepsius, who alone possesses all the requisites, together with the new precious materials afforded by the fragment of Philæ, which contains a part of the two Egyptian texts of that decree.

We reproduce here the specimen of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic writing given in the German edition, from Lepsius's Letter.




This specimen represents, first, part of the sixth line of the hieroglyphical inscription on the Rosetta stone; the passage corresponding to it in the Demotic inscription is added in the third line; the intervening one gives the transcript of the hieroglyphic text into the Hieratic character, drawn up from corresponding signs, for no such transcript is known. This has been arranged from right to left, in order to accommodate it, to

the usual mode of hieratic writing. It need hardly be mentioned that the Rosetta stone itself, as an Egyptian monument, belongs to the time of the lowest decline as regards language, character, and hieroglyphical structure.

I.

1. s. Phonetics Class I. *s* 2.
2. h. Phonetics C. I. *h* 6.
3. a. Phonetics C. I. *a* 1.
4. Determinative 62. Motion.

Consequently to be read, s. ha; i. e. *ha*, to place, with *s*, the sign of causative or transitive power, and the grammatical sign which expresses the same figuratively, *to set up*. Greek text, ΣΤΗCΑΙ.

II.

1. χ(n). Phonetics C. I. χ 8. for χn.
2. 3. n and t. Phonetics C. I. *n* 2. *t* 4.
4. a statue. Ideographic 44. (a later form).

Consequently to be read, χn.t (*statue*). Greek text, ΕΙΚΟΝΑ.

III.

n. Phonetics C. I. *n* 3.

Therefore n, *of*, genitive sign. Greek text, ΤΟΥ.

IV.

A sprig and wasp, as symbol of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Sprig, Phonetics C. I. *s* 6. *t* 4.: together, sut for sutn, *King of Upper Country*.

Wasp, Ideographic 358.; h, with feminine sign *t* 4. ht (L.), χb (B.), as above, *King of Lower Country*.

Making together, sutn ht or sutn χb (*King*). Greek text, ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC.

V.

p t u r m a i u s. Phonetics C. I. *p* 1. *t* 4. *u* 2. *r* 2. *m* 4. *i* 1. *s* 1. Pturmis=Ptulmis. Greek text, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.

VI.

1. anχ. Mixed Sign 45. *Life.*
2. tta. Phonetics C. I. *t* 2. *t* 4. tt, "*eternal.*"
   Making together, anχ tta, *ever living, eternal.*
3. The world, Ideographic 8., which on the later monuments is replaced by the zigzag line *n*.
   Greek text, ΤΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΟΒΙΟΥ.

VII.

1. P t h. Phonetics C. I. *P* 1. *t* 4. *h* 1. Making Pth, Phtha, Φθᾶ, Vulcan.
2. M r . i. Phonetics C. I. *m* 10. *i* 1.; being the past participle of the verb mr, to love, *beloved.*
   Making together, Mr . i (n) Phtha, *beloved of Phtha.*
   Greek text, ΤΟΥ ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΘΑ.

Upon the Ring containing the royal names and titles compare what is said of the Determinative 148.

VIII.

1. A hatchet. Mixed Sign 28. *ntr*, god.
2. Ground plan of a house. Mixed Sign 36. *hr*, to come, appear.
   i. e. *the apparent god,* ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥϹ.

IX.

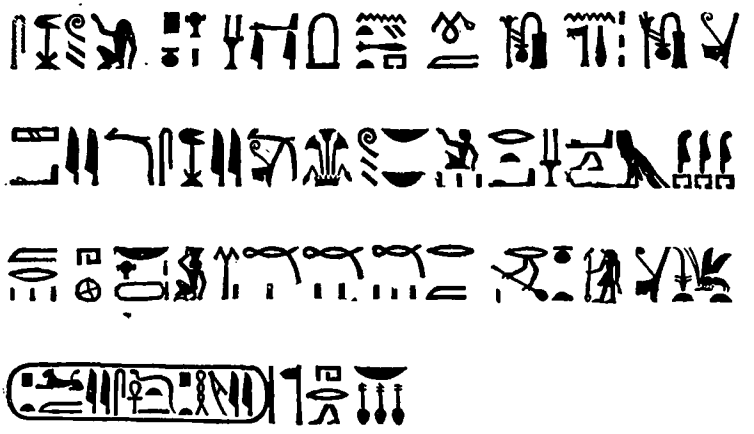
1. A basket, Ideographic 588., nb, *the lord.*
2. A guitar, Mixed Sign 587. three times repeated, nfru, *best,* or *of good.*
   i. e. *the best lord,* ΕΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΟΥ.

---

### III. EXAMPLE OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LISTS TO THE READING OF HIEROGLYPHICAL INSCRIPTIONS.

As a specimen of the mode of interpretation, and the application of the analysis to the monuments, the last line of the Rosetta stone is subjoined, each word being divided and accom-

panied by its pronunciation, interpretation, and equivalent phrase in the Greek version; first giving the two as they are inscribed upon the stone, and then supplying from a comparison of other portions the literal rendering of this portion. The parts between brackets are given from the conjectural emendations of M. Letronne.

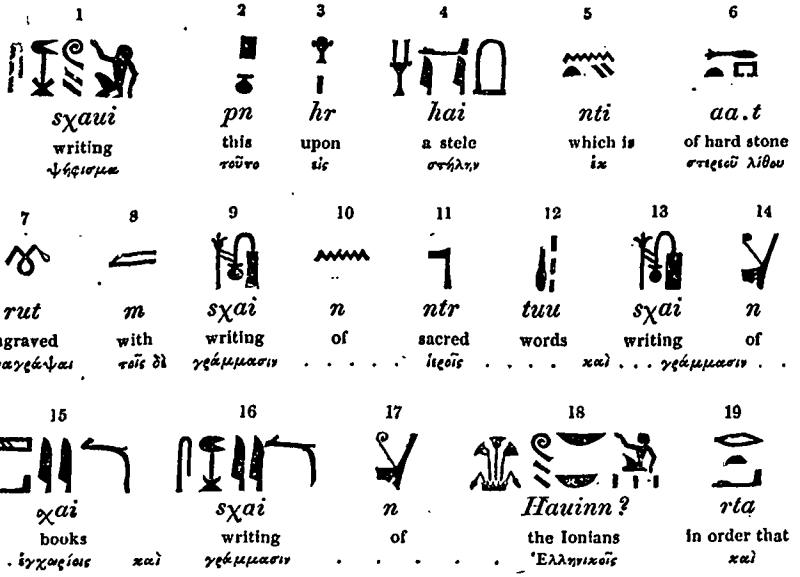


ΤΟ[ΔΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΥΤΟΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΕΙΣ
ΣΤΗΛΗΝΕΚΣ]ΤΕΡΕΟΥΛΙΘΟΥΤΟΙΣΔΕ
ΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΝΧΩΡΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝΕΚΑΣΤΩΙ
ΤΩΝΤΕΠΡΩΤΩΝΚΑΙΔΕΥΤΕΡΩ[ΝΚΑΙΤΡΙ
ΤΩΝΙΕΡΩΝΠΡΟΣΤΗΤΟΥΑΙΩΝΟΒΙΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΕΙΚΟΝΙ.

τὸ [δὲ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην ἐκ σ]τερεοῦ λίθου τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐγχωρίοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν τε πρώτων καὶ δευτέρω[ν καὶ τρίτων ἱερῶν πρὸς τῇ τοῦ αἰωνοβίου βασιλέως εἰκόνι.]

"and that this decree should be inscribed on a stele of hard stone, in hieroglyphical, enchorial, and Greek letters, and be placed in each of the temples of the first, second, and third orders, close to the portrait of the everliving king."

*Analysis.*

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1. Group composed of Phonetics C. I. *s* 1. χ 4. *u* 2. *i* 2. and Determinative No. 18.

2. Phonetics C. I. *p* 1. and Later Alphabet *n* 6.; demonstrative pronoun, p. 285.

3. Phonetics, Alphabet and Syllabarium *h* 7., Determinative *bar*, Ideographic 596.; preposition, p. 300.

4. Phonetics C. I. *h* 5. *i* 1. Ideographic 432.

5. Phonetics, Alphabet C. I. *n* 1. *t* 4. *i* 2. participle *ente*, p. 297.

6. Phonetics C. I. *a* 4. *t* 4. Determinative 108.

7. Ideographic 563.

8. Phonetics C. I. *m* 4.

9. Ideographic 540.

10. Phonetics C. I. *n* 1.

11. Mixed Sign 28.

12. Mixed Sign 30.

13. Ideographic 540.

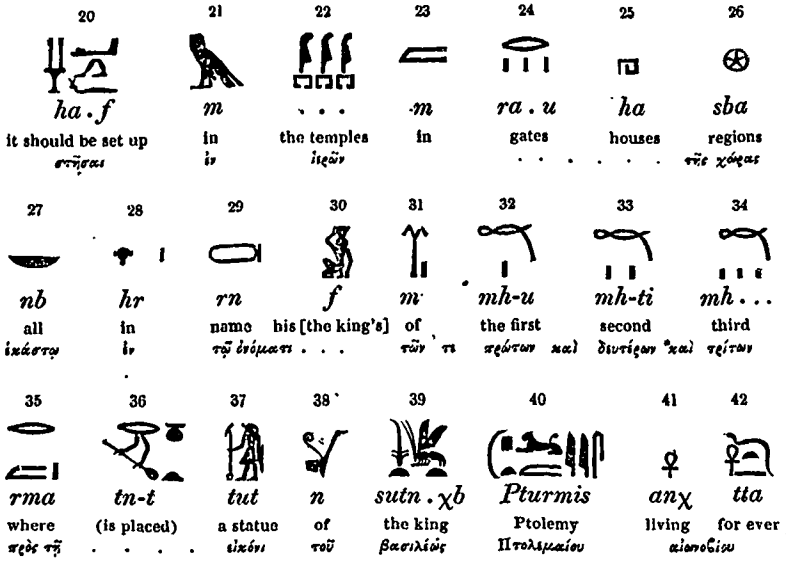
14. Phonetics C. I. *n* 2.; preposition, p. 297.

15. Phonetics C. I. ϰ 1. *a* 1. *i* (*u*) 1., Determinative 126.

16. Phonetics C. I. *s* 1. χ 4. *i* 1., Determinative 126.

17. Phonetics C. I. *n* 2.; preposition, p. 297.

18. Phonetics C. I. *h* 4. *u* 2. *i* 2., Ideographic 587. *h* 1. In the transcript of this inscription at Philæ (Salt's Essay,


20 21 22 23 24 25 26
ha.f m . . . m ra.u ha sba
it should be set up in the temples in gates houses regions
στῆσαι ἐν ἱεῶν . . . . . τῆς χώρας
27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34
nb hr rn f m mh-u mh-ti mh . . .
all in name his [the king's] of the first second third
ἑκάστῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι . . . τῶν τε πρώτων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων
35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42
rma tn-t tut n sutn.χb Pturmis anχ tta
where (is placed) a statue of the king Ptolemy living for ever
πρὸς τῇ . . . . εἰκόνι τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου αἰωνοβίου

pl. v., No. 2.) the name is written in full, Hau-nn. This word is probably an Egyptian transcription of Ἰώνων, the genitive plural of Ἴωνες, a name the Egyptians may have had in the Pharaonic times as יון or Javan.

19. Phonetics C. I. *t* 4. *a* 1.
20. Phonetics C. I. *h* 5., Determinative 52.
21. Phonetics C. I. *f* 1. p. 295.
22. Phonetics C. I. *m* 1. p. 298. No. 3.
23. Ideographic 417.
24. Phonetics C. I. *m* 4. p. 298. No. 3.
25. Phonetics C. I. *r* 1. gates.
26. Later Alphabet, *h* 14. *f* 1.

The three preceding groups are used collectively to express the name of Egypt in the sense of "country."

27. Determinative 98.
28. Ideographic 587.
29. See No. 3.
30. Phonetics C. II. *f* 1.
31. Phonetics C. I. *m* 5.
32. Phonetics C. I. *m* 8.; cf. p. 591.
33. Phonetics C. I. *m* 8.; cf. p. 591.
34. Phonetics C. I. *m* 8.; cf. p. 591.
35. Phonetics C. I. *r* 1. *m* 3., Ideographic 596.
36. Phonetics C. I. χ 8. *t* 4.
37. Determinative 35.
38. Phonetics C. I. *n* 2.

| 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Phtha* | *mr . i* | *ntr* | *hr* | *nb* | |
| of Phtha | beloved | the god | apparent | the lord | most excellent |
| ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθᾶ | ἠγαπημένου | θεοῦ | ἐπιφάνου | | εὐχαρίστου |

39. Phonetics C. I. *s* 6. *t* 4., Ideographic 357.
40. Phonetics C. I. *p* 1. *t* 4. *u* 3. *l* 1. *m* 3. *i* 1. *s* 1.
41. Mixed Sign 49.
42. Phonetics C. I. *t* 2. *t* 4. II. *t* 8.
43. Phonetics C. I. *p* 1. *t* 4. *h* 2.
44. Phonetics C. I. *m* 10. *i* 1.; cf. p. 297.
45. Mixed Sign 28.
46. Mixed Sign 36., Determinative 62.
47. Ideographic 587.
48. Mixed Sign 31.

# APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES.

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## VETERUM SCRIPTORUM

## DE REBUS ÆGYPTIACIS ET DE BABYLONIORUM TYRIORUMQUE TEMPORIBUS

## FRAGMENTA.

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# A.

# MANETHONIS ALIORUMQUE ÆGYPTIORUM FRAGMENTA.

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## I.

### MANETHONIS FRAGMENTUM DE TRIGINTA DYNASTIARUM A MENE AD NECTANEBUM MINOREM TEMPORE APUD SYNCELLUM.

(Chronogr. p. 52.[1])

Ὁ δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπισημότατος Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν $\overline{\Lambda}$ δυναστειῶν[2] γράψας, ἐκ τούτων δηλαδὴ λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς κατὰ πολὺ διαφωνεῖ περὶ τοὺς χρόνους πρὸς ταῦτα, καθὼς ἔστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν ἀνωτέρω μαθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξῆς λεχθησομένων. Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ τόμοις $\overline{\text{ΡΙΓ}}$ γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείαις $\overline{\Lambda}$ ἀναγεγραμμένων, αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος τὰ πάντα συνῆξεν ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΓΦΝΕ}}$, ἀρξάμενα τῷ $\overline{\text{ΑΦΠς}}$ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου καὶ λήξαντα εἰς τὸ $\overline{\text{ΕΡΜΖ}}$ κοσμικὸν ἔτος, ἤτοι πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος κοσμοκρατορίας ἔτη που $\overline{\text{ΙΕ}}$. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἀφελών τις τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ $\overline{\text{ΧΝς}}$ πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν $\overline{\text{ΒΣΜΒ}}$ ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, ὡς ψευδῆ καὶ ἀνύπαρκτα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῆς πυργοποιίας καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ διασπορᾶς τῶν

[1] Georgii Syncelli Chronographia post Goarum (Paris. 1652) inter Script. Hist. Byzantinæ edita est a L. Dindorfio, 1829. Præstantiorem e codicibus duobus Parisiensibus, eum qui litt. B. indicatur, mutilum quidem, quippe qui a pagina (veteris editionis) 51. incipiat, p. 341. desinat, fere ubique secuti sumus.

[2] V. Chronicon Vetus infra A. VII.

ἐθνῶν ΦΛΔ, ἔξει σαφῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μεστραΐμ, τοῦ καὶ Μήνεος λεγομένου παρὰ τῷ Μανεθῶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ΒΨΟϛ ἔτους τοῦ ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Νεκταναβῶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Μεστραΐμ ἕως τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νεκταναβῶ ἔτη ΒΤΞΕ, ἃ καὶ ἔφθασεν, ὡς προείρηται, εἰς τὸ κοσμικὸν ΕΡΜΖ ἔτος πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτίστου ἀρχῆς, ἔτεσι ΙΕ ἐγγύς. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ΒΨΟϛ ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ μὲν Φαλὲκ τῆς ζωῆς ἔτος ἦν Ε, τοῦ δὲ Ἔβερ τοῦ πατρὸς Φαλὲκ ἔτος καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ΡΛΗ. Τῷ γὰρ ΒΨΟΑ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου, ὅπερ ἦν τῆς τοῦ Ἔβερ ζωῆς ΡΛΓ ἔτος, ἐγεννήθη αὐτῷ ὁ Φαλέκ, καὶ μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη τῆς τοῦ Φαλὲκ γεννήσεως, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ κοσμικῷ ΒΨΟΕ ἔτει, συνεχύθησαν αἱ γλῶσσαι· καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι κοσμικῷ ΒΨΟϛ ἔτει, τοῦ δὲ Ἔβερ ΡΛΗ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαλὲκ ἔτει Ε, διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι.

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## II.

### MANETHONIS DYNASTIÆ ANTE MENEM SECUNDUM EUSEBIUM.

(Chron. l. i. c. 19. extr. sq.; vs. Lat. ed. A. Mai, Rom. 1833.)

Opportunum commodumque est etiam ex *Manethone* res Ægyptiacas hic subnectere, in quo præsertim historia ista niti videtur.

(Cap. XX.) Primus Ægyptiorum deus[1] *Vulcanus* fuit, qui etiam ignis repertor apud eos celebratur. Ex

[1] "Cod. Arm. *homo*, et sic etiam Moses Chorenensis Hist. i. 6. Sed *deus* apud Syncellum, p. 18. Reapse hic agitur de Ægyptiacarum deorum dynastia." Leopardus apud Maium.

eo *Sol:* postea *Agathodæmon:* deinde *Saturnus:* tum *Osiris:* exin Osiridis frater *Typhon:* ad extremum *Orus*, Osiridis et Isidis filius. Hi primi inter Ægyptios rerum potiti sunt.

Deinceps continuata successione delapsa est regia auctoritas usque ad *Bytin* per annos *tredecim mille ac nongentos.* Lunarem tamen annum intelligo, videlicet triginta diebus constantem: quem enim nunc mensem dicimus, Ægyptii olim anni nomine indigitabant.[2]

| | |
|---|---|
| Post deos regnavere *heroes* annis . . . . . | MCCLV. |
| rursusque *alii reges* dominati sunt annis . . . . . | MDCCCXVII. |
| tum *alii triginta reges Memphitæ* annis . . . . . | MDCCXC. |
| deinde *alii Thinitæ decem reges* annis . . . . . | CCCL. |
| Secuta est *manium heroumque dominatio* annis . . . . | MMMMMDCCCXIII. |

Summa temporum in *undecim milia* consurgit annorum, qui tamen lunares, nempe menstrui sunt.

Sed revera dominatio, quam narrant Ægyptii, *deorum, heroum et manium* tenuisse putatur lunares annos omnino *viginti quatuor mille et nongentos*, ex quibus fiunt solares anni MMCCVI.

Atque hæc quidem si cum Hebræorum chronologia conferre volueris, in eandem plane conspirare sententiam videbis. Namque Ægyptus ab Hebræis Mezraimus appellatur. Mezraimus autem non multis[3] post dilu-

[2] Comparat cum his aliorum scriptorum commenta Ang. Maius: "Suidas voc. ἥλιος ait *dies* aliquando numeratos pro annis. Censorinus cap. xix. annum Ægyptiorum antiquissimum dicit *bimestrem*, immo *menstruum* Plutarchus in Numa cap. xviii. et Varro apud Lactantium Inst. ii. 12., *quadrimestrem* Augustinus de Civ. Dei xii. 10. Legesis alias varietates apud Plinium H. N. vii. 49. et apud Macrobium Saturn. i. 12."

[3] Voc. *non* addidimus; cf. et quæ statim sequuntur et Gen. x. 6. Errorem inesse suspicatus est Maius ad h. l.

vium annis exstitit. Quippe ex Chamo, Noachi filio, post diluvium ortus est Ægyptus sive Mezraimus, qui primus ad Ægypti incolatum profectus est, qua tempestate gentes hac illac spargi cœperunt. Erat autem summa temporis ab Adamo ad diluvium, secundum Hebræos, annorum MMCCXLII.

Ceterum quum Ægyptii prærogativa antiquitatis quadam seriem ante diluvium tenere se jactent deorum, heroum et manium annis plus viginti mille regnantium, plane æquum est, ut hi anni in menses tot convertantur, quot ab Hebræis memorantur anni: nempe ut qui menses continentur in memoratis apud Hebræos annis, ii totidem intelligantur Ægyptiorum lunares anni, pro ea temporum summa, quæ a primo condito homine ad Mezraimum usque colligitur.[4] Etenim Mezraimus generis Ægyptiaci auctor fuit, ab eoque prima Ægyptiorum dynastia credenda est. Quod si temporum copia adhuc exuberet, reputandum sedulo est plures fortasse Ægyptiorum reges una eademque ætate extitisse: namque et Thinitas regnavisse aiunt et Memphitas et Saitas et Æthiopes, eodemque tempore alios. Videntur præterea alii quoque alibi imperium tenuisse, atque hæ dynastiæ suo quæque in nomo[5] semet continuisse: ita ut haud singuli reges successivam potestatem acceperint, sed alius alio loco eadem ætate regnaverit. Atque hinc contigit, ut tantus cumulus annorum confieret. Nos vero, his omissis, persequamur singillatim Ægyptiorum chronologiam.

(Sequitur *triginta dynastiarum* a Mene ad Nectanebum minorem enumeratio, quam statim addimus.)

[4] Idem jam dixerat cap. secundo, unde attulit. Sync. Chronogr. p. 40. D., quem locum v. infra A. VIII.

[5] Arm. *in lege.... scriptæ:* manifesto interpretis lapsu.

## III.

### MANETHONIS DYNASTIÆ TRIGINTA A MENE AD NECTANEBUM MINOREM SECUNDUM AFRICANUM ET EUSEBIUM.

Ex Syncelli Chronographia (p. 53. seqq.) et Armenio Eusebii interprete (Chron. i. 20. seqq.).

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Μεστραΐμ Αἰγυπτιακῶν δυναστειῶν[1] οἱ χρόνοι ἕως Νεκταναβῶ χρειώδεις τυγχάνουσιν ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς περὶ τὰς χρονικὰς καταγινομένοις ζητήσεις, αὐταὶ δὲ παρὰ Μανεθῶ ληφθεῖσαι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικοῖς διαπεφωνημένως κατά τε τὰς αὐτῶν προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν χρόνων τῆς βασιλείας ἐκδέδονται, ἐπὶ τίνος τε αὐτῶν Ἰωσὴφ ἡγεμόνευσε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ Θεόπτης Μωϋσῆς τῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας ἡγήσατο, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δύο τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἐκδόσεις ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἀλλήλαις παραθέσθαι, Ἀφρικανοῦ τέ φημι καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου καλουμένου, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἐγγίζουσαν τῇ γραφικῇ ἀληθείᾳ δόξαν ὀρθῶς ἐπιβάλλων καταμάθοι . . . . .

Sequitur (p. 54. B.):

Περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν[2] Αἰγύπτου δυναστειῶν, ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανός.

[1] Libri ἑτῶν. At sequitur: αὐταὶ παρὰ M. ληφθεῖσαι,

[2] Verba μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν nec Manethonis sunt, nec Africani.

Africanus (Sync. p. 54.).

Μετὰ νέκυας καὶ[1] τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτη βασιλεία καταριθμεῖται βασιλέων ὀκτώ, ὧν πρῶτος

α'. ΜΗΝΗΣ Θινίτης[2] ἐβασίλευσεν . . ἔτη ΞΒ... 62
ὃς ὑπὸ ἱπποποτάμου διαρπαγεὶς διεφθάρη.

β'. ΑΘΩΘΙΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη ΝΖ... 57
ὁ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασίλεια οἰκοδομήσας, οὗ φέρονται βίβλοι ἀνατομικαί, ἰατρὸς γὰρ ἦν.

γ'. ΚΕΝΚΕΝΗΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη ΛΑ... 31

δ'. ΟΥΕΝΕΦΗΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη ΚΓ... 23
ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον μέγας· οὗτος τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ἤγειρε πυραμίδας.

ε'. ΟΥΣΑΦΑΙΔΟΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη Κ... 20

ς'. ΜΙΕΒΙΔΟΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη Κς... 26

ζ'. ΣΕΜΕΜΨΗΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη ΙΗ... 18
ἐφ' οὗ φθορὰ μεγίστη κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

η'. ΒΙΗΝΕΧΗΣ υἱὸς . . . . . ἔτη Κς... 26

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΝΓ (253)...263

Add. Sync. Τὰ τῆς πρώτης δυναστείας οὕτω πως καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐξέθετο.

[1] Voc. καὶ inserui ex Eusebianis.

[2] Cod. A. et Edd. Θεινίτης, in Euseb. Θενίτης, male utrumque; cod. B. Θεεινίτης, pejus. Steph. Byzant. Θὶς πόλις Αἰγυπτία πλησίον Ἀβύδου. ὁ πολίτης Θινίτης. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰγυπτιακῶν α'. Cf. A. Schmidt, Die griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden (Berol. 1842), p. 28. sqq. haud paucis hac de urbe disserentem.

# Liber Primus (Dyn. I—XI.).

DYNASTIA.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 55.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Μετὰ νέκυας καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτην δυναστείαν καταριθμοῦσι βασιλέων Η, ὧν πρῶτος γέγονε ΜΗΝΗΣ, ὃς διασήμως αὐτῶν ἡγήσατο. ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς ἐξ ἑκάστου γένους βασιλεύσαντας ἀναγραψαμένων ἡ διαδοχὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. | Post manes atque heroas *primam dynastiam* numerant *octo regum*, quorum primus fuit MENES[4], gloria regni administrandi præpollens: a quo exorsi singulas regnantium familias diligenter scribemus, quarum successiva series ita contexitur: |
| α'. ΜΗΝΗΣ Θινίτης καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀπόγονοι ΙΖ (ἐν ἄλλῳ[3] δὲ Ζ), ὃν Ἡρόδοτος Μῆνα ὠνόμασεν, ἐβασίλευσεν . . ἔτεσιν ΞΔ...60 | MENES Thinites ejusque posteri *septem* (quem Herodotus Minam nuncupavit). Hic regnavit . . . . . a. 30 |
| οὗτος ὑπερόριον στρατείαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐκρίθη. ὑπὸ δὲ ἱπποποτάμου ἡρπάσθη. | Idem et extra regionis suæ fines cum exercitu progressus est, et gloria rerum gestarum inclaruit. Ab hippopotamo raptus est. |
| β'. ΑΘΩΘΙΣ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς ἦρξεν ἔτεσιν ΚΖ...27 | ATHOTHIS, hujus filius, regno potitus est . . a. 25 (mg. 27) |
| καὶ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασίλεια ᾠκοδόμησεν, ἰατρικήν τε ἐξήσκησε καὶ βίβλους ἀνατομικὰς συνέγραψε. | Is regia sibi palatia Memphi construxit et medicam item artem coluit: quin et libros de ratione secandorum corporum scripsit. |
| γ'. ΚΕΝΚΕΝΗΣ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς ἔτη ΛΘ...39 | CENCENES ejus filius . . . a. 39 |
| δ'. ΟΥΕΝΝΕΦΗΣ (ΟΥΕΝΕΦΗΣ Α.) ἔτη ΜΒ...42 | VAVENEPHIS . . . . . a. 42 |
| ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν χώραν, ὃς καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ἤγειρε. | cujus ætate fames regionem corripuit. Is pyramides prope Cho oppidum[5] excitavit. |
| ε'. ΟΥΣΑΦΑΙΣ (ΟΥΣΑΦΗΣ Α.) ἔτη Κ...20 | USAPHAES . . . . . a. 20 |
| ς'. ΝΙΕΒΑΙΣ (ΝΙΕΒΗΣ Α.) ἔτη Κς...26 | NIEBAES . . . . . a. 26 |
| ζ'. ΣΕΜΕΜΨΗΣ . . ἔτη ΙΗ...18 | MEMPSES . . . . . a. 18 |
| ἐφ' οὗ πολλὰ παράσημα ἐγένετο καὶ μεγίστη φθορά. | Sub hoc multa prodigia itemque maxima lues acciderunt. |
| η'. ΟΥΒΙΕΝΘΗΣ . . ἔτη Κς...26 | VIBESTHES . . . . . a. 26 |
| Οἱ πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΣΝΒ (252)...258 | Summa dominationis annorum 252...226 (228) |

[3] Sc. ἀντιγράφῳ.

[4] Sic c. margine. Codex *Memes*: hic et infra. Pro Thynites ed. Rom. scripsimus Thinites. Marginis rationem ut habeamus, multa exempla postulant, id quod monuit jam Niebuhrius (Kl. hist. u. phil. Schr. p. 193.).

[5] Legit nimirum Χῶ κώμην.

SECUNDA DYNASTIA

Africanus (Sync. p. 54. 56.).

Δευτέρα δυναστεία

Θινιτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα: ὧν πρῶτος

α'. ΒΟΗΘΟΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΛΗ... 38

ἐφ' οὗ χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπώλοντο πολλοί.

β'. ΚΑΙΕΧΩΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΛΘ... 39

ἐφ' οὗ οἱ βόες Ἄπις ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Μνεῦις ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος ἐνομίσθησαν εἶναι θεοί.

γ'. ΒΙΝΩΘΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΖ... 47

ἐφ' οὗ ἐκρίθη τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν.

δ'. ΤΛΑΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΖ... 17

ε'. ΣΕΘΕΝΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΑ... 41

ς'. ΧΑΙΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΖ... 17

ζ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΚΕ... 25

ἐφ' οὗ μυθεύεται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέρας ἕνδεκα ῥυῆναι.

η'. [1]ΣΕΣΩΧΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΗ... 48

ὃς ὕψος εἶχε πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ'.

θ'. ΧΕΝΕΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Λ... 30

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΤΒ...302

Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας δυναστείας μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ΦΝΕ (555) κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανοῦ (scilicet 253 +302).

[1] Quæ sequuntur ad finem usque dynastiæ mira quadam codicum confusione, sed magis mira editorum Syncelli negligentia nunc ad calcem dynastiæ Eusebianæ secundæ adscripta leguntur, quamquam verba ipsa errorem arguunt. Eodem modo ultimam dynastiæ partem apud Eusebium ab octavo inde rege nunc ad calcem dynastiæ quartæ Eusebianæ relegatam legimus. In Africani verbis de Sesochride

MANETHONIS.

| Eusebius apud Syncell. (p. 55, 56, 57.) | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Δευτέρα δυναστεία βασιλέων ἐννέα. | *Secunda Dynastia* regum 9. |
| Πρῶτος ΒΩΧΟΣ, ἐφ' οὗ χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο. | Primus BOCHUS. Sub eo specus ingens Bubasti subsedit multosque hausit. |
| Μεθ' ὃν καὶ δεύτερος ΧΩΟΣ, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ἆπις καὶ ὁ Μνεῦις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος θεοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν. | Post eum CECHOUS, quo tempore Apis et Mnevis atque Mendesius hircus dii esse putabantur. |
| γ'. ΒΙΟΦΙΣ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκρίθη καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν. | Deinde BIOPHIS, sub quo lege statutum est, ut feminæ quoque regiam dignitatem obtinerent. |
| Καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἄλλοι τρεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν οὐδὲν παράσημον ἐγένετο. | Tum alii *tres*, quorum ætate nullum insigne facinus patratum est. |
| ζ'. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑβδόμου μυθεύεται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέραις ἕνδεκα ῥυῆναι. | Sub *septimo* mythici aiunt flumen Nilum melle simul et aqua fluxisse undecim diebus. |
| η'. Μεθ' ὃν ΣΕΣΩΧΡΙΣ ἔτη ΜΗ... 48 ὃς λέγεται γεγονέναι ὕψος ἔχων πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ' τὸ μέγεθος. | Postea SESOCHRIS . . . a. 48 quem aiunt quinque cubitos altum, tres vero palmos latum fuisse. |
| Θ'. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θ' οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ὑπῆρχεν. | Sub *nono* tandem nihil memoria dignum actum est. |
| Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι ΣΛΖ...297 | Hi regnaverunt . . . . a. 297 |
| Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας δυναστείας ἔτη ΦΜΘ (549) κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν Εὐσεβίου (scilicet 252 + 297). | |

correxi παλαιστῶν γ' pro eo, quod codd. præbent, πλάτος γ'. Cave ne Eusebii additamentum, τὸ μέγεθος, Syncello tribuas: Armenius interpres idem legit et tamquam πλάτος transtulit. At vir dodrantem pedis inter humeros latus e pygmæorum foret stirpe, non gigantum. Non scripsit hæc Manetho, neque, crediderim, Africanus.

Africanus (Sync. p. 56.).

Τρίτη δυναστεία
Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα.

α'. ΝΕΧΕΡΩΦΗΣ[1] . . . . . ἔτη ΚΗ... 28
ἐφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος ἑαυτούς παρέδοσαν.

β'. ΤΟΣΟΡΘΡΟΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΚΘ... 29
οὗτος Ἀσκληπιὸς Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν νενόμισται, καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομίαν εὗρατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη.

γ'. ΤΥΡΕΙΣ[2] . . . . . ἔτη Ζ... 7
δ'. ΜΕΣΩΧΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΖ... 17
ε'. ΣΩΥΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ις... 16
ς'. ΤΟΣΕΡΤΑΣΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΘ... 19
ζ'. ΑΧΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΒ... 42
η'. ΣΗΦΟΥΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Λ... 30
θ'. ΚΕΡΦΕΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Κς... 26
Ὁμοῦ ἔτῃ ΣΙΔ...214

Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ τῶν τριῶν δυναστειῶν κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη ΨΞΘ (769, scilicet 555+214).

[1] Cod. A. Νεχερόφης.
[2] Cod. A. Τύρις.

MANETHONIS.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 57.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Τρίτη δυναστεία<br>Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων Η. | *Tertia Dynastia*<br>Memphitarum 8 regum. |
| α'. ΝΕΧΕΡΩΧΙΣ, ἐφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. | NECHEROCHIS, sub quo Libyes ab Ægyptiis defecerunt; mox immaniter crescente luna territi ad obsequium reversi sunt. |
| β'. Μεθ' ὃν ΣΕΣΟΡΘΟΣ, ὃς Ἀσκληπιὸς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν ἰατρικήν· οὗτος καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομὴν εὗρατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη. | Deinde SESORTHUS, qui ob medicam artem Æsculapius ab Ægyptiis vocitatus est. Is etiam sectis lapidibus ædificiorum struendorum auctor fuit: litteris insuper exarandis curam impendit. |
| Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἓξ οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔπραξαν. | Sex reliqui nihil commemorandum gesserunt. |
| Οἳ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι ΡϞΗ...198 | Regnatum est . . . . a. 197 |
| Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ τῶν τριῶν δυναστειῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἔτη ΨΜΖ (747, scilicet 549 + 198). | |

Africanus (Sync. p. 56, 57.).

Τετάρτη δυναστεία
Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἑτέρας βασιλεῖς Η.

α'. ΣΩΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΚΘ... 29
β'. ΣΟΥΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΞΓ... 63

ὃς τὴν μεγίστην ἔγειρε πυραμίδα, ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι· οὗτος δὲ καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγαψε βίβλον, ἣν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος ἐκτησάμην.

γ'. ΣΟΥΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΞΣ... 66
δ'. ΜΕΝΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΞΓ... 63
ε'. ΡΑΤΟΙΣΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΚΕ... 25
ς'. ΒΙΧΕΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΚΒ... 22
ζ'. ΣΕΒΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ζ... 7
η'. ΘΑΜΦΘΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Θ... 9

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΟΔ (274)...284

Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ τῶν Δ δυναστειῶν τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ΑΜς (1046) κατ' Ἀφρικανόν.[1]

[1] Rectius foret secundum ea, quæ præcedunt, ΑΜΓ (1043, i. e. 769+274): at illum esse Syncelli numerum sequentia demonstrant.

MANETHONIS.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 57.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Τετάρτη δυναστεία βασιλέων ΙΖ Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἑτέρας [βασιλείας[2]]. | *Quarta Dynastia* Memphitarum regum 17 ex alia regia familia. |
| ὧν τρίτος ΣΟΥΦΙΣ, ὁ τὴν μεγίστην πυραμίδα ἐγείρας, ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι· ὃς καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς γέγονεν, ὡς μετανοήσαντα αὐτὸν τὴν ἱερὰν συγγράψαι βίβλον, ἣν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα Αἰγύπτιοι περιέπουσι. | Quorum *tertius* SUPHIS maximæ pyramidis auctor, quam quidem Herodotus a Cheope structam ait: qui in deos ipsos superbiebat: tum facti pœnitens sacrum librum conscribebat, quem Ægyptii instar magni thesauri habere se putabant. |
| τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἀνεγράφη. | De *reliquis* regibus nihil memorabile litteris mandatum est. |
| Θῖ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσιν ΥΜΗ (448). | Regnatum est . . . . a. 448 |
| Add. Sync. Ὁμοῦ τῶν Δ δυναστειῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ΑΡϚΕ (1195) κατὰ Εὐσέβιον (i.e. 747+448). | |

[2] βασιλείας manifestam glossam uncis inclusi.

Africanus (Sync. p. 57, 58.).

Πέμπτη δυναστεία

βασιλέων $\overline{\text{H}}$ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| α'. ΟΥΣΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{KH}}$... | 28 |
| β'. ΣΕΦΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{IΓ}}$... | 13 |
| γ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{K}}$... | 20 |
| δ'. ΣΙΣΙΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{Z}}$... | 7 |
| ε'. ΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{K}}$... | 20 |
| ϛ'. ΡΑΘΟΥΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{MΔ}}$... | 44 |
| ζ'. ΜΕΝΧΕΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\Theta}$... | 9 |
| η'. ΤΑΤΧΕΡΗΣ[1] . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\text{MΔ}}$... | 44 |
| ϑ'. ΟΝΝΟΣ[2] . . . . . | ἔτη | $\overline{\Lambda\Gamma}$... | 33 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη $\overline{\Sigma\text{MH}}$ (248)...218 (l. 248) | | | |

Add. Sync. Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις $\overline{\text{AM}}$ϛ ἔτεσι τῶν τεσσάρων δυναστειῶν ἔτη $\overline{\text{AΣϟΔ}}$ (1294, i. e. 1046+248).

[1] Restituimus nomen a Lepsio in nobilissimo papyro Taurinensi repertum. Libri ΤΑΝΧΕΡΗΣ pro ΤΑΓΧΕΡΗΣ, quod facillimo scribendi lapsu ex ΤΑΤΧΕΡΗΣ ortum.

[2] ΟΒΝΟΣ cod. A. Est Ægyptiis *Unas*.

MANETHONIS.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 58.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Πέμπτη δυναστεία βασιλέων τριάκοντα ἑνὸς ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης, | *Quinta Dynastia* regum 31 Elephantinorum. |
| ὧν πρῶτος | quorum primus |
| ΟΘΟΗΣ· οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνῃρέθη. | OTHIUS, qui a satellitibus suis occisus est. |
| ὁ δὲ δ' ΦΙΩΨ ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος ἐβασίλευσε μέχρις ἐτῶν ἑκατόν. | Quartus PHIOPS, qui regiam dignitatem a sexto ætatis anno ad centesimum usque tenuit. |
| Add. Sync. Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις $\overline{\text{ΑΡϛΕ}}$ ἔτεσι τῶν τεσσάρων δυναστειῶν $\overline{\text{ΑΣϛΕ}}$ (1295, i. e. 1195+100)[3]. | |

[3] In tota hacce dynastia Eusebius oscitanter egit. Ex Elephantine ortos dicit reges, quod unice verum, et triginta fuisse numero, quod fortasse in libris invenit. At reges, quos nominat, sunt primus et quartus dynastiæ sextæ. Quot annis dynastia regnaverit, Armenius non indicat: centum annorum summa, quæ quidem absurdissima, Syncelli videtur esse.

DYNASTIÆ MANE-

Africanus (Sync. p. 58.).

Ἕκτη δυναστεία

βασιλέων ἓξ Μεμφιτῶν.

α'. ΟΘΟΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Λ... 30

ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνῃρέθη.

β'. ΦΙΟΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΝΓ... 53

γ'. ΜΕΘΟΥΣΟΥΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ζ... 7

δ'. ΦΙΩΨ· ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος βασιλεύειν διεγένετο μέχρις . . . . . ἐτῶν Ρ...100

ε'. ΜΕΝΘΕΣΟΥΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτος ἕν... 1

ς'. ΝΙΤΩΚΡΙΣ[1]· γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένη, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, ἣ τὴν τρίτην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα· ἐβασίλευσεν

ἔτη ΙΒ... 12

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΓ...203

Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ΑΣϟΔ τῶν Ε δυναστειῶν ἔτη ΑΥϟΖ (1497, i. e. 1294+203).

Ἑβδόμη δυναστεία

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων Ο, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν ἡμέρας Ο 70 dies

Ὀγδόη δυναστεία

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ΚΖ, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΡΜς...146

Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔτη ΑΧΛΘ τῶν ὀκτὼ δυναστειῶν (1639, i. e. 1497+142).

[1] Libri Νίτρωκρις.

[2] Adnotat hæc Sync.: Σημειωτέον, ὑπόσον Εὐσέβιος Ἀφρικανοῦ λείπεται ἀκριβείας ἔν τε τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ποσότητι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑφαιρέσεσι καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις, σχεδὸν τὰ Ἀφρικανοῦ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων. Verissime. Ceterum ultima verba inde a σχεδόν Dind. perperam cum sequentibus conjungenda esse arbitratus est.

THONIS VI—VIII.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 58, 59.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Ἕκτη δυναστεία. | *Sexta Dynastia.* |
| Γυνὴ ΝΙΤΩΚΡΙΣ ἐβασίλευσε τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη, ξανθή τε τὴν χροιὰν ὑπάρξασα, ἣ καὶ λέγεται τὴν τρίτην πυραμίδα ᾠκοδομηκέναι· | Femina quædam nomine NITOCRIS regnavit, omnium ætatis suæ virorum fortissima et mulierum formosissima, flava rubris genis. Ab hac tertia pyramis excitata dicitur, speciem collis præ se ferens.[4] |
| οἳ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη τρία (ἐν ἄλλῳ $\overline{\text{ΣΓ}}$). | Ab his quoque regnatum est a. 203 |
| Add. Sync. Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις $\overline{\text{ΑΣϚΕ}}$ τῶν πέντε δυναστειῶν ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΑΥϚΗ}}$ (1498 sc. 1295+203).[2] | |
| Ἑβδόμη δυναστεία | *Septima Dynastia* |
| Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων πέντε, | Memphitarum 5 regum, |
| οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν . ἡμέρας $\overline{\text{ΟΕ}}$...75 d. | qui dominati sunt . . . a. 75 |
| Ὀγδόη δυναστεία | *Octava Dynastia* |
| Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων πέντε, | Memphitarum 9 (mg. 19) regum, |
| οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{Ρ}}$...100 a. | quorum dominatio occupavit a. 100 |
| Add. Sync. Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΑΦϚΗ}}$ (1598) τῶν ὀκτὼ δυναστειῶν[3] (sc. 1498+100). | |

[3] Goarum his adscribentem "κατὰ Ἀφρικανόν" Dindorfius corrigere debebat. Sequenti enim nonæ dynastiæ Africani Syncellus ex more hæc superscripsit: Κατὰ Ἀφρικανόν. Ἐνάτη δυναστεία.

[4] Ultima verba sine dubio Eusebiana, sed male ab interprete intellecta. Tertia pyramis elatiori in loco collocata est.

Africanus (Sync. p. 59.).

Ἐνάτη δυναστεία

Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ΙΘ, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΥΘ...409

ὧν ὁ πρῶτος

ΑΧΘΟΗΣ δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανίᾳ περιέπεσε καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου διεφθάρη.

Δεκάτη δυναστεία

Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ΙΘ, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΡΠΕ...185

Ἐνδεκάτη δυναστεία

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων Ις, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν . ἔτη ΜΓ... 43

Μεθ' οὓς ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ις... 16

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγήοχε Μανεθῶ· ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς ΡϞΒ (192), ἔτη ΒΤ, ἡμέραι Ο.[1]

[1] ο′ casu aliquo omissum in codd.—Census hic dynastiarum, cujuscunque est, cum iis, quæ legimus, non prorsus convenit. Syncellus sicut annis octavæ dyn. 146 substituit 142, ita fortasse etiam in quintæ summa Eusebii errorem sive negligentia sive malitia ductus auxit. Hoc loco, ut rotundus quem dicunt numerus evaderet, addidisse vel octo vel quatuor annos videtur; nam adjectis ad annos Syncellianos 1639 a. 409+185+43+16, summa efficitur a. 2292 (vel, si octavæ 146 tribueris, 2296) cum diebus septuaginta.—Regum quoque numerus secundum Africanum revera non 192 est, sed 200; cf. tamen Eus.

THONIS IX—XI.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 60.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Ἐνάτη δυναστεία | *Nona Dynastia* |
| Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων τεσσάρων, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη $\overline{\text{Ρ}}$...100 | Heracleopolitarum 4 regum a. 100 |
| ὧν πρῶτος ΑΧΘΩΗΣ[2], δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανίᾳ περιέπεσε καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου διεφθάρη. | Horum primus OCHTHOIS sævissimus regum fuit, qui sibi præcesserant, universamque Ægyptum diris calamitatibus affecit. Idem denique vesania correptus est et a crocodilo peremptus. |
| Δεκάτη δυναστεία | *Decima Dynastia* |
| Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων $\overline{\text{ΙΘ}}$, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΡΠΕ}}$...185 | Heracleopolitarum 19 regum a. 185 |
| Ἑνδεκάτη δυναστεία | *Undecima Dynastia* |
| Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων $\overline{\text{Ις}}$, οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΜΓ}}$.. 43 | Diospolitarum 16 regum . a. 43 |
| Μεθ' οὓς ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ ἔτη $\overline{\text{Ις}}$...16 | Post quos AMMENEMES . . a. 16 |
| Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγήοχεν ὁ Μανεθῶ· ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς $\overline{\text{ΡϚΒ}}$, ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΒΤ}}$, ἡμέραι $\overline{\text{ΟΕ}}$.[3] | Hactenus *primum librum* Manetho produxit. Sunt autem reges 192, anni 2300. |

[2] Ἄχθος A. et edd.; cf. int. Arm.

[3] Codd. $\overline{\text{ΟΘ}}$ leviori errore, sed manifesto. Summam hanc Syncelli esse vix crediderim, qui eandem fere Africani verbis adscripserit. Eusebii anni, id quod ipse animadvertit Syncellus, ab Africano multum differunt, summamque 1942 annorum cum diebus 75 efficiunt. At revera ex eo numero, qui h. l. exhibetur, nulla aut regum aut annorum colligi potest summa. Quare illa vel ab Eusebio ex Africani exemplari diverso aliquantulum ab eo, quod nunc habemus, exscripta fuisse, vel glossema esse ante Syncelli ætatem additum necesse est statuamus.

Rerum Ægyptiacarum Manethonis

DUODECIMA

Africanus (Sync. p. 59.).

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝΕΘΩ.

*Δωδεκάτη δυναστεία*

*Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ἑπτά.*

α'. ΣΕΣΟΓΧΩΣΙΣ[1], ΑΜΜΑΝΕΜΟΥ *υἱός* *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{Μς}}$... 46

β'. ΑΜΜΑΝΕΜΗΣ . . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{ΛΗ}}$... 38

*ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εὐνούχων ἀνῃρέθη.*

γ'. ΣΕΣΩΣΤΡΙΣ[2] . . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{ΜΗ}}$... 48

*ὃς ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θρᾴκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν σχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσσων, ὡς[3] ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὄσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι.*

δ'. ΛΑΧΑΡΗΣ . . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{Η}}$... 8

*ὃς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσινοΐτῃ[4] λαβύρινθον ἑαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασεν.*

ε'. ΑΜΕΡΗΣ[5] . . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{Η}}$... 8

ς'. ΑΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ[6] . . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\text{Η}}$... 8

ζ'. ΣΚΕΜΙΟΦΡΙΣ, *ἀδελφή* . . . . *ἔτη* $\overline{\Delta}$... 4

*Ὁμοῦ ἔτη* $\overline{\text{ΡΞ}}$...160

[1] Ita Cod. A. Cod. B. ΓΕΣΟΝΓΟΣΙΣ, i. e. ΣΕΣΟΡΤΟΣΙΣ vel ΣΕΣΟΡΤΩΣΙΣ.

[2] Cod. B. ΣΕΣΟΣΤΡΙΣ.

[3] Codd. et editt. *ὅς*, quam lectionem in Eusebianis quoque exhibent codd.

# Liber Secundus (Dyn. XII—XIX.).

DYNASTIA.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 60.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝΕΘΩ. | E MANETHONIS LIBRO SECUNDO. |
| Δωδεκάτη δυναστεία | *Duodecima Dynastia* |
| Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων Ζ, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος | Diospolitarum 7 regum, |
| ΣΕΣΟΓΧΩΣΙΣ, ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΟΥ | quorum primus SESONCHOSIS, |
| υἱός . . . . . ἔτη Μϛ...46 | Ammenemis filius . . a. 46 |
| β'. ΑΜΜΑΝΕΜΗΣ . ἔτη ΛΗ...38 | AMMENEMES . . . . . a. 38 |
| ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εὐνούχων ἀνῃρέθη. | qui a suis eunuchis interemptus est. |
| γ'. ΣΕΣΩΣΤΡΙΣ . ἔτη ΜΗ...48 | SESOSTRIS . . . . . a. 48 |
| ὃς λέγεται γεγονέναι πηχῶν Δ, παλαιστῶν Γ, δακτύλων Β· ὃς πᾶσαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θρᾴκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατασχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσσων· ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὄσιριν νομισθῆναι. | cujus mensura fertur cubitorum quatuor palmorumque trium cum digitis duobus. Is universam Asiam annorum novem spatio sibi subdidit, itemque Europæ partes usque ad Thraciam. Idem et suæ in singulas gentes dominationis monumenta ubique constituit; apud gentes quidem strenuas virilia, apud vero imbelles feminea pudenda ignominiæ causa columnis insculpens. Quare is ab Ægyptiis proximos post Osirim honores tulit. |
| Μεθ' ὃν ΛΑΜΑΡΙΣ . ἔτη Η... 8 | Secutus est LAMPARES . . a. 8 |
| ὡς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσωϊτῃ λαβύρινθον ἑαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασεν. | Hic in Arsinoite labyrinthum cavernosum sibi tumulum fecit. |
| Οἱ δὲ τούτου διάδοχοι ἐπὶ ἔτη ΜΒ... 42 | Regnaverunt successores ejus a. 42 |
| πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι ΣΜΕ (245)...182 | Summa universæ dominationis annorum 245 . 182 |

[7] Cod. B. ἐναρσοΐτῃν.

[5] Cod. A. Ἀμμερής.

[6] Cod. A. Ἀμμενέμνης.

Africanus (Sync. p. 60, 61.).

Τρισκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία[1]
Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων Ξ,
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ΥΝΓ...453

Τεσσαρεσκαϊδεκάτη δυναστεία
Ξοϊτῶν βασιλέων Ος,
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ΡΠΔ...184

Πεντεκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Ποιμένων.
Ἦσαν δὲ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς ς, οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἷλον. οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροΐτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο[2]. ὧν πρῶτος
ΣΑΙΤΗΣ ἐβασίλευσεν . . . . . ἔτη ΙΘ... 19
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομός.
β'. ΒΝΩΝ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΔ... 44
γ'. ΠΑΧΝΑΝ . . . . . ἔτη ΞΑ... 61
δ'. ΣΤΑΑΝ . . . . . ἔτη Ν... 50
ε'. ΑΡΧΛΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΜΘ... 49
ς'. ΑΦΩΒΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΞΑ... 61
Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΠΔ...284

Ἑξκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία·
ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ΛΒ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΦΙΗ...518

Ἑπταικαιδεκάτη δυναστεία·
ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ΜΓ καὶ Θηβαῖοι Διοσπολῖται ΜΓ.
Ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐβασίλευσαν
ἔτη ΡΝΑ[3]...151

[1] Tota hæc dynastia præstantissimo codici B. debetur: in cod. A. recentior manus lacunam indicavit. Confirmant lectionem quæ apud Eusebium leguntur.

[2] Hæc inde a verbis οἱ καὶ ἐν, cod. B. male ante ea, quæ sequuntur, transposuit, Dindorfio adstipulante, sed et contextu et more Syncelli refragantibus. Habet tamen eodem ordine Eusebius.—Verba ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομός Manethonis non sunt, apud quem, teste Josepho, rex non SAÏTES, sed SALATIS.—Pro Σεθροΐτῃ cod. B. Σαιθροΐτῃ et hic et in Eusebianis. In Schol. ad Plat. Tim. apud Bekker. p. 425. sq.

SECUNDUM AFRICANUM ET JOSEPHUM.

Josephus c. Ap. I. cap. 14. (v. infra A. IV.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ΣΑΛΑΤΙΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΙΘ... | 19 |
| ΒΝΩΝ . . . . . | ἔτη ΜΔ... | 44 |
| ΑΠΑΧΝΑΣ . | ἔτη Λς καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά... | 36, m. 7. |
| ΑΠΩΦΙΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΞΑ... | 61 |
| ΙΑΝΝΑΣ . . . | ἔτη Ν καὶ μῆνα ἕνα... | 50, m. 1. |
| ΑΣΣΙΣ . . . | ἔτη ΜΘ καὶ μῆνας δύο... | 49, m. 2. |
| | | 259, m. 10. |

Τούτους δὲ τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλεῖς τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἕνδεκα . . . . . 511

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον αὐτοῖς συρραγῆναι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον.

(ubi narratio de pastoribus ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ Αἰγυπτ. inducitur) Σεθρωΐτης.

[a] Hæc corrupta esse nemo dubitabit, nisi qui Manethoniana esse putaverit, quia absurda sint. Locum sic fere esse restituendum in libro tertio docebimus: —

Ἐπτακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία·

ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς Ε, ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΡΝΑ (151).

ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες βασιλεῖς ΜΓ (43, sc. 6+32+5) καὶ Θηβαῖοι Διοσπολῖται ΝΓ (53). ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ϛς (96).

Qui numerus regum 96 hinc in epilogum migravit.

Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 61.).

Τρισκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων Ξ,
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ϒΝΓ...453

Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Ξοϊτῶν βασιλέων Ος,
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ΡΠΔ...184
(add. Sync. ἐν ἄλλῳ ϒΠΔ 484)

Πεντεκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων,
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ΣΝ... 250

Ἑξκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Θηβαῖοι βασιλεῖς Ε,
οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη Ρϟ... 190

Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία
Ποιμένες ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς· οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἷλον.
ἓν πρῶτος ΣΑΙΤΗΣ ἐβασίλευσεν . . ἔτη ΙΘ... 19
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομὸς ἐκλήθη· οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροΐτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο.

β'. ΒΝΩΝ . . . . . ἔτη Μ[1]... 40
γ'. ΑΦΩΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΔ... 14
Μεθ' ὃν ΑΡΧΛΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Λ... 30
Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΓ...103
Κατὰ τούτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἰωσὴφ δείκνυται.[2]

[1] Cod. A. ΜΓ perperam, id quod probat numerorum summa.

[2] Adn. Syncellus: Σημειωτέον πῶς ὁ Εὐσέβιος πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον κοπὸν τοὺς τῆς πεντεκαιδεκάτης δυναστείας παρὰ τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ φερομένους κατα τὴν ΙΖ δυναστείαν γεγονέναι λέγει. ἐπὶ γὰρ πᾶσι συμπεφώνηται, ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀφώφεως ἦρξεν Ἰωσὴφ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μὴ ἔχων ὁπωσοῦν ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς αὐτὸν παραθέσθαι μετήγαγε τὸν Ἄφωφιν ἀπὸ τῆς ΙΕ·

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

*Tertia Decima Dynastia*
Diospolitarum 60 regum,
qui regnaverunt . . . . . a. 453

*Quarta Decima Dynastia*
Xoitarum 76 regum,
qui regnaverunt . . . . . a. 484

*Quinta Decima Dynastia*
Diospolitarum regum,
qui regnaverunt . . . . . a. 250

*Sexta Decima Dynastia*
Thebæorum 5 regum,
qui regnaverunt . . . . . a. 190

*Decima Septima Dynastia*
Pastorum, qui fratres erant Phœnices exterique reges, qui Memphim quoque occupaverunt.
Ex his primus SAITES imperavit . . . . . a. 19
a quo Saitarum quoque nomos nomen traxit.
Iidem in Sethroite nomo urbem condiderunt, unde incursione facta Ægyptios perdomuerunt.

Secundus BNON (mg. Anon) . . . . . a. 40
Deinde ARCHLES . . . . . a. 30
APHOPHIS . . . . . a. 14
Horum ætate regnavisse in Ægypto Josephus videtur.

Summa annorum 103

δυναστείας εἰς τὴν ΙΖ, κολοβώσας τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ ΞΑ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς Λ (imo quatuordecim, ΙΔ c. Goari mg.; ita ipse Sync. p. 69. C. adn. Dind.) τὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυναστείας ΡΝΑ, ΡΓ παραθείς, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἓξ βασιλέων Δ μόνους.

DYNASTIÆ MANETHONIS XVIII, XIX.

Africanus (Sync. p. 62. et 69, 70. 72.).

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων Ις, ὧν πρῶτος ΑΜΩΣ[1], ἐφ' οὗ Μωϋσῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀποδεικνύομεν,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| β'. | ΧΕΒΡΩΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΙΓ... | 13 |
| γ'. | ΑΜΕΝΩΦΘΙΣ . | ἔτη ΚΔ, l. ἔτη ΚΑ... | 21 |
| δ'. | ΑΜΕΝΣΙΣ (ΑΜΕΡΣΙΣ c. A.) | ἔτη ΚΒ... | 22 |
| ε'. | ΜΙΣΑΦΡΙΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΙΓ... | 13 |
| ς'. | ΜΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ[2] . | ἔτη Κς... | 26 |
| ζ'. | ΤΟΥΘΜΩΣΙΣ . . . . . | ἔτη Θ... | 9 |
| η'. | ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΛΑ... | 31 |

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| θ'. | ΩΡΟΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΛΖ... | 37 |
| ι'. | ΑΧΕΡΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΛΒ... | 32 |
| ια'. | ΡΑΘΩΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ς... | 6 |
| ιβ'. | ΧΕΒΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΙΒ... | 12 |
| ιγ'. | ΑΧΕΡΡΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΙΒ... | 12 |
| ιδ'. | ΑΡΜΕΣΣΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη Ε... | 5 |
| ιε'. | ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτος Α... | 1 |
| ις'. | ΑΜΕΝΩΦΑΘ (ΑΜΕΝΩΦ c. A.) | ἔτη ΙΘ... | 19 |

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΞΓ (263)...259+x.

Ἐννεακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία βασιλέων Ζ Διοσπολιτῶν

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| α'. | ΣΕΘΩΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΝΑ... | 51 |
| β'. | ΡΑΨΑΚΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη ΞΑ... | 61 |
| γ'. | ΑΜΕΝΕΦΘΗΣ (ΑΜΜΕΝΕΦΘΗΣ cod. A.) | ἔτη Κ... | 20 |
| δ'. | ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ (ΡΑΜΕΣΗΣ cod. A.) | ἔτη Ξ... | 60 |
| ε'. | ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΝΗΣ . . . . . | ἔτη Ε... | 5 |
| ς'. | ΘΟΥΩΡΙΣ, ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνήρ, ἐφ' οὗ[3] τὸ Ἴλιον ἑάλω | ἔτη Ζ... | 7 |

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΣΘ (209) ...204

Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δευτέρου τόμου Μαν. βασιλεῖς ϛ (96), ἔτη ΒΡΚΑ (2121).

SECUNDUM AFRICANUM ET JOSEPHUM.

Josephus, l. 1.

Μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν προμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ΤΕΘΜΩΣΙΣ ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ ταῦτα

ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}}$ καὶ μῆνας δ' ...25, 4

(2) ΧΕΒΡΩΝ . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΓ}}$ . . . ...13

(3) ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{Κ}}$ καὶ μῆνας ζ' ...20, 7

(4) ΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ (ΑΜΕΣΣΙΣ), ἀδελφή

ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}$ καὶ μῆνας θ' ...21, 9

(5) ΜΗΦΡΗΣ . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΒ}}$ καὶ μῆνας θ' ...12, 9

(6) ΜΕΦΡΑΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}}$ καὶ μῆνας ι' ...25,10

(7) ΘΜΩΣΙΣ . . . ἔτη $\overline{\Theta}$ καὶ μῆνας η' ... 9, 8

(8) ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . ἔτη $\overline{\Lambda}$ καὶ μῆνας ι' ...30,10

(9) ΩΡΟΣ . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\Lambda\varsigma}$ καὶ μῆνας ε' ...36,. 5

(10) ΑΚΕΓΧΡΗΣ, θυγάτηρ

ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΒ}}$ καὶ μῆνα α' ...12, 1

(11) ΡΑΘΩΤΙΣ ἀδελφός ἔτη $\overline{\Theta}$ . . . ... 9

(12) ΑΚΕΓΧΗΡΗΣ . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΒ}}$ καὶ μῆνας ε' ...12, 5

(13) ΑΚΕΓΧΗΡΗΣ ἕτερος

ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΒ}}$ καὶ μῆνας γ' ...12, 3

(14) ΑΡΜΑΙΣ . . . ἔτη $\overline{\Delta}$ καὶ μῆνα α' ... 4, 1

(15) ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ . . ἔτος $\overline{\Lambda}$ καὶ μῆνας δ' ... 1, 4

(16) ΑΡΜΕΣΣΗΣ ΜΙΑΜΜΟΥ

ἔτη $\overline{\Xi\varsigma}$ καὶ μῆνας β' ...66, 2

(17) ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΘ}}$ καὶ μῆνας ς' ...19, 6

(18) ΣΕΘΩΣΙΣ ὁ καὶ ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ a. 333 + x

Σέθωσις ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἁρμαΐς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

DYNASTIÆ MANETHONIS XVIII,

Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 62. 71. seqq.).

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ΙΔ[4], ὧν πρῶτος[5] ΑΜΩΣΙΣ[6] ... ἔτη ΚΕ... 25

β'. ΧΕΒΡΩΝ, δεύτερος . . . ἔτη ΙΓ... 13

γ'. ΑΜΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . . . ἔτη ΚΑ... 21

δ'. ΜΙΦΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΒ... 12

ε'. ΜΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ[7] . ἔτη Κς... 26

ς'. ΤΟΥΘΜΩΣΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Θ... 9

ζ'. ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΛΑ... 31

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος.

η'. ΩΡΟΣ . . . ἔτη Λς (ἐν ἄλλῳ ΛΗ)... 36 (38)

θ'. ΑΧΕΝΧΕΡΣΗΣ[8] ἔτη Ις (ΙΒ cod. A.)... 16 (12)

Κατὰ τοῦτον Μωϋσῆς τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγήσατο.[9]

ι'. ΑΧΕΡΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Η... 8

ια'. ΧΕΡΡΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΕ... 15

ιβ'. ΑΡΜΑΙΣ ὁ καὶ Δαναός . . ἔτη Ε... 5

μεθ' ἃ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκπεσὼν καὶ φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικνεῖται, κρατήσας τε τοῦ Ἄργους βασιλεύει Ἀργείων.

ιγ'. ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ[10] ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος ἔτη ΞΗ... 68

ιδ'. ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Μ... 40

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΤΜΗ (348)...325 (323)

Ἐννεακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία βασιλέων Ε Διοσπολιτῶν.

α'. ΣΕΘΩΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΝΕ... 55

β'. ΡΑΜΨΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ξς... 66

γ'. ΑΜΜΕΝΕΦΘΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Μ... 40

δ'. ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Κς... 26

ε'. ΘΟΥΩΡΙΣ ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνήρ, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ἴλιον ἑάλω ἔτη Ζ... 7

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡϞΔ...194

Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ β' τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλέων ϞΒ (92), ἔτη ΒΡΚΑ (2121).[11]

XIX. SECUNDUM EUSEBIUM.

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

*Decima octava Dynastia* Diospolitarum 14 regum, quorum primus AMOSES . . . . . a. 25
CHEBRON . . . . . a. 13
AMOPHIS . . . . . a. 21
MEMPHRES . . . . . a. 12
MISPHARMUTHOSIS . . . . . a. 26
TUTHMOSIS . . . . . a. 9
AMENOPHIS . . . . . a. 31
Hic est qui Memnon putabatur, petra loquens.

ORUS . . . . . a. 28
ACHENCHERES . . . . . a. 16
Hujus ætate Moses ducem se præbuit Hebræis Ægypto excedentibus.
ACHERRES . . . . . a. 8
CHERRES . . . . . a. 15
ARMAIS, qui et DANAUS . . . . . a. 5
quibus peractis, Ægyptiorum regione pulsus Ægyptumque fratrem suum fugiens evasit in Græciam, Argisque captis imperitavit Argivis.
RAMESSES, qui et ÆGYPTUS . . . . . a. 68
AMENOPHIS . . . . . a. 40

Summa dominationis anni 348...a. 317

*Decima nona Dynastia* Diospolitarum 5 regum.

SETHOS . . . . . a. 55
RAMPSES . . . . . a. 66
AMENEPHTHIS . . . . . a. 8
AMMENEMES . . . . . a. 26
THUORIS Homero dictus Polybus, vir strenuus atque fortissimus, cujus ætate Ilium captum est a. 7

Summa dominationis annorum 194...a. 162

Manethonis secundo libro conflatur summa 92 regum . . . . . annorum 2121.

## Ad Dynastias Manethonis XVIII. et XIX.
### Adnotationes.

[1] Sync. p. 70. B. *τοῦ Ἀμὼς οὐδ' ὅλως εἶπεν ἔτη* (sc. Afric.). Adscriptis autem ab Africano verbis: *ἐφ' οὗ Μωϋσῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀποδεικνύομεν*, hæc opponit Sync. (p. 62. C. et 69. A.): *ὡς δὲ ἡ παροῦσα ψῆφος ἀναγκάζει, ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν Μωϋσέα συμβαίνει νέον ἔτι εἶναι.*

[2] Add. h. l. Sync.: *ἐφ' οὗ ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός. Ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀμώσεως τοῦ καὶ Μισφραγμουθώσεως ἀρχῆς γίνονται ἔτη ΞΘ* (69).

[3] Sic cum edd.: codd. *Πόλυβος ζ' ἄλκανδρος ἀνήρ, ἐφ' οὗ*, unde enatus Armenii int. error.

[4] Sync. p. 62. C.: *Κἀνταῦθα Εὐσέβιος δύο βασιλεῖς περιέκρυψεν, ἔτη δὲ προσέθηκε πε'* (85), *τμή'* (348) *παραθεὶς ἀντὶ σξγ' παρ' Ἀφρικανῷ.*

[5] Quem primum hujus dynastiæ regem fuisse ipse judicaverit Syncellus, ex hisce videmus (p. 63. B.): *Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἄμωσιν τὸν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ιη' δυναστείας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαντα ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς Ἀμὼς ὀνομάζει, ὅτι διώνυμος ἦν Ἄμωσις, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τέθμωσις καλούμενος υἱὸς Ἀσήθ. ἡμεῖς δὲ δεύτερον αὐτὸν τῆς ιη' δυναστείας κατετάξαμεν, ἔν τε ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἔλεγχον Ἀπίωνος Ἰωσήππου δυσὶ λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας τοῦ λαοῦ οὕτως αὐτὸν εὑρόντες. καὶ πρῶτον τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ΑΣΣΗΘ, οὗ μνήμην Ἀφρικανὸς καὶ Εὐσέβιος οὐ πεποίηνται, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τοὺς τῆς ἑξκαιδεκάτης καὶ ἑπτακαιδεκάτης δυναστείας ἀνωνύμως ἐξέδωκεν, ὁ δὲ Εὐσέβιος οὔτε τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ οὔτε τῷ Ἰωσήππῳ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ συμφωνῶν, τὰ μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτης δυναστείας εἰς τὴν ιζ' μετήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ χρόνους περιέκοψε, σύγχρονον Μωϋσέως δεῖξαι Κέκροπα τὸν διφυῆ ἐπειγόμενος.* Et rursus p. 68. C.: *Τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα προὔκειτο κατὰ Ἄμωσιν μὲν τὸν καὶ Τέθμωσιν, υἱὸν Ἀσὴθ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης δυναστείας, δεῖξαι τὴν Μωϋσέως γένεσιν, εἴ γε τριάκοντα ἔτη λογισώμεθα τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀμώσει, καὶ ις' τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀσήθ· εἰ δέ, ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀκριβέστερα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, κ' μὲν τῷ Ἀσήθ, κς' δὲ τῷ Ἀμώσει, ἔσται γεννηθεὶς* (sc. Moses) *κατὰ κζ' ἢ καὶ κς' ἔτος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀσήθ, ὅπερ ἡμῖν εὕρηται μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας, συντρέχων τῷ ,ψλϐ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου.....Τετάχθωσαν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφεξῆς αἱ λοιπαὶ δυναστεῖαι τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ιη' καὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῆς Ἀμὼς μὲν κατὰ Ἀφρικανόν, κατὰ δὲ Εὐσέβιον Ἀμώσιος, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν χρονογραφεῖον καὶ ἕτερα ἀκριβῆ, ὡς δειχθήσεται, δευτέρου τῆς αὐτῆς ιη' δυναστείας Ἀμώσιος.*

[6] Id. p. 69. C.: Πρὸ πούτου τοῦ Ἀμώσεως τέταρτον καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας Ἄφωφιν Εὐσέβιος παρέθετο παραλόγως, καθ' ὃν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἄρξαι Αἰγύπτου.

[7] Id. h. l. addit: Ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀμώσεως τοῦ πρώτου τῆς προκειμένης ιη' δυναστείας ἕως Μισφραγμουθώσεως ἀρχῆς κατὰ Εὐσέβιον ἔτη γίνονται οα', βασιλεῖς πέντε ἀντὶ τῶν ἓξ. τὸν γὰρ τέταρτον Ἀμένσην παραδραμών, οὗ [hanc ut addas vocem, flagitat contextus] ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μέμνηνται, ἔτη κϑ' αὐτοῦ ἐκολόβωσεν. Quibus cum dictis cf. p. 70. B.: εἰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐσεβίου στοιχείωσιν δῶμεν κε' ἔτη τοῦ Ἀμὼς καὶ κϛ' τοῦ Μισφραγμουθώσεως, ἢ κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ Εὐσέβιον ἔσονται ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς Ἀμὼς ἕως τέλους Μισφραγμουθώσεως ἔτη ρκ', ὅσα καὶ τῆς ζωῆς Μωϋσέως πεπίστευται εἶναι. Confuse, ut semper.

[8] Post hunc regem in cod. A. hi adduntur:

ι'. Ἄθωρις.....ἔτη ΔΘ
ια'. Χενχέρης....ἔτη Ις.

Quos nescio unde esse intrusos numero regum ostenditur, qui ultra quattuordecim progredi non potuit. Quare versus istos duos, in cod. B., et in interpr. Arm. omissos, Dindorfius recte uncis inclusit.

[9] Add. Sync.: Μόνος Εὐσέβιος ἐπὶ πούτου λέγει τὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἔξοδον, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ λόγου μαρτυροῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἐναντιουμένων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ. Et hæc Syncelli et ea Eusebii, quibus hic locus adjungitur, verba ad ACHENCHERSEM referri per se patet.

[10] Ἀμεσσής B. Ἀμμεσῆς A.; correxit Dind. ex int. Arm.; v. Jos.

[11] Cod. ,αρκα', quem numerum Eusebii *non* fuisse probat int. Arm.

Rerum Ægyptiacarum Manethonis
Dynastiæ

Africanus (Sync. p. 73.).

## ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝΕΘΩ.

### Εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
### βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ΙΒ,

οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . . . ἔτη ΡΛΕ (135)

### Πρώτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
### βασιλέων Τανιτῶν Ζ.

α'. ΣΜΕΝΔΗΣ (cod. A. ΣΜΕΔΗΣ) ἔτη ΚϛΣ... 26
β'. ΨΟΥΣΕΝΝΗΣ (cod. A. ΨΟΥΣΕΝΗΣ)
ἔτη ΜϛΣ[1]... 46
γ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ[2] . . . . . ἔτη Δ... 4
δ'. ΑΜΕΝΩΦΘΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη Θ... 9

ε'. ΟΣΟΧΩΡ . . . . . ἔτη ϛ... 6
ϛ'. ΨΙΝΑΧΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Θ... 9
ζ'. ΨΟΥΣΕΝΝΗΣ (cod. A. ΣΟΥΣΕΝΝΗΣ)
ἔτη ΙΔ... 14
Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΛ (130)...114

### Εἰκοστη δευτέρα δυναστεία
### Βουβαστιτῶν βασιλέων Θ.

α'. ΣΕΣΩΓΧΙΣ (ΣΕΣΟΓΧΙΣ cod. A.)[3] ἔτη ΚΑ... 21
β'. ΟΣΟΡΘΩΝ (ΟΣΩΡΘΩΝ cod. A.) ἔτη ΙΕ... 15
γ'. δ'. ε'. Ἄλλοι τρεῖς . . . . . ἔτη ΚΕ... 25
ϛ'. ΤΑΚΕΛΩΘΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΓ... 13
ζ'. η'. Θ'. Ἄλλοι τρεῖς . . . . . ἔτη ΜΒ... 42
Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΚ (120)...116

[1] Dindorf. ex Euseb. ΜΑ: item paullo infra pro ΙΔ regis Ps. ΛΕ.

[2] Codd. et editt. Νεφελχερής. At lectio nominis certissima et ex

# Liber Tertius (Dyn. XX—XXX.).

## XX—XXII.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 74.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝΕΘΩ. | E MANETHONIS TERTIO LIBRO. |
| Εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ΙΒ, | *Vicesima Dynastia* Diospolitarum 12 regum, |
| οἳ ἐβασίλευσαν*. ἔτη ϘΟΗ...(178) | qui imperaverunt . . . a. 172 |
| Εἰκοστὴ πρώτη δυναστεία βασιλέων Τανιτῶν, Ζ. | *Vicesima Prima Dynastia* Tanitarum 7 regum. |
| α'. ΣΜΕΝΔΙΣ . . ἔτη ΚϚ... 26 | Smendis . . . . . a. 26 |
| β'. ΨΟΥΣΕΝΝΗΣ. ἔτη ΜΑ... 41 | Psusennes . . . . . a. 41 |
| γ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ ἔτη Δ... 4 | Nephercheres . . . . a. 4 |
| δ'. ΑΜΜΕΝΩΦΘΙΣ (ΑΜΕΝΩΦΘΙΣ cod. A.) ἔτη Θ... 9 | Amenophthis . . . . a. 9 |
| ε'. ΟΣΟΧΩΡ . . ἔτη Ϛ... 6 | Osochor . . . . . a. 6 |
| ϛ'. ΨΙΝΑΧΙΣ . ἔτη Θ... 9 | Psinnaches . . . . . a. 9 |
| ζ'. ΨΟΥΣΕΝΝΙΣ . ἔτη ΛΕ... 35 | Psusennes . . . . . a. 35 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ϘΛ...130 | Summa annorum est 130...130 |
| Εἰκοστὴ δευτέρα δυναστεία Βουβαστιτῶν βασιλέων Γ. | *Vicesima Secunda Dynastia* Bubastitarum 3 regum. |
| α'. ΣΕΣΩΓΧΩΣΙΣ (ΣΕΣΟΓΧΩΣΙΣ cod. A.) . . ἔτη ΚΑ... 21 | Sesonchosis† . . . . a. 21 |
| β'. ΟΣΟΡΘΩΝ . . ἔτη ΙΕ... 15 | Osorthon . . . . . a. 15 |
| γ'. ΤΑΚΕΛΩΘΙΣ . ἔτη ΙΓ... 13 | Tacelothis . . . . a. 13 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΜΘ... 49 | Summa annorum 49...49 |

monumentis (Nefru-kera) et ex dynastia quinta. *Nefru*, *nofre*, nunquam per l transscribitur: in enuntiatione facillime hic sonus irrepere potuit. Euseb. quoque Nephercheres.

† Dind. contra codicum et monumentorum auctoritatem Σεσόγχωσις, ex Eus. desumptum.

DYNASTIÆ MANE-
*Tanitæ, Saites,*

Africanus (Sync. p. 74.).

Τρίτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
Τανιτῶν βασιλέων Δ.

α'. ΠΕΤΟΥΒΑΤΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη Μ...40
ἐφ' οὗ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη πρώτη.

β'. ΟΣΟΡΧΩ . . . . . ἔτη Η... 8
ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι.

γ'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΣ . . . . . ἔτη Ι...10

δ'. ΖΗΤ . . . . . (cod. B. ΛΔ) ἔτη ΛΑ...31

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΠΘ...89

Τετάρτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία.

ΒΟΓΧΟΡΙΣ[1] Σαΐτης . . . . . ἔτη ς... 6
ἐφ' οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγξατο [ἔτη ϡϟ].[2]

Πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
Αἰθιόπων βασιλέων τριῶν.

α'. ΣΑΒΑΚΩΝ, ἐβασίλευσεν . . . . ἔτη Η... 8
ὃς αἰχμάλωτον Βόγχοριν ἑλὼν ἔκαυσε
ζῶντα.

β'. ΣΕΒΙΧΩΣ (cod. A. ΣΕΥΗΧΟΣ) υἱός ἔτη ΙΔ...14

γ'. ΤΑΡΚΟΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΗ...18

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη Μ (40)...40

[1] Ita cod. B. Cod. A. Βόγχωρις: ita et in seqq.
[2] Glossa mihi nondum intellecta.

THONIS XXIII—XXV.

*Æthiopes.*

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 75.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Εἰκοστὴ τρίτη δυναστεία Τανιτῶν βασιλέων Γ. | *Vicesima Tertia Dynastia* Tanitarum 3 regum. |
| α'. ΠΕΤΟΥΒΑΣΤΙΣ ἔτη ΚΕ...25 | PETUBASTIS . . . . . a. 25 |
| β'. ΟΣΟΡΘΩΝ . . ἔτη Θ... 9 ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκάλεσαν. | Deinde OSORTHON . . . a. 9 quem Ægyptii Herculem nuncupaverunt. |
| γ'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΣ . . ἔτη Ι...10 | PSAMMUS . . . . . a. 10 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΜΔ...44 | Summa annorum 44...44 |
| Εἰκοστὴ τετάρτη δυναστεία. | *Vicesima Quarta Dynastia.* |
| ΒΟΧΧΟΡΙΣ (ΒΟΧΧΩΡΙΣ cod. A.) Σαΐτης . . ἔτη ΜΔ...44 ἐφ' οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγξατο. | BOCCHORIS Saites . . . a. 44 sub quo agnus locutus est. |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΜΔ...44 | |
| Εἰκοστὴ πέμπτη δυναστεία Αἰθιόπων βασιλέων Γ. | *Vicesima Quinta Dynastia* Æthiopum 3 regum. |
| α'. ΣΑΒΑΚΩΝ, ὃς αἰχμάλωτον ΒΟΧΧΟΡΙΝ ἑλὼν ἔκαυσε ζῶντα, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ΙΒ...12 | SABACON, qui captum BOCCHORIN vivum combussit regnavitque . . . . . a. 12 |
| β'. ΣΕΒΙΧΩΣ υἱός . ἔτη ΙΒ...12 | SEBICHOS, filius ejus . . a. 12 |
| γ'. ΤΑΡΑΚΟΣ . . ἔτη Κ...20 | TARACUS[3] . . . . . a. 20 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΜΔ...44 | Summa annorum 44...44 |

[3] Sic cum margine. Cod. SARACUS.

Africanus (Sync. p.75.).

Ἕκτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
Σαϊτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα.

α'. ΣΤΕΦΙΝΑΤΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{Z}$... 7

β'. ΝΕΧΕΨΩΣ . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{ς}$... 6

γ'. ΝΕΧΑΩ (cod. B. ΝΑΧΑΩ) . . ἔτη $\overline{H}$... 8

δ'. ΨΑΜΜΙΤΙΧΟΣ (cod. B. ΨΑΜΜΗΤΥΧΟΣ)
ἔτη $\overline{ΝΔ}$... 54

ε'. ΝΕΧΑΩ δεύτερος . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{ς}$... 6
οὗτος εἶλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε.

ς'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΘΙΣ ἕτερος . . . . ἔτη ἑξ... 6

ζ'. ΟΥΑΦΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{ΙΘ}$... 19
ᾧ προσέφυγον ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπόλοιποι.

η'. ΑΜΩΣΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{ΜΔ}$... 44

Θ'. ΨΑΜΜΕΧΕΡΙΤΗΣ (ΨΑΜΜΑΧ. cod. A.
μῆνας ς'...6 m.

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη $\overline{ΡΝ}$ καὶ μῆνας ς'... anni 150, m. 6

VICESIMA SEXTA.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 76.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Ἕκτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Σαϊτῶν βασιλέων Θ. | *Vicesima Sexta Dynastia* Saitarum 9 regum. |
| α'. ΑΜΜΕΡΙΣ Αἰθίοψ ἔτη ΙΒ...12 | AMMERES Æthiops (m. 12.) a. 18 |
| β'. ΣΤΕΦΙΝΑΘΙΣ . ἔτη Ζ... 7 | STEPHINATHIS . . . . a. 7 |
| γ'. ΝΕΧΕΨΩΣ . . ἔτη ϛ... 6 | NECHEPSOS . . . . . a. 6 |
| δ'. ΝΕΧΑΩ . . . ἔτη Η... 8 | NECHAUS . . . . (m. 6.) a. 8 |
| ε'. ΨΑΜΜΙΤΙΧΟΣ ἔτη ΜΕ...45 (ΨΑΜΜΙΤΙΧΟΣ cod. A.) | PSAMMETICHUS . . . . a. 44 |
| ϛ'. ΝΕΧΑΩ δεύτερος ἔτη ϛ... 6 οὗτος εἷλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε. | NECHAUS alter . . . . a. 6 Ab hoc Hierosolyma capta sunt, Joachasusque rex in Ægyptum captivus abductus. |
| ζ'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΘΙΣ ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ Ψαμμήτιχος (Ψαμμίτιχος cod. A.). . . ἔτη ΙΖ...17 | PSAMMUTHES alter, qui et Psammetichus . . . a. 17 |
| η'. ΟΥΑΦΡΙΣ . . ἔτη ΚΕ...25 ᾧ προσέφυγον ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπόλοιποι. | VAPHRES . . . . . a. 25 ad quem reliquiæ Judæorum, Hierosolymis in Assyriorum potestatem redactis, confugerunt. |
| θ'. ΑΜΩΣΙΣ . . . ἔτη ΜΒ...42 | AMOSIS . . . . . a. 42 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΞΓ (163)...168 | Summa annorum 167 . 173 (165) |

Ἑβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία
Περσῶν βασιλέων η'.

α'. ΚΑΜΒΥΣΗΣ, ἔτει ε' τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν, ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου . ἔτη Ϛ... 6

β'. ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ ΥΣΤΑΣΠΟΥ . . ἔτη ΛϚ... 36

γ'. ΞΕΡΞΗΣ ὁ μέγας . . . . ἔτη ΚΑ... 21

δ'. ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΣ . . . . . μῆνας ζ'... 7 m.

ε'. ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ . . . . ἔτη ΜΑ... 41

ϛ'. ΞΕΡΞΗΣ . . . . . μῆνας δύο... 2 m.

ζ'. ΣΟΓΔΙΑΝΟΣ . . . . . μῆνας ζ'... 7 m.

η'. ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ Ξέρξου . . . . ἔτη ΙΘ... 19

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΚΔ, μ. δ'...anni 124 4 m.

Εἰκοστὴ ὀγδόη δυναστεία.

ΑΜΥΡΤΕΟΣ Σαΐτης . . . ἔτη Ϛ... 6

Ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία.
Μενδήσιοι βασιλεῖς Δ.

α'. ΝΕΦΕΡΙΤΗΣ . . . . . ἔτη... Ϛ... 6

β'. ΑΧΩΡΙΣ . . . . . ἔτη ΙΓ... 13

γ'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΘΙΣ . . . . . ἔτος Α... 1

δ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΙΤΗΣ (cod. B. Νεφορίτης, A. Νεφορότις) . . . . . μῆνας δ'... 4 m.

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη Κ, μ. δ'...anni 20, 4 m.

Τριακοστὴ δυναστεία
Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α'. ΝΕΚΤΑΝΕΒΗΣ . . . . ἔτη ΙΗ... 18

β'. ΤΕΩΣ . . . . . ἔτη Β... 2

γ'. ΝΕΚΤΑΝΕΒΟΣ . . . . ἔτη ΙΗ... 18

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΛΗ... 38

THONIS XXVII—XXX.

| Eusebius apud Syncellum (p. 76. 77.). | Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. |
|---|---|
| Εἰκοστὴ ἑβδόμη δυναστεία Περσῶν βασιλέων Η. | *Vicesima Septima Dynastia* Persarum 8 regum. |
| α'. ΚΑΜΒΥΣΗΣ, ἔτει πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ἐβασίλευσεν . . . . ἔτη Γ... 3 a. | CAMBYSES, qui regni sui quinto decimo (mg. quinto) anno Ægyptiorum potitus est a. 3 |
| β'. ΜΑΓΟΙ . . μῆνας ζ'... 7 m. | MAGI . . . . . m. 7 |
| γ'. ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ . ἔτη ΛϚ...36 | DARIUS . . . . . a. 36 |
| δ'. ΞΕΡΞΗΣ ὁ Δαρείου ἔτη ΚΑ...21 | XERXES Darii . . . a. 21 |
| ε'. ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ ὁ Μακρόχειρ . . . ἔτη Μ...40 | ARTAXERXES . . . . a. 40 |
| ϛ'. ΞΕΡΞΗΣ ὁ δεύτερος μῆνας β'... 2 m. | XERXES alter . . . . m. 2 |
| ζ'. ΣΟΓΔΙΑΝΟΣ μῆνας ζ'... 7 m. | SOGDIANUS . . . . . m. 7 |
| η'. ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ ὁ Ξέρξου ἔτη ΙΘ...19 | DARIUS Xerxis . . . a. 19 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΡΚ καὶ μῆνας δ' 120 a., 4 m. | Summa annorum 120 mensiumque 4...120 4 |
| Εἰκοστὴ ὀγδόη δυναστεία. | *Vicesima Octava Dynastia.* |
| ΑΜΥΡΤΑΙΟΣ Σαΐτης ἔτη ϛ... 6 | AMYRTÆUS Saites (mg. a. 6) m. 6 |
| Εἰκοστὴ ἐνάτη δυναστεία. Μενδήσιοι βασιλεῖς Δ. | *Vicesima Nona Dynastia* Mendesiorum 4 regum. |
| α'. ΝΕΦΕΡΙΤΗΣ . ἔτη ϛ ... 6 | NEPHERITES . . . . a. 6 |
| β'. ΑΧΩΡΙΣ . . ἔτη ΙΓ...13 | ACHORIS . . . . . a. 13 |
| γ'. ΨΑΜΜΟΥΘΙΣ . ἔτος Α... 1 | PSAMMUTHES . . . . a. 1 |
| δ'. ΝΕΦΕΡΙΤΗΣ μῆνας δ'... 4 m. | MUTHES . . . . . a. 1 |
| ε'. ΜΟΥΘΙΣ . . ἔτος Α... 1 | NEPHERITES . . . . m. 4 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ΚΑ καὶ μῆνας Δ...21 a., 4 m. | Summa annorum 21 mensiumque 4...21 4 |
| Τριακοστὴ δυναστεία Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων Γ. | *Tricesima Dynastia* Sebennytarum 3 regum. |
| α'. ΝΕΚΤΑΝΕΒΗΣ ἔτη Ι...10 | NECTANEBES . . . . a. 10 |
| β'. ΤΕΩΣ . . . ἔτη Β... 2 | TEOS . . . . . a. 2 |
| γ'. ΝΕΚΤΑΝΕΒΟΣ ἔτη Η... 8 | NECTANEBUS . . . . a. 8 |
| Ὁμοῦ ἔτη Κ...20 | Summa annorum 20 . a. 20 |

## IV.

## RERUM ÆGYPTIACARUM MANETHONIS FRAGMENTA APUD JOSEPHUM.

Jos. c. Apionem, lib. i. cap. 14–16. (coll. Euseb. Præp. Evang. x. 13., et Chron. i. 21. ex Int. Armenio[1]) et 26. sq. Ed. Haverc. t. ii. p. 444. sqq. et 459. sqq.

(Cap. 14.) Ἄρξομαι δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τἀκείνων·[2] Μανεθὼν δ' ἦν τὸ γένος ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστι· γέγραφε γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν, ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν[3], ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας, καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. αὐτὸς δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μανεθὼν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν[4] ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα. "Ἐγένετο "βασιλεύς ΑΜΥΝΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ[5] ὄνομα· ἐπὶ τούτου, οὐκ οἶδ' "ὅπως, ὁ θεὸς ἀντέπνευσεν, καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς "ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι καταθαρσή- "σαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ "ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν "αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι, τὸ λοιπὸν τάς τε πόλεις ὠμῶς ἐνέπρη-

[1] In Angeli Maii Scriptorum Veterum nova collectione e Vaticanis codicibus edita, tom. viii.

[2] Sic cum Eus. in Pr. Ev. Codd. et edd. κἀκείνων.

[3] Ἱερέων Basil.; "e templorum monumentis" Armen.

[4] "*Primo* Ægyptiacarum rerum" Arm. At Eus. in Pr. Ev. legit, ut nunc habetur. Et revera de Pastoribus in secundo libro agere debuit Manetho.

[5] Edd. βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν Τίμαιος vel Τίμαος. Illud legit Arm., qui "pretiosum" dicit. Cod. Hafn. τοῦ Τίμαιος. Eratostheni est ΑΜΟΥΘΑΡΤΑΙΟΣ, vel potius ΑΜΟΥΝΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ, ab Amente sive Amunta datus; v. infra. Ἡμῖν omnino huic loco parum convenit. In iis enim, quæ sequuntur, *Ægyptum* semper et *Ægyptios* nominat Manetho, prima persona nunquam utitur.

" σαν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν κατέσκαψαν. πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς
" ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες,
" τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες.
" Πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν
" ΣΑΛΑΤΙΣ.[6] Καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο, τήν
" τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τοῖς
" ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις καταλείπων τόποις· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ
" πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἠσφαλίσατο μέρη, προορώμενος Ἀσσυρίων,
" τότε μεῖζον ἰσχυόντων, ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς αὐτῆς
" βασιλείας ἐφόδου. Εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροΐτῃ[7]
" πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ
" Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπό τινος[8] ἀρχαίας
" θεολογίας Ἄβαριν[9], ταύτην ἔκτισέν τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν
" ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν, ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν,
" εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν πρὸς φυλακήν.
" Ἐνθάδε κατὰ θέρειαν ἤρχετο, τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ
" μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις
" πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων. ἄρξας δὲ
" ἐννεακαίδεκα[10] ἔτη τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν. Μετὰ τοῦτον
" δὲ ἕτερος ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ τετταράκοντα[11] ἔτη
" καλούμενος ΒΝΩΝ.[12] Μεθ' ὃν ἄλλος ΑΠΑΧΝΑΣ ἐξ
" καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
" ΑΠΩΦΙΣ[13] ἓν καὶ ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ΙΑΝΝΑΣ[14] πεντήκοντα

[6] Silitis Arm. Σάλτις Vetus Eusebii interpres.

[7] Libri Σαΐτῃ. Arm. Methraite. Correxit jam E. Bernardus ex Sync. Chronogr. p. 61. Cf. Maneth. dyn. XV.

[8] Ita cum Bigotio et Vet. Interpr.; τῆς Bas.

[9] Alii Ἄβαριν.

[10] Arm. XV.

[11] Arm. XLIII.

[12] Vulg. ΒΗΩΝ. Arm. h. l. Banon, in Maneth. dyn. XVII. Bnon, ibique in marg. Anon. Græce ibid. apud African. et Euseb. Βνῶν.

[13] Arm. Aphosis. Afric. dyn. XV. Ἄφωβις. Euseb. dyn. XVII. Ἄφωφις.

[14] Ita cum Big. et Hafn.: vulgo Ἰανίας. Arm. Anan. Afric. l. l. Σταάν, quod nescio an præstet.

" καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ ΑΣΣΗΣ[15] ἐννέα καὶ " τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δύο. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐν " αὐτοῖς ἐγενήθησαν πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες, πολεμοῦντες ἀεὶ[16] " καὶ ποθοῦντες μᾶλλον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξᾶραι τὴν ῥίζαν."

Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ[17], τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς ποιμένες·...τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ[18] ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. Τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. Ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ[19] οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ΥΚ[20] προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας.[21] τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ πάλιν Αἰγυπτιαστὶ καὶ τὸ ΑΚ δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύει· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πιθανώτερόν μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἐχόμενον. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἕνδεκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ πόλεμον αὐτοῖς συῤῥαγῆναι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως, ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι ΜΙΣΦΡΑΓΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ[22] ἡττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν περίμετρον.[23] Ἄῦαριν ὄνομα τῷ

[15] Vulg. Ἄσσις. Ἄσης Vet. Int. Arm. *Assethus.* Ἄρχλης Afr. et Euseb. l. l.

[16] Arm. "regionem assidue vexabant."

[17] Arm. Hycusos. Euseb. Ὑκουσσώς.

[18] Arm. Usos.

[19] Ἐν δ' ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις legisse videtur Vet. Interpr.

[20] Ὑκουσσὼς Eus. hic et infra.

[21] ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον βασιλεῖς αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ἢ ποιμένας Big. et Hafn.

[22] Ita ex Arm. et Sync. p. 103. D. restituimus. Libri hic et infra Ἀλισφραγμούθωσις, sc. Ἀλ pro M ut sæpe. Eus. Μισφραγούθωσις.

[23] V. quæ de ἀρούρᾳ in prolegomenis ad librum II. diximus. Secundum hæc 10,000 ἄρουραι 1,500,000 conficiunt pedes i. e. 300 milliaria, quod absurdum. Scripsit igitur Manetho χιλίων, unde

τόπῳ. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μανεθὼν ἅπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τήν τε κτῆσιν ἅπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. Τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμουθώσεως υἱὸν ΘΟΥΘΜΩΣΙΝ[24] ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦς διὰ πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι προσελθεῖν τοῖς τείχεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικεσίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήνεων[25] οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν ὁδοιπορῆσαι· φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαι.

Ἐν ἄλλῃ δέ τινι βίβλῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν[26] Μανεθὼν τοῦτό φησιν ἔθνος, τοὺς καλουμένους ποιμένας, αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις γεγράφθαι· λέγων ὀρθῶς. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὸ ποιμαίνειν πάτριον ἦν, καὶ νομαδικὸν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον, οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο ποιμένες. αἰχμάλωτοί τε πάλιν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδή περ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἑαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὕστερον μετεπέμψατο, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἀλλὰ

triginta milliarium efficitur perimetrus. Habebimus urbem vel potius castra campis pratisque munita, quorum singula latera, si quadratam fuisse formam statueris, septena millia passuum complectantur; id quod Londini ambitum non æquat, Romæ, qualis Diocletiani ætate fuit, binis vicibus superat.

[24] Vulg. Θούμμωσιν. Arm. Thutmosim. Euseb. Θμούθωσιν.

[25] Libri κτήσεων. Emendationem confirmare videtur Armenius, vertens: "cum armentis et familiis omnique re sua."

[26] Alius liber; non secundus ergo. At quem Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus *primum librum Manethonis* dicunt, is solus excidii historiam et Pastorum res continuit. Potuit tamen Manetho aliquo primi vel tertii Rerum Ægyptiacarum libri loco Pastorum mentionem facere.

περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

(Cap. 15.) Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταύτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μάρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανεθῶνος, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν, ὑπογράψω· φησὶ δὲ οὕτω. Μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν ποιμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ΤΕΘΜΩΣΙΣ[27] ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ υἱὸς ΧΕΒΡΩΝ ἔτη δεκατρία· μεθ' ὃν ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴ ΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ[28] εἰκοσιὲν καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τῆς δὲ ΜΗΦΡΗΣ δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τοῦ δὲ ΜΕΦΡΑΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ[29] εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα.[30] τοῦ δὲ ΘΜΩΣΙΣ[31] ἐννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δὲ ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ[32] τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ ΩΡΟΣ τριακονταὲξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε.[33] τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ ΑΚΕΓΧΡΗΣ[34] δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τῆς δὲ ΡΑΘΩΤΙΣ[35] ἀδελφὸς ἐννέα. τοῦ δὲ ΑΚΕΓΧΗΡΗΣ[36] δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ ΑΚΕΓΧΗΡΗΣ ἕτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ ΑΡΜΑΙΣ[37] τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τοῦ δὲ ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.[38] τοῦ δὲ ΑΡΜΕΣΣΗΣ ΜΙΑΜΜΟΥ[39] ἐξηκονταὲξ καὶ

[27] Arm Sethmosis, quod ex Θέθμωσις videtur ortum esse. Θέμωσις Vet. Int.

[28] Αμεσσις El. Amenses Arm.

[29] Arm. Mephrathmuthosis.

[30] Arm. mensibus IX.

[31] Arm. Thmothosis.

[32] Alii Ἀμενώφθης.

[33] Arm.: annis XXXVIII et mensibus VII.

[34] Arm. Chencheres. Ἀγκαχηρὶς El. Ἀχεγχερὶς Big. Ἀκεγχερὶς Hafn.

[35] Arm. Athosis. Ed. aliqua Ῥωθῶς.

[36] Arm. Chencheres, ideoque mox pro Ἀκεγχήρης ἕτερος Achencheres.

[37] Ἀρμαΐς in edd., semper sine accentu; majoribus litteris in prototypo exscriptum nomen videtur fuisse.

[38] Verba τοῦ δὲ Ῥαμέσσης ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας omisit Arm.

[39] Arm. Rameses Miammi.

μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ δέκα καὶ ἐννέα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦ δὲ ΣΕΘΩΣΙΣ ὁ[40] καὶ ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν. οὗτος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ΑΡΜΑΙΝ ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν περιέθηκεν ἐξουσίαν, μόνον δὴ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν, μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας, ἅπαντας, τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητί, φόβῳ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε, καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἐπορεύετο, τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. Χρόνου δὲ ἱκανοῦ γεγονότος Ἁρμαῖς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τοὔμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς παρήνει μὴ ποιεῖν ἀδεῶς ἔπραττεν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαίως ἔσχεν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσιν ἀφειδῶς διετέλει χρώμενος. πειθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντῆρε τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν[41] τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμψε τῷ Σεθώσει δηλῶν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντήρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἁρμαΐς. Παραχρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον, καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος· λέγει γὰρ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθωσις ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἁρμαΐς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

(Cap. 16.) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μανεθών. δῆλον δέ ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες

[40] Vocem hanc cum Maio addidimus Armenium secuti, qui vertit: Sethosis idemque Ramesses. Ipsa autem sententia veteres jam exercuit grammaticos, e quibus invita Minerva aliquis hæc adscripsit, quæ margini Codd. Big. et Hafn. apposita leguntur: εὕρεται ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὕτως· μεθ' ὃν Σέθωσις καὶ Ῥαμέσσης, δύο ἀδελφοί· ὁ μὲν ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν τοὺς κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀπαντῶντας διεχειροῦτο πολιορκῶν· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Ῥαμέσσην ἀνελὼν Ἁρμαΐν, ἄλλον αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν, ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν.

[41] Ita cum Vet. Interpr. legit Haverc. ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων in Græcis; consentit Armen.: "qui rebus sacris præerat."

τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἀπῴκησαν ἢ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. καίτοι τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἀργεῖοι νομίζουσι. δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μανεθὼν ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων· πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγήν, οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις. ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανεθὼν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ', ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν, ὕστερον ἐξελέγξω κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ψευδολογίαν.

(Sequitur capite 25. expositio Josephi, qua probare studet has fabulas odio Ægyptiorum in Judæorum populum deberi.)

(Cap. 26.) Ἐφ' ἑνὸς δὴ πρώτου στήσω τὸν λόγον· ᾧ καὶ μάρτυρι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐχρησάμην. ὁ γὰρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχημένος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἶτ' αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν χρόνῳ πάλιν ὕστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν κατασχεῖν, καὶ κτίσαντας Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν νεὼ κατασκευάσασθαι, μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολούθησε ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς· ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ, διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθευόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμῖξαι βουλόμενος ἡμῖν Αἰγυπτίων πλῆθος λεπρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἀῤῥωστήμασιν, ὥς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγνωσθέντων. ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΝ γὰρ βασιλέα προσθείς, ψευδὲς ὄνομα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἔτη προστιθείς, τούτῳ προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας, ἐπιλαθόμενος[42] σχεδὸν, ὅτι πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δεκαοκτὼ πρότερον ἱστόρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἔξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ΤΕΘΜΩΣΙΣ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς, ὅτε ἐξῆσαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων μεταξὺ τῶν βασιλέων κατ'

[42] Hav. ἐπιλαβόμενος per lapsum typographi.

αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν ΣΕΘΩ καὶ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἕρμαιον[43] Δαναὸν μετονομασθῆναί φησιν. ὃν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ΝΘ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ΡΑΜΨΗΣ Ξς. Τοσούτοις οὖν πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὡμολογηκώς, εἶτα τὸν ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΝ εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον βασιλέα, φησὶ τοῦτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι θεῶν γενέσθαι θεατήν, ὥσπερ ΩΡΟΣ[44], εἷς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων· ἀνενεγκεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμωνύμῳ μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει, πατρὸς δὲ Πάπιος[45] ὄντι, θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως κατά τε σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτῷ τοῦτον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, ὅτι δυνήσεται θεοὺς ἰδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπό τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ποιήσειεν. ἡσθέντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν· γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦ πλήθους μυριάδας ὀκτώ· καὶ τούτους εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρει τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐργάζοιντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐκκεχωρισμένοι. εἶναι δέ τινας ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησὶ λέπρᾳ συγκεχυμένους. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες ὀφθήσονται. καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συμμαχήσουσί τινες τοῖς μιαροῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσουσιν ἐπ' ἔτη δεκατρία· μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, γραφὴν δὲ καταλιπόντα περὶ πάντων, ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ δὲ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα. Κἄπειτα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γέγραφεν. "Τῶν δὲ ταῖς λατομίαις, ὡς χρόνος ἱκανὸς διῆλθεν, ταλαι-
"πωρούντων, ἀξιωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα πρὸς κατάλυσιν
"αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέπην ἀπομερίσῃ, τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων
"ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὔαριν συνεχώρησεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις

[43] Ἑρμᾶν Hafn.

[44] Sic ex Vet. Interpr. Havercamp.; antea Edd. ὥσπερ ὤρ, εἷς τῶν κ. τ. λ.

[45] Sic ex MSS. Havercamp.; Παάπιος in Editis.

" κατὰ τὴν Θεολογίαν ἄνωθεν Τυφώνιος. οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην
" εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες,
" ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν λεγόμενόν τινα τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων
" ΟΣΑΡΣΙΦΟΝ[46] ἐστήσαντο. καὶ τούτῳ πειθαρχήσοντες
" ἐν πᾶσιν ὡρκωμότησαν. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον
" ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύ-
" πτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενὸς,
" πάντα τε θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν· συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ
" πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ
" πλεῖστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναν-
" τιούμενα, ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρίᾳ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευά-
" ζειν τείχη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς
" Ἀμένωφιν τὸν βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δὲ προσλαβόμενος μεθ'
" ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμεμιασμένων, ἔπεμψε
" πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως ἀπελαθέντας ποιμένας,
" εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν
" καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνατιμασθέντας δηλώσας, ἠξίου
" συνεπιστρατεύειν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ἐπάξειν μὲν
" οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αὔαριν τὴν
" προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὄχλοις
" παρέξειν ἀφθόνως, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ, ὅτε δέοι, καὶ ῥᾳδίως
" ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν. οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς
" γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως εἰς εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
" συνεξώρμησαν, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἦκον εἰς Αὔαριν.
" Ἀμένωφις δ' ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ
" κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔφοδον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη, τῆς παρ'
" Ἀμενώφιος τοῦ Πάπιος μνησθεὶς προδηλώσεως. καὶ πρό-
" τερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ βουλευσάμενος
" μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡγεμόνων, τά τε ἱερὰ ζῶα τὰ πρῶτα
" μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τιμώμενα ὥς γ' ἑαυτὸν μετεπέμψατο
" καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῦσι παρήγγειλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα
" τῶν θεῶν συγκρύψαι τὰ ξόανα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ΣΕΘΩΝ τὸν
" καὶ ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΝ ἀπὸ Ῥάμψεως τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομα-
" σμένον, πενταετῆ ὄντα, ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον,

[46] Ita cum Vet. Interpr. Havere. Ὀσάρυφον in Editis, Ὀσάρσηφον Hafn.

" αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, οὗσιν εἰς τριάκοντα
" μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαν-
" τήσασιν οὐ συνέβαλεν· ἀλλὰ μέλλειν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας
" παλινδρομήσας ἦκεν εἰς Μέμφιν. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τόν τε
" Ἄπιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμφθέντα ἱερὰ ζῶα,
" εὐθὺς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σύν ἅπαντι τῷ στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν
" Αἰγυπτίων ἀνήχθη. χάριτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν
" Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς· ὅθεν ὑποδεξάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους
" πάντας ὑπολαβὼν οἷς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην
" τροφὴν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν
" πεπρωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔκ-
" πτωσιν αὐτάρκεις, οὐχ ἧττόν γε καὶ στρατόπεδον Αἰθιο-
" πικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρ' Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ
" βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
" τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τοιαῦτα. οἱ δὲ Σολυμῖται κατελθόντες, σὺν
" τοῖς μιαροῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀνοσίως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
" προσηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κράτησιν
" χειρίστην φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ τούτων ἀσεβήματα
" θεωμένοις. καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν,
" οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλοῦντες οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ξόανα θεῶν ἠρκοῦντο,
" ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν
" ζώων χρώμενοι διετέλουν, καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τούτων
" ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι, καὶ γυμνοὺς
" ἐξέβαλον, λέγεται δὲ, ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους
" αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεὺς, τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα
" ΟΣΑΡΣΙΦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, ὡς
" μετέθη εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τοὔνομα καὶ προσηγο-
" ρεύθη ΜΩΥΣΗΣ."

(Cap. 27.). Ἃ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ταῦτ' ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, ἃ παρίημι συντομίας ἕνεκα. λέγει δὲ ὁ Μανεθὼν πάλιν, ὅτι " μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθεν
" ὁ Ἀμένωφις ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ ὁ
" υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν· καὶ συμβαλόν-
" τες οἱ δύο τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς, ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς,
" καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὁρίων
" τῆς Συρίας."

Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Μανεθὼν συνέγραψεν.

## V.

### EX MANETHONE EXCERPTA APUD S. THEOPHILUM IN LIBRO AD AUTOLYCUM TERTIO (cap. 19. sq.).

(Opp. Ed. Congregat. S. Mauri ad calcem opp. S. Justini Martyris, Paris, 1742, p. 392.)

(Cap. 19.) Ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς ὁδηγήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ἔφθημεν εἰρηκέναι, ἐκβεβλημένους ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ βασιλέως ΦΑΡΑΩ, οὗ τοὔνομα ΑΜΑΣΙΣ.[1] ὃς, φασὶν, μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας Δ, ὡς ὑφήρηται Μανεθῶς,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΧΕΒΡΩΝ ἔτη ΙΓ.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ ἔτη Κϛ, μῆνας Ζ.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ΑΜΕΣΣΗ, ἔτη ΚΑ, μῆνα Α.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτην ΜΗΦΡΗΣ, ἔτη ΙΒ, μῆνας Θ.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ΜΗΦΡΑΜΜΟΥΘΩΣΙΣ[2], ἔτη Κ, μῆνας Ι.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΤΥΘΜΩΣΗΣ, ἔτη Θ, μῆνας Η.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ[3], ἔτη Λ, μῆνας Ι.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ΩΡΟΣ, ἔτη ΛΕ (al. Λϛ'), μῆνας Ε.

τοῦ[4] δὲ Θυγάτηρ, ἔτη Ι, μῆνας Γ.

μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ΚΕΓΧΕΡΗΣ[5], ἔτη ΙΒ, μῆνας Γ.

τοῦ δὲ ΑΡΜΑΙΣ, ἔτη Α, μῆνα Α.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ[6] ΜΙΑΜΜΟΥ, ἔτη Ξϛ[7] καὶ μῆνας Β.

[1] Infra legitur ΑΜΩΣΙΣ, quod præstat.

[2] Ita scripsit S. Theophilus, non, ut libri aliquot, ΜΗΘΡΑΜ., facillimo quidem scribendi lapsu. Cod. Par. Μηφραμμουθέσις.

[3] Libri ΔΑΜΦΕΝΟΦΙΣ.

[4] Ed. Oxon. τούτων.

[5] Libri ΜΕΡΧΕΡΗΣ.

[6] Libri ΜΕΣΣΗΣ.

[7] Libri ϛ, at Ξϛ' legisse Theophilum, ut ceteros, qui Manethonis libros excerpserunt, ipsius quem postea addit calculus probat, quippe quo anni CCCXIII usque ad Sethosim sive Ramessem efficiantur.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ ἐνιαυτὸν, μῆνας Δ.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΣ, ἔτη ΙΘ, μῆνας ς.
τοῦ δὲ ΣΕΘΩΣ, ὃς[8] καὶ ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗΣ, ἔτη Ι,
ὧν[9] φασιν ἐσχηκέναι πολλὴν δύναμιν ἱππικῆς καὶ παράταξιν ναυτικῆς.

Κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χρόνους οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ παροικήσαντες ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ καταδουλωθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως, ὡς προείρηται, ΤΕΘΜΩΣΙΣ, ᾠκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς, τήν τε Πειθὼ καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ καὶ Ὦν, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἡλιόπολις· ὥστε καὶ τῶνδε πόλεων τῶν[10] τότε ὀνομαστῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δείκνυνται προγενέστεροι[11] οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ὄντες, οἳ καὶ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἔχομεν ἀρχαιοτέρας οὔσας ἁπάντων συγγραφέων, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν.

Αἴγυπτος καὶ ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ΣΕΘΩΣ· τόδε γὰρ ΣΕΘΩΣ, φασὶν, Αἴγυπτος καλεῖται· τῷ δὲ καὶ[12] ἦν ἀδελφὸς, ᾧ ὄνομα ΑΡΜΑΙΣ·[13] οὗτος Δαναὸς κέκληται, ὁ εἰς Ἄργος ὑπὸ Αἰγύπτου παραγενόμενος, οὗ μέμνηνται οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς ὡς πάνυ ἀρχαίου τυγχάνοντος.

(Cap. 20.) Μανεθῶς δὲ ὁ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους πολλὰ φλυαρήσας ἔτι μὴν καὶ βλάσφημα εἰπὼν εἴς τε[14] Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑβραίους, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ λέπραν ἐκβληθέντας ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ποιμένας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν καὶ πολεμίους Αἰγυπτίων, οὐχ εὗρεν τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν χρόνων εἰπεῖν.

[8] Hæc ita legebantur: τοῦ καὶ (al. δὲ) Θοῖσσος καὶ Ῥαμέσσης. Ed. Hambg. Σέθως.

[9] Libri οὓς, correcta scilicet ab iis voce, qui duo ex uno reges effecerant.

[10] Libri iterum τῶνδε.

[11] Legebatur περιγενέστεροι, quæ nec Græca vox est nec, si esset, *seniores* significare posset, quod hujus loci argumentum postulat. Probandum enim sibi proposuit Theophilus Judæos Sethosi illo, qui expulisse eos diceretur, longe esse antiquiores, quin et ipso Ægypti nomine.

[12] Libri τῷδε καὶ Σέθως ἦν.

[13] Libri Ἀρμαῖν.

[14] Libri et edd. ὥστε (εἴς τε conj. Wolf. ed. Hamb.) et paullo post, præter Hamburgensem et Oxoniensem, ἐκβληθέντος.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας ἄκων εἶπεν, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἦσαν γὰρ ὄντως ποιμένες οἱ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, οἱ παροικήσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ λεπροί.....

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι τὸν Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν χρόνων ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων δῆλόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐκβαλόντος αὐτοὺς, Φαραὼ τοὔνομα· οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευσε· καταδιώξας γὰρ Ἑβραίους μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν Θάλασσαν. Ἔτι μὲν καὶ οὓς ἔφη ποιμένας πεπολεμηκέναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ψεύδεται· πρὸ ἐτῶν γὰρ τριακοσίων δεκατριῶν ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ᾤκησαν ἐκ τότε τὴν χώραν κ. τ. λ.

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## VI.

### PTOLEMÆUS MENDESIUS ET APION OASITES.

Tatiani Parænesis ad Gentes, p. 129.:

Αἰγυπτίων δέ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς χρόνων ἀναγραφαὶ, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων ἑρμηνεύς ἐστι Πτολεμαῖος, οὐχ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἱερεὺς δὲ Μένδητος· οὗτος τὰς τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις ἐκτιθέμενος, κατ' Ἄμωσιν, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, γεγονέναι Ἰουδαίοις φησὶ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν εἰς ἅπερ ἦλθον χωρία. Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· Ὁ δὲ Ἄμωσις ἐγένετο κατ' Ἰναχὼν βασιλέα.

Clemens Alex. Stromat. i. c. 21. p. 138. (Pott. 378.):

Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὁ Πλειστονίκης ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἱστοριῶν, καίτοι φιλαπεχθημόνως πρὸς Ἑβραίους διακείμενος, ἅτε Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος, ὡς καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων κατάξασθαι βιβλίον, Ἀμώσιος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως μεμνημένος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ πράξεων, μάρτυρα παρατίθεται Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενδήσιον, καὶ τὰ τῆς λέξεως αὐτοῦ ὧδε ἔχει· "Κατέσκαψε

" δὲ τὴν Ἀούαριν[1], κατὰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος Ἴναχον, ὡς " ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος." ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἱερεὺς μὲν ἦν, τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέων πράξεις ἐν τρισὶν ὅλαις ἐκθέμενος βίβλοις, κατὰ Ἄμωσίν φησιν, Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα, Μωσέως ἡγουμένου, γεγονέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν.

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## VII.

### CHRONICON QUOD FERTUR ÆGYPTIORUM VETUS.

(Ap. Sync. Chronogr. p. 51.)

Φέρεται παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παλαιόν τι χρονογραφεῖον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν Μανεθῶ πεπλανῆσθαι νομίζω, περιέχον λ' δυναστειῶν ἐν γενεαῖς πάλιν ΡΙΓ (113) χρόνον ἄπειρον, καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὃν Μανεθῶ[2] ἐν μυριάσι τρισὶ καὶ ,ςΦΚΕ (6525), πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Αὐριτῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Μεστραίων, τρίτον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων, οὕτω πως ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχον.

(A) Θεῶν βασιλεία κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρονικόν·

Ἡφαίστου χρόνος οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τὸ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας αὐτὸν φαίνειν.

Ἥλιος Ἡφαίστου ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτῶν μυριάδας τρεῖς . . . . . 30,000

Ἔπειτα

Κρόνος (φησὶ) καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες Θεοὶ δώδεκα ἐβασίλευσαν[3], ἔτη ΓϡΠΔ . . . . . 3,984

33,984

[1] Corr. Potter. ex Eus. Præp. Ev. x. 12. v. Ἀθυρίαν. Cod. Joan. Οὐάρην. Tatiani Μαρίαν eodem modo corrigendum docuit.

[2] Verba καὶ οὐ — τὸν Μανεθῶ Dind. uncis inclusit, marg. Goari secutus. Non concordant revera Chronici calculi cum Pseudo-Manethone, quem hic, ut assolet, Manethonem appellat Syncellus. Pro τὸν M. correximus ὅν.

[3] Duodecim nimirum magni dei, Ægyptiis ignoti, ut Mestræi et

Latus 33,984

Ἔπειτα

(B) Ἡμίθεοι βασιλεῖς ὀκτὼ, ἔτη ΣΙΖ . . . 217

Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς

(C) Γενεαὶ ΙΕ (15) κυνικοῦ κύκλου ἀνεγράφησαν ἐν ἔτεσι ΤΜΓ . . . . . 443

Εἶτα (16) Τανιτῶν Ις δυναστεία, γενεῶν Η (8), ἐτῶν ϘΡ . . . . . 190

Πρὸς οἷς (17) ΙΖ δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν, γενεῶν Δ (4), ἐτῶν ΡΓ . . . . . 103

Μεθ' οὓς (18) ΙΗ δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν, γενεῶν ΙΔ (14), ἐτῶν ΤΜΗ . . . . . 348

Ἔπειτα (19) ΙΘ δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν Ε (5), ἐτῶν ϘΡΔ . . . . . 194

Εἶτα (20) Κ δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν Η (8), ἐτῶν ΣΚΗ . . . . . 228

Ἔπειτα (21) ΚΑ δυναστεία Τανιτῶν, γενεῶν ς (6), ἐτῶν ΡΚΑ . . . . . 121

Εἶτα (22) ΚΒ δυναστεία Τανιτῶν, γενεῶν Γ (3), ἐτῶν ΜΗ . . . . . 48

Ἔπειτα (23) ΚΓ δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν Β (2), ἐτῶν ΙΘ . . . . . 19

Εἶτα (24) ΚΔ δυναστεία Σαϊτῶν, γενεῶν Γ (3), ἐτῶν ΜΔ . . . . . 44

Πρὸς οἷς (25) ΚΕ δυναστεία Αἰθιόπων, γενεῶν Γ (3), ἐτῶν ΜΔ . . . . . 44

Μεθ' οὓς (26) Κς δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν, γενεῶν Ζ (7), ἐτῶν ΡΟΖ . . . . . 177

Μετ' αὐτοὺς[4] (27) ΚΖ δυναστεία Περσῶν, γενεῶν Ε (5), ἐτῶν ΡΚΔ . . . . . 124

36,284

similia, quæ hominis sunt christiani, parum docti, at impudentissimi.

[4] c. Scal. pro μετὰ τὰς ΚΖ δυναστείας cod. B. et μετὰ ΚΖ δυν. cod. A.

Latus 36,284

(28) (Vigesima octava dyn. deest. In Euseb. Saitæ unius annorum 6.)

Ἔπειτα (29) ΚΘ δυναστεία Τανιτῶν, γενεῶν** (Eus. 5.), ἐτῶν ΛΘ . . . . . 39

Καὶ ἐπὶ πάσαις (30) Λ δυναστεία Τανίτου ἑνὸς (1), ἔτη ΙΗ . . . . . 18

36,341

Adde nunc dyn. 28^vae^ ex Eus. annos 6

36,347

Τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ τῶν λ′ δυναστειῶν ἔτη Μγ (myriades tres) καὶ ϛΦΚΕ (6525, i. e. 1461 + 25 = 36,525).

Ταῦτα ἀναλυόμενα, εἴτουν[5] μεριζόμενα παρὰ τὰ ΑΥΞΑ (1461) ἔτη εἴκοσι πεντάκις, τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Ἕλλησιν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ μυθολογουμένην δηλοῖ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημεῖον, ὅ ἐστι πρῶτον λεπτὸν τῆς πρώτης μοίρας τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ζωδίου, κριοῦ λεγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Γενικοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυραννίσι βίβλοις[6] εἴρηται· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Κλαύδιον τοὺς προχείρους κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας διὰ ΚΕ ἐτηρίδων ψηφίζεσθαι θεσπίσαι, ὡς τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ διὰ ΑΥΞΑ (1461) ἔτους ἀποκαθισταμένων, εἰ καὶ διὰ ΑΥΟϛ (1476) ἐτῶν τὸ κανόνιον τῶν ΚΕ ἐτηρίδων ἐξέθετο, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀπαρτίζειν τὸν ΑΥΞΑ (1461) ἀριθμὸν εἰς ΚΕ, ἀλλὰ λείπεσθαι ΙΔ. Τὴν μέντοι μονάδα περιττὴν ἔθετο, διὰ τὸ πλήρη τὰ τοῦ α′ ἔτους ἐγκεῖσθαι κινήματα καὶ μὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μηνιαίων κινημάτων. Ἐντεῦθεν δέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἀσύμφωνον τῶν τοιούτων ἐκδόσεων πρός τε τὰς θείας ἡμῶν γραφὰς καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐπιγνῶναι, ὅτι αὕτη μὲν ἡ παλαιοτέρα νομιζομένη Αἰγυπτίων

[5] c. Dind. pro ἤγουν.

[6] Κυραννίδες βίβλοι libri Hermeti tributi. V. de iis Fabric. Bibl. Gr. i. p. 69. sq.

συγγραφὴ Ἡφαίστου μὲν ἄπειρον εἰσάγει χρόνον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ΚΘ δυναστειῶν ἔτη τρισμύρια, ,ςΦΚΕ (6525), καίτοι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου πολλοῖς ἔτεσι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν καὶ τὴν πυργοποιίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαντος, ὡς δειχθήσεται ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ.

(Sequitur locus memorabilis de tempore, quod triginta veri Manethonis dynastiæ duraverint, quem dedimus in libelli hujus initio.)

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## VIII.

## PSEUDO-MANETHONIS DE SIDERE CANICULARI LIBER.

## (Περὶ Σώθεος.)

Secundum Panodorum et Syncellum (Chronogr. p. 40. seq.).

1. Syncellus, postquam de Chaldaica Berosi chronologia contra Alexandrum Polyhistorem, Abydenum, et Apollodorum disputavit, ita pergit.

Πρόκειται δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δυναστείας μικρὰ διαλαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου, ὃς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδωλείων χρηματίσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σιριαδικῇ[1] γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾷ (φησὶ) διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θῶθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, καὶ ἀποτεθέντων ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος, υἱοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ Τὰτ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγύπτου, προσεφώνησε τῷ αὐτῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ βασιλεῖ δευτέρῳ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Σώθεος γράφων ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως·

[1] Libri Σηρ. Cf. Jos. Ant. i. 2. : Σιριάδα γῆν. Qua de voce dicemus in libro quinto.

Ἐπιστολὴ Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον.

Βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαίῳ Φιλαδέλφῳ Σεβαστῷ Μανεθῶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερῶν ἀδύτων, γένει Σεβεννύτης ὑπάρχων, Ἡλιουπολίτης, τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν.

Ἡμᾶς δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐὰν[2] βούλῃ ἡμᾶς ἐξετάσαι πραγμάτων· ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τῷ κόσμῳ γίγνεσθαι, καθὼς ἐκέλευσάς μοι, παραφανήσεταί σοι ἃ ἔμαθον ἱερὰ βιβλία γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος τρισμεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ. Ἐρρῶσό μοι, δέσποτά μου βασιλεῦ.

Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ βιβλίων λέγει.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἐθνῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν πέντε ἐν τριάκοντα δυναστείαις ἱστορεῖ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν, ὧν καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου μνησθεὶς ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·

"Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θεῶν καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ "νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν ἑτέρων βασιλέων πολλὴν καὶ φλύαρον "συνείρουσι μυθολογίαν· οἱ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς παλαιότατοι "σεληναίους ἔφασκον εἶναι τοὺς [τψ' μηνιαίους τοὺς] ἐνιαυ- "τοὺς ἐξ ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα συνεστῶτας· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους "[ἡμίθεοι] ὥρους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς [τοὺς ψ'] τριμη- "νιαίους."[3]

[2] ἐάν; nota usum particulæ hellenisticum Manethoni alienum. V. paullo ante Πτολ. Σεβαστῷ! Piget enumerare alia spuriæ originis indicia, et in verbis et in ipsis rebus.

[3] Eusebii verba ex Armenio interprete restituimus, quæ ita leguntur apud Maium (i. 2.): "Namque etiam apud priscos Ægyptios lunares dicebantur anni: nempe summa triginta dierum, qui singulis mensibus continentur, annus vocitabatur. Alii ὥρας nuncupabant trimestre spatium." In quibus pro ὥρας corrigendum erit ὥρους. — Quæ uncis inclusimus, ne Syncello quidem digna sunt.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐσέβιος μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς (Ægyptiis) τῆς φλυαρίας εὐλόγως συνέγραψεν, ὃν ὁ Πανόδωρος οὐ καλῶς, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐν τούτῳ μέμφεται, λέγων, ὅτι ἠπόρησε διαλύσασθαι τὴν ἔννοιαν τῶν συγγραφέων, ἣν αὐτὸς καινότερόν τι δοκῶν κατορθοῦν λέγει·

"[Ἐπειδὴ] ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πλάσεως ἕως[4] τοῦ Ἐνὼχ,
" ἤτοι τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ ΑΣΠς[5] (1286), οὔτε μηνὸς
" οὔτε ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐγνωρίζετο, οἱ δὲ ἐγρήγοροι,
" κατελθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ χιλιοστοῦ[6] ἔτους,
" συναναστραφέντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς
" κύκλους τῶν δύο φωστήρων δωδεκαζωδίους εἶναι ἐκ μοιρῶν
" τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα, οἱ δὲ ἀποβλέψαντες εἰς τὸν περιγειό-
" τερον, μικρότερον καὶ εὐδηλότερον τριακονθήμερον σελη-
" νιακὸν κύκλον ἐθέσπισαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ
" καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δώδεκα ζωδίοις
" πληροῦσθαι ἐν ἰσαρίθμοις μοίραις ΤΞ (360). Ὅθεν
" συνέβη τὰς βασιλείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλευσάντων
" θεῶν γενεῶν ἓξ ἐν δυναστείαις ἓξ ἔτη ἐν σελη-
" νιακοῖς τριακονθημέροις κύκλοις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμεῖσθαι·
" ἃ καὶ συνῆξαν σελήνια ΑΑϡΠΕ ἔτη (11,985), ἡλιακὰ
" ϡΞΘ (969)· ταῦτα δὲ συναριθμούμενα τοῖς πρὸ τῆς
" τούτων βασιλείας ἡλιακοῖς ΑΝΗ ἔτεσι (1058) συνά-

[4] ἕως addidi cum Anon. et Dind., ut sequentia intelligantur.

[5] Cod. ΑΣΠΒ, quod ex libro Henoch. (Sync. p. 32. D. 33. D.) corrigendum. Ex eodem fonte etiam anni Henoch, qui in codice desiderantur, supplendi sunt. Scaliger (in notis ad Eus. p. 408.) ,ασπη' legendum proposuit, qui est primus Methusalæ annus; minus recte, opinor.

[6] Scaliger ,ανη' (1058) pro lectione cod. χιλιοστοῦ. Quod non tentare debebat vir summus. Quamquam enim Sync. p. 16. D.: Τῷ χιλιοστῷ πεντηκοστῷ ὀγδόῳ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἐγρήγοροι (i. e. angeli; Gen. vi. 2. filii dei) κατῆλθον καὶ διήρκεσαν ἐν τῇ παραβάσει ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, idem tamen, p. 11. Egregoros anno mundi millesimo *descendisse* dicit. Scilicet descendisse feruntur hoc anno: arcana vero naturæ et malas artes docuisse liberos, quod numerus ille 1058 respicere videtur. Ignorasse igitur *homines* astronomiam dicere potuit Panodorus usque ad ætatem Enoch, qui ineunte sæculo duodecimo mundi natus fertur.

" γουσιν ὁμάδα ἐτῶν ΒΚΖ (2027). Ὁμοίως δὲ κατὰ τὰς
" δύο δυναστείας τῶν ἐννέα ἡμιθέων τῶν μηδέποτε
" γεγονότων ὡς γεγονότων ἔτη ΣΙΔ καὶ ἥμισυ (214½)
" σπουδάζει συνιστᾶν ἀπὸ ΑΝΗ (1058) ὡρῶν, ἤτοι τρο-
" πῶν, ὡς γίνεσθαί (φησι) συν ΨΞΘ (969), ΑΡΝΓ καὶ
" ἥμισυ ἔτη (1153½), καὶ συναπτόμενα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ
" μέχρι τῆς τῶν Θεῶν βασιλείας ΑΝΗ (1058) ἔτεσι συν-
" άγειν ἔτη ΒΣΜΒ (2242) ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ." [7]

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πανόδωρος τὰς κατὰ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν Αἰγυπτιακὰς γραφὰς συμφωνεῖν αὐταῖς ἀγωνίζεται δεικνύναι, μεμφόμενος τὸν Εὐσέβιον, μὴ εἰδὼς, ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδέδεικται ταῦτα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀναπόδεικτά τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστα, εἴ γε, καθὼς προαποδέδεικται ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως, οὔτε Βαβυλὼν ἡ Χαλδαϊκὴ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, οὔτε ἡ Αἴγυπτος πρὸ τοῦ Μεστρὲμ ἐβασιλεύθη, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ᾠκίσθη.

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## 2. Sync. Chronogr. p. 18. seqq.
## Περὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μυθολογίας.

Μανεθῶ ὁ Σεβεννύτης ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μιαρῶν ἱερῶν μετὰ Βήρωσσον γενόμενος, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου, γράφει τῷ αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ψευδηγορῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ὁ Βήρωσσος περὶ δυναστειῶν ς', ἤτοι Θεῶν τῶν μηδέποτε

[7] Ratio calculi hæc est:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ab Adamo ad Egregoros, secund. S. S. . . . . | | 1058 |
| Deorum Ægypt. dynastiæ 6 | secd. librum de Sothide . | 969 |
| Semideorum Æg. dynastiæ 2 | | 214½ |
| | | 2241½ |

Atqui diluvium (secd. Septuag.) in annum mundi cadit 2242 *ergo* Ægyptiorum chronologia ante diluvium cum Sacra scriptura concordat, i. q. e. d.

Vides, quo consilio et qua ratione dynastiarum mythicarum numeri effecti sint, Manethonis nomine impudentissime adhibito!

γεγονότων ζ'[1], οἱ, φησὶ, διαγεγόνασιν ἐπὶ ἔτη ,αϡπέ[2] (11,985)· ὧν πρῶτος, φησὶ, θεὸς Ἥφαιστος ἔτη ,θ (9000) ἐβασίλευσε. Ταῦτα τὰ ,θ ἔτη πάλιν τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱστορικῶν[3] ἀντὶ μηνῶν σεληνιακῶν λογισάμενοι καὶ μερίσαντες τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν πλῆθος τῶν αὐτῶν ,θ σεληνίων παρὰ τὰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνῆξαν ἔτη ψκζ'δ' (727¾), ξένον τι δοκοῦντες κατωρθωκέναι, γελοῖον δὲ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον τὸ ψεῦδος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συμβιβάζοντες.

Αἰγυπτίων α' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἥφαιστος,
πρώτη δυναστεία[4]. . . . . ἔτη ΨΚΖ[5]δ' (727¾)

[1] Codex A. (unicus is quidem h. l.) ζ': v. statim infra in p. 665. adnotat. 6.

[2] Cod. ,αϡπέ. Correxit Anon. comparatis quæ leguntur, p. 41. B.

[3] Anianus scilicet et Panodorus, monachi quinti sæculi. — "Denuo" (πάλιν) ideo ait Sync., quia paullo ante (p. 17. B.) de Babyloniorum saris, neris et sossis loquens, hominum ineptiam jam notaverat, his verbis: Ταῦτα δὲ ἔτη τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱστορικῶν ἡμέρας ἐλογίσαντο στοχαστικῶς μεμψάμενοι τὸν Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιον, ὡς μὴ νοήσαντα τὰ ἔτη τῶν σάρων ἡμέρας. μάτην δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τούτῳ μέμφονται.....ποίαν δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀνάγκην εἶχον συμβιβάζειν τὸ ψεῦδος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, h. e. ut gentilium omnium somnia et mendacia cum veritate Sacræ Scripturæ conciliarent. Nominat viros illos argutiarum harum auctores Syncellus, p. 34. et rursus p. 41., quem locum modo dedimus. Nec inutile duximus hæc stabilire: quippe ex quibus appareat verba illa, quæ damus, Syncelli esse, non Africani, quamquam tota hæc dissertatio apud Syncellum inscribitur (p. 17. D) Ἀφρικανοῦ περὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων μυθώδους χρονολογίας. Africani, puto, sunt duæ tabulæ, una ex Beroso de decem Babyloniorum dynastiis mythicis, ab Aloro ad Xisuthrum, quæ præcedit, altera e Manethone excerpta, de 15 deorum dynastiis, quæ jam sequitur.

[4] Ita codex. Dindorfius Goari negligentiam (quam tamen ipse merito reprehendit) temere imitatus verba πρώτη δυναστεία tanquam omnium quæ sequuntur regnorum titulum ante Αἰγυπτ. α' ἐβασ. posuit. Sex hosce reges totidem efficere dynastias Sync. p. 41. docuit, quem locum v. supra.

[5] Cod. ψκδ', quem numerum ex superioribus corrigendum esse calculus annorum 969 docet a Sync. ex Panodoro allatus (p. 41. B.). Quo loco docuit, qua ratione hic numerus 11,985 eliceretur. Atqui anni 11,985 revera 969 annos efficiunt, si eos non pro solaribus 365 dierum accipias, sed pro menstruis viginti novem dierum cum dimidio,

Αἰγυπτίων β' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἥλιος Ἡφαίστου (dyn. 2da) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{Π}\,\underset{\smile}{\varsigma'}}$ ($80\frac{1}{6}$)

Αἰγυπτίων γ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀγαθοδαίμων (dyn. 3tia) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{N}\underset{\smile}{\varsigma}\,\iota\beta'}$ ($56\frac{7}{12}$)

Αἰγυπτίων δ' ἐβασίλευσε Κρόνος (dyn. 4ta) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{M}\smile}$ ($40\frac{1}{2}$)

Αἰγυπτίων ε' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὄσιρις καὶ Ἶσις (dyn. 5ta) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΛΕ}}$ (35)

Αἰγυπτίων ϛ' ἐβασίλευσεν Τύφων[6] (dyn. 6ta) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΘ}}$ (29)

Αἰγυπτίων ζ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὧρος ἡμίθεος (dyn. semideorum? prima) . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}}$ (25)

Αἰγυπτίων η' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄρης ἡμίθεος (dyn. semid.? prima) . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΓ}}$ (23)

Αἰγυπτίων θ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄνουβις ἡμίθεος (dyn. semid.? prima) . . . . . ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΙΖ}}$ (17)

secundum rationem anni lunaris synodici 12 mensium et 354 dierum. Numeri inde facile restituuntur hoc modo:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prima dynastia: Vulcanus . | ann. | 9000 | — | $727\frac{1}{4}$ (sunt revera $727\frac{2}{5}$). |
| Secunda dynastia: Sol, Vulcani f. | — | 992 | — | $80\frac{1}{6}$ |
| Tertia dynastia: Agathodæmon | — | 710 | — | $56\frac{7}{12}$ |
| Quarta dynastia: Saturnus | — | 557 | — | $40\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Quinta dynastia: Osiris et Isis | — | 433 | — | 35 |
| Sexta dynastia: Typhon | — | 359 | — | 29 |

Summa annorum solarium 12,051 = $968\frac{1}{2}$ annis menstruis.

Confictos esse annos jam inde patet, quod annorum solarium numerus singulis diis tributus neque cum myriadibus cyclicis neque cum cyclo caniculari 1461 annorum congruit. At figmenti rationem sequentia indicant.

[6] Cod. Αἰγ. ϛ' ἐβασίλευσεν.
Αἰγ. ζ' ἐβασίλευσε Τύφων ἔτη $\overline{\text{ΚΘ}}$.

Dindorfius lacunam, a Goaro male inventam, hoc loco statuens, non vidit Typhonis nomen cum annis in linea sequenti delitescere scribarum incuria. Novem esse semideos, in duabus dynastiis divisos, mox ipsius Panodori verbis nos docebit Syncellus. Sunt igitur 15 regna deorum et semideorum. Codex 16 exhibet, Typhone bis adscripto. Reliquorum regnorum numeri facile restituuntur.

Αἰγυπτίων ι' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἡρακλῆς ἡμί-
θεος (dyn. semid.? prima) . . . ἔτη ΙΕ (15)
Αἰγυπτίων ια' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀπολλῶ[7] ἡμί-
θεος (dyn. semid.? 2da) . . . . ἔτη ΚΕ (25)
Αἰγυπτίων ιβ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμμῶν ἡμίθεος
(dyn. semid.? 2da) . . . . . ἔτη Λ (30)
Αἰγυπτίων ιγ' ἐβασίλευσε Τιθόης ἡμίθεος
(dyn. semid.? 2da) . . . . . ἔτη ΚΖ (27)
Αἰγυπτίων ιδ' ἐβασίλευσε Σῶσος ἡμίθεος
(dyn. semid.? 2da) . . . . . ἔτη ΛΒ (32)
Αἰγυπτίων ιε' ἐβασίλευσε Ζεὺς ἡμίθεος
(dyn. semid.? 2da) . . . . . ἔτη Κ (20)

Anni 6 deorum $968\frac{1}{2}$, 9 semideorum 214.

[7] Ita codex, cujus lectionem neque hic neque in sequentibus versibus tentavimus, quamquam et nomina falsa et anni, qui, ut in superioribus, hic quoque aliquem certe nexum inter se servare debebant. Quare neque vocem Ζεὺς corruptam esse dicemus ex *Bity*, semideorum, ut videtur, apud Eusebium ultimo, neque Ἀμμῶν ex Μούθ, semideo et propheta, quem et Hermetici et Syncellus ipse (p. 13. D.) memorat, nec Τιθόης ex Τωὺθης, Hermete secundo. Hoc constat, Ammonem et Jovem neque diversos inter se nec semideos fuisse. Horus (Apollo) *duplex* ab antiquis non agnoscitur, Sosus denique prorsus ignotus. Quod ad annorum summam attinet, quam in sequentibus Syncellus ipse indicat, si eodem calculo hic uti licet, quo primæ deorum dynastiæ anni a novem millibus ad 727 cum dodrante reducti sunt, anni efficiuntur 2647.

# B.

# ERATOSTHENIS ALIORUMQUE GRÆCORUM DE TEMPORIBUS ÆGYPTIORUM FRAGMENTA.

## I.

## ERATOSTHENIS ET APOLLODORI REGUM THEBAICORUM XXXVIII et LIII CATALOGI.

### 1. Eratosthenis Catalogus.

Syncellus (Chronogr. p. 91.) enumeratis primis Ægyptiorum regibus, quorum nomina exhibet Laterculus (v. B. IV.), sic pergit:

Ἀπολλόδωρος χρονικὸς ἄλλην· Αἰγυπτίαν τῶν Θηβαίων λεγομένων βασιλείαν ἀνεγράψατο βασιλέων $\overline{\text{ΛΗ}}$, ἐτῶν $\overline{\text{ΑΟς}}$ (1076)· ἥτις ἤρξατο μὲν τῷ $\overline{\text{Βϡ}}$ (2900) ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου, ἔληξε δὲ εἰς τὸ $\overline{\text{ΓϡΟΕ}}$[1] (3975) ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου. ὧν τὴν γνῶσιν (φησὶν) ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης λαβὼν Αἰγυπτιακοῖς

[1] Libri $\overline{\text{ΓϑΜΕ}}$, 3945. At Syncelli calculus hic est:

Diluvium (secundum LXX intpp.) . . . . a. m. 2242
Confusio linguarum, 534 post diluv. annis . . . a. m. 2776
Idem annus Syncello primus est Mezraimi (v. Laterc. B. IV.).
Primus annus Phalec, 124 post conf. ling. annis . . a. m. 2900

Qui principii annus quum certissimus sit et ex Canone Syncelli et ex iis, quæ infra legimus (p. 147. D.), nec minus certum tempus regum Eratosthenicorum, anni nimirum 1076, apparet seriem regum Thebæorum a. m. 2900 incipientem a. m. 3975 desinere: qui 3975 numerus ipse recurrit p. 147. D.: λήξασα δὲ τῷ γϑοέ τοῦ κόσμου ἔτει. Quare Goari emendationem in margine adscriptam $\overline{\text{ΓϑΟς}}$ (3976) non amplector.

ὑπομνήμασι καὶ ὀνόμασι κατὰ πρόσταξιν βασιλικὴν τῇ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ παρέφρασεν οὕτως·

[Θηβαίων βασιλέων τῶν μετὰ $\overline{\text{ΡΚΔ}}$[2] ἔτη τῆς διασπορᾶς $\overline{\text{ΛΗ}}$ βασιλειῶν.]

I. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ[3] ἐβασίλευσε ΜΗΝΗΣ ΘΙΝΙΤΗΣ[4] ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ[5]· ἐβασίλευσεν ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΞΒ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,βϡ′ . . . . . 62—2900

II. Θηβαίων ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΘΩΘΗΣ, ΥΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΕΩΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΝΘ}}$. οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ. ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου ,βϡξβ′ . . . . . 59—2962

III. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΘΩΘΗΣ ΟΜΩΝΥΜΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΛΒ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γκα′ . . . . . 32—3021

IV. (p. 96.) Θηβαίων ἐβασίλευσε $\overline{\Delta}$ ΔΙΑΒΙΗΣ (l. ΜΑΕΒΑΗΣ), ΥΙΟΣ ΑΘΩΘΕΩΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΙΘ}}$. οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ΦΙΛΟΤΑΥΡΟΣ[6]. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γνγ′ . . . . . 19—3053

V. Θηβαίων ἐβασίλευσε $\overline{\text{Ε}}$ ΠΕΜΦΩΣ (l. ΣΕΜΨΩΣ), ΥΙΟΣ ΑΘΩΘΟΥΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γοβ′ . . . . . 18—3072

[2] Libri et edd. ,αρκξ, α perperam ex ultima præcedentis vocis repetito.

[3] Quæ putavimus ipsius esse Eratosthenis verba, sive integra sive corrupta, majoribus scripsimus litteris. De vocibus a nobis hic illic mutatis v. libb. II. et III.

[4] B. Θηνίτης. Goar. Θηβινίτης, nec aliter, per typographi vitium, Dindorfius, qui adnotat: "Legebatur Θηβινίτης." Syllaba Θηβ- ex voce insequenti Θηβαῖος desumpta.

[5] B. Διώνιος. A. Διόνιος. Αἰώνιος Jablonskii est emend. ap. Vignol. ii. 736.

[6] Libri φιλέτερος. Scal. conj. φιλεταῖρος. Goar. φιλέστερος.

VI. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν $\overline{\varsigma}$ τοιγαράμαχος ΜΟΜΧΕΙΡΙ ΜΕΜΦΙΤΗΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΟΘ}}$. οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ΤΗΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΜΕΛΗΣ (l. ΣΕΣΟΡΧΕΡΗΣ ΜΕΜΦΙΤΗΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΟΘ}}$· οὗτος ἑρμηνεύεται ΗΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ· ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΜΕΛΗΣ [τοιγὰρ ἄμαχος[7]]). τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γϟ′ . 79—3090

VII. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν $\overline{\text{Ζ}}$ ΣΤΟΙΧΟΣ, ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ὅ ἐστιν ΑΡΗΣ ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΣ (l. ΤΟΙΧΑΡΗΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ὅ ἐστιν ΗΛΙΟΘΕΤΟΣ), ἔτη $\overline{\varsigma}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γρξθ′ . . . . . 6—3169

VIII. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ΟΓΔΟΟΣ ΓΟΣΟΡΜΙΗΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΑΙΤΗΣΙΠΑΝΤΟΣ[8] (l. ΣΕΣΟΡΤΑΣΙΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΗΓΗΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΣ), ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{Α}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γροε′ . . . . . 30—3175

IX. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν $\overline{\Theta}$ ΜΑΡΗΣ, ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ὅ ἐστιν ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{Κς}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γσε′ . . . . . 26—3205

X. (p. 101.) Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων $\overline{\text{Ι}}$ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΝΩΥΦΙΣ (l. ΑΝ Η ΣΩΥΦΙΣ), ὅ ἐστιν ΕΠΙΚΩΜΟΣ[9], ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{Κ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γσλα′ . . . 20—3231

XI. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων $\overline{\text{ΙΑ}}$ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΙ-

[7] τοιγὰρ ἄμαχος glossa est cujusdam, qui περισσομελής interpretationem nominis regii esse arbitraretur, quum sit immanis proceritatis, qua rex ille secundum annalium veterum testimonia pollebat, indicatio.

[8] Ἐτησιπαντός cod. A.

[9] ὥς τινες ἐπίκωμος cod. B. ἐπίκομος cod. A.

ΡΙΟΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΥΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΗΣ[10]. ΩΣ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΡΟΙ ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΣ, ΕΤΗ ΙΗ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γσνα′ 18—3251

XII. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ΙΒ ἐβασίλευσε ΧΝΟΥΒΟΣ ΓΝΕΥΡΟΣ, ὅ ἐστι ΧΡΥΣΗΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ (l. ΧΝΟΥΒΟΣ Η ΓΝΕΥΡΟΣ, ὅ ἐστι ΧΡΥΣΟΣ Η ΧΡΥΣΟΥΣ, ΥΙΟΣ), ΕΤΗ ΚΒ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γσξθ′ 22—3269

XIII. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ΙΓ ἐβασίλευσε ΡΑΥΩΣΙΣ (l. ΡΑΣΩΣΙΣ[11]), ὅ ἐστιν ΑΡΧΙΚΡΑΤΩΡ, ΕΤΗ ΙΓ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γσϟα′ . . . . . 13—3291

XIV. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ΙΔ ἐβασίλευσε ΒΙΥΡΗΣ, ΕΤΗ Ι. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γτδ′ . . . . . 10—3304

XV. Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ΙΕ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΑΩΦΙΣ, ΚΩΜΑΣΤΗΣ, ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΝΙΟΥΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΤΗΣ[12], ΕΤΗ ΚΘ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γτιδ′ 29—3314

XVI. (p. 104.) Θηβαίων Ις ἐβασίλευσε ΣΑΩΦΙΣ Β, ΕΤΗ ΚΖ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γτμγ′ . . . . . 27—3343

XVII. Θηβαίων ΙΖ ἐβασίλευσε ΜΟΣΧΕΡΗΣ (l. ΜΕΓΧΕΡΗΣ) ΗΛΙΟΔΟ-

[10] h. e. filius pupillæ, vel fascino non tactus, a malo oculo liber. *Oculus* enim Ægyptiis veteribus, id quod Plutarchus docuit, Lepsius ex monumentis comprobavit, *iri*, non *bal*, ut nunc Coptis est. Iri proprie *pupilla*, quibus *fascinus* circumferri dicebatur (Cic. ap. Plinium H. N. viii. 2.); quare utraque Eratosthenis interpretatione lectio confirmatur. Sic infra Meï-iri, φίλος κόρης, ex int. Eratosthenis. Ceterum conferre juvat: *iri* Æg. pupilla: ἶρις Græcis ea oculi pars coloribus distincta, circa pupillam, quæ medicis *iris* dicitur: et Latinorum *pupilla a pupa*, ut Græcorum κόρη.

[11] sc. Ra-Sesor, ut est in hieroglyphicis.

[12] *Djôf* Copt. secundum Peyron i. q. *djif*, avarus, sordidus. Res incerta.

ΤΟΣ, ΕΤΗ ΑΑ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γτο′ . . . . . 31—3370

XVIII. Θηβαίων ΙΗ ἐβασίλευσε ΜΟΣΘΗΣ (l. ΜΕΓΧΕΡΗΣ Β), ΕΤΗ ΑΓ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γυα′ . . . . . 33—3401

XIX. Θηβαίων ΙΘ ἐβασίλευσε ΠΑΜΜΗΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΔΗΣ (l. ΧΑΦΡΗΣ ΑΡΧΩΝΔΗΣ), ΕΤΗ ΑΕ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γυλδ′ . . . . . 35—3434

XX. Θηβαίων Κ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΠΑΠΟΥΣ, ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ. ΟΥΤΟΣ, ΩΣ ΦΑΣΙ, ΠΑΡΑ ΩΡΑΝ ΜΙΑΝ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΕΤΗ Ρ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γυξθ′ . . . . 100—3469

XXI. Θηβαίων ΚΑ ἐβασίλευσεν.....ΕΧΕΣΚΟΣΟΚΑΡΑΣ (l. ΣΧΕΤΙΚΟΣ ΩΣ ΑΡΗΣ[13]), ἔτος Α. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γφξθ′ . . . . . 1—3569

XXII. Θηβαίων ΚΒ ἐβασίλευσε ΝΙΤΩΚΡΙΣ[14] ΓΥΝΗ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΑΘΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗΦΟ-

[13] Nomen, quod excidit, Ægyptiacum Manethoni est *Menthesuphis*, *Metesuphis*, quod ex *Mentheôphis* corruptum esse monumentis a Lepsio collectis probatur. Jam Mentheôphis Ægyptiace est *Mentuâtep* ut Amenophis Amen-âtep. De deo *Mantu*, *Mandu* multum est disputatum; Wilkinson optime monuit appellari hunc deum in inscriptionibus "ultorem in hostes," quod unice cum Martis natura convenit. Verisimile est igitur Eratosthenis interpretationem vocem Ἄρης continuisse. *Atep* Coptis *clausus*, *servatus*; potuit ergo Erat. nominis vim ita reddere, ut cohibendi naturam, quæ et Martis est propria et *claudendi* notioni proxima, exprimeret. Quare, litterarum premens vestigia, difficillimum locum sic restituo: σχετικὸς ὡς Ἄρης, adhærens, cohibens quemadmodum Mars. Ita Plutarchus in libro de Is. et Osir. (c. 61. p. 376.) Typhonis nomina Ægyptiaca βίαιόν τινα καὶ κωλυτικὴν ἐπίσχεσιν ait significare, sicut paullo ante (c. 49. p. 371.) dixerat: σημαίνει δὲ τοὔνομα κάθεξιν ἢ κώλυσιν.

[14] Νιτροκὶς cod. B.

ΡΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\varsigma}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γφο′ . . . . . 6—3570

XXIII. Θηβαίων $\overline{\text{ΚΓ}}$ ἐβασίλευσε ΜΥΡΤΑΙΟΣ (l. ΑΜΥΡΤΑΙΟΣ[15]) ΑΜΜΩΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΚΒ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γφος′ . . . . . 22—3576

XXIV. (p. 109.) Θηβαίων $\overline{\text{ΚΔ}}$ ἐβασίλευσεν ΘΥΩΣΙΜΑΡΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΟΣ, ὅ ἐστιν ΗΛΙΟΣ (l. ΤΩΣΙΜΑΡΗΣ, ΚΡΑΤΑΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΗΛΙΟΣ[16]), ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΙΒ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γφϟη′ . . . . . 12—3598

XXV. Θηβαίων $\overline{\text{ΚΕ}}$ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΕΘΙΝΙΛΟΣ[17] (l. ΕΝΕΝΤΕΦΙΝΑΟΣ), ὅ ἐστιν ΑΥΞΗΣΑΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{Η}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχι′ . . . . . 8—3610

XXVI. Θηβαίων $\overline{\text{Κς}}$ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΕΜΦΡΟΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ (l. ΣΕΜΦΟΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ), ὅ ἐστιν ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{ΙΗ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχιη′ . . . . . 18—3618

XXVII. Θηβαίων $\overline{\text{ΚΖ}}$ ἐβασίλευσε ΧΟΥΘΗΡ ΤΑΥΡΟΣ (l. ΜΕΝΤΟΥΦ. NB. ΤΑΥΡΗΣ) ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, ΕΤΗ $\overline{\text{Ζ}}$. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχλς′ . . . 7—3636

[15] *i. e.* ab Ammone Horo datus (Amn-her-ta). Unde et Amyrtæus in seriori Ægyptiorum historia.

[16] Vocibus Eratosth. κράτος, κραταιός semper fere respondet in nominibus Ægyptiacis *tosis* vel *tasis*. Ita regem octavum *Sesortasin* interpretatus esse videtur Ἡγησίκρατος, Sesortosin vero duodecimæ dynastiæ Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἡρακλῆς (Sesor) κραταιός vertit, *Ratosin* regem XIII. Ἀρχικράτωρ. Quare nullus dubito, quin hoc nomen legendum sit Τωσιμάρης, quod ad litteram secundum vulgarem Ægyptiorum linguam hoc est: *fortis locus Solis*, ubi *locus* copulæ vicem vel agit vel agere Eratosthenis videbatur.

[17] Θίριλλος cod. A.

XXVIII. Θηβαίων ΚΗ ἐβασίλευσε ΜΕΥΡΗΣ (l. ΜΕΪΡΗΣ) ΦΙΛΟΣΚΟΡΟΣ[18], ΕΤΗ ΙΒ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχμγ′ . . . . . 12—3643

XXIX. Θηβαίων ΚΘ ἐβασίλευσε ΧΩΜΑΕΦΘΑ (l. ΤΩΜΑΕΦΘΑ) ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΦΙΛΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ[19], ΕΤΗ ΙΑ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχνε′ . 11—3655

XXX. Θηβαίων Λ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΟΙΚΟΥΝΙΟΣ ΟΧΟΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ (l. ΣΟΙΚΟΥΝΙΣ.....ΩΣ ΩΧΟΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ[20]), ΕΤΗ ΞΕ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γχξς′ . . . . . 60—3666

XXXI. (p. 123.) Θηβαίων ΛΑ ἐβασίλευσε ΠΕΤΕΑΘΥΡΗΣ[21], ΕΤΗ Ις. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γψκς′ . . . . 16—3726

XXXII. Θηβαίων ΛΒ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ, ΕΤΗ Κς. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γψμβ′ . . . . . 26—3742

[18] i. e. amans pupillam; v. ad r. XI. — De r. XXVII. v. Vol. II.

[19] i. e. to-maë-Phtah. Cod. A. φιλέφαιστος. Quæ in cod. B. scripta fuerit vox non apparet: restituit jam Salmasius.

[20] Cf. Plut. de Is. et Osir. cap. xi. (p. 355. ed. Frcf.): *καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὠμότατον Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ φοβερώτατον Ὦχον ἀποκτείναντα πολλοὺς, τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἆπιν ἀποσφάξαντα καὶ καταδειπνήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐκάλεσαν μάχαιραν καὶ καλοῦσι μέχρι νῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων, οὐ κυρίως δήπου τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρόπου τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ κακίαν ὀργάνῳ φονικῷ παρεικάζοντες.* Soicunis a radice *ken* derivandum, quæ *confodiendi, jugulandi* vim habet, ut Copt. *kôns*, unde *kens*, confossio. Jam vero quum *s* præpositum transitivam reddat radicem (sicut in *s-men*), *s-ken* gladium optime exprimere videtur, quasi confossorem. Atqui signum *ken* regis dyn. VIII. ultimi et in prænomine (S-kennen-Ra) et in nomine dynastico (.... na-ken) occurrit. Hoc ergo ut adnotaret, signum idem, quod Ocho nomen indiderint Ægyptii, in hujus regis nomine inesse, sic, credo, scripsit Eratosthenes: Σοικοῦνις μάχαιρα, ὡς Ὦχος, τύραννος.

[21] h. e. Venereus, Ἀφροδίσιος.

XXXIII. Θηβαίων ΛΓ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΤΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ Β (l. ΣΕΣΟΡΤΩΣΙΣ [ΚΑΙ] ΑΜΜΕΝΕΜΗΣ Β), ΕΤΗ ΚΓ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γψξη'[22] . . . . . 23—3768

XXXIV. Θηβαίων ΛΔ ἐβασίλευσε ΣΙΣΤΟΣΙΧΕΡΜΗΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΟΣ (l. ΣΕΣΟΡΤΩΣΙΣ ΕΡΜΗΣ Η ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΟΣ), ΕΤΗ ΝΕ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γψλα'. . . . . 55—3791

XXXV. Θηβαίων ΛΕ ἐβασίλευσε ΜΑΡΗΣ[23], ΕΤΗ ΜΓ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γωμς' . . . . . 43—3846

XXXVI. Θηβαίων Λς ἐβασίλευσε ΣΙΦΟΑΣ (l. ΣΙΦΘΑΣ) [ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς] ΥΙΟΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ[24], ΕΤΗ Ε. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γωπϑ' . . 5—3889

XXXVII. (p. 147.) Θηβαίων ΛΖ ἐβασίλευσε ΦΡΟΥΟΡΩ (l. ΦΟΥΟΡΩ[25]), ἤτοι

[22] Hæc in libris ita leguntur: Θηβαίων λβ' ἐβασίλευσε Σταμμενέμης β', ἔτη κγ'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γψξς'. Sequitur: Θηβαίων λδ' ἐβασίλευσε Σιστοσιχέρμης κ. τ. λ. Lacuna manifesta ex annorum mundi calculo a Syncello continuato facillime expletur. Non vidit Dindorfius, qui lacunæ signum inter ,γψξς' et Θηβαίων posuit. Ex illo β', quod post vocem Σταμμενέμης legitur, apparet *prioris Ammenemis* nomen excidisse. In numeris nihil mutandum nisi ,γψξς', pro quo ,γψξη' esse scribendum eo Syncelli numero, quem proximum vides, comprobatur.

[23] Cod. A. Μάρις.

[24] Emendationem suppeditat interpretatio. Verba ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς uncis inclusa grammatici nescio cujus glossam esse arbitramur, qui Vulcani filium Hermen quoque dici indicaverit. Ipsius interpretationis partem non esse manifestum. Nec tamen negaverim potuisse Eratosthenem sic scribere: Σίφθας, υἱὸς Ἡφαίστου, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς.

[25] Nilus Ægyptiis iōr, iarō (unde Hebraicum יְאוֹר, יְאֹר): Phuorô est ph-ior articulo præposito.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ, ΕΤΗ ΙΘ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γωϟδ' [26] . . . . 19—3894

XXXVIII. Θηβαίων ΛΗ ἐβασίλευσεν ΑΜΟΥΘΑΡΤΑΙΟΣ (l. ΑΜΥΝΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ [27]), ΕΤΗ ΞΓ. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γϡιγ' . . . . . 63—3913

(Cui ultimo numero 3913 si annos addideris 62, annum habebis mundi 3975, ad quem usque hanc seriem pertinere in iis, quæ jam sequuntur, docet Syncellus.)

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2. Apollodori Reges Quinquaginta Tres Thebaici Eratosthenicos excipientes.

(Sync. Chronogr. p. 147. D.).

Ἡ τῶν ΛΗ βασιλέων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον λεγομένων Θηβαίων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα Ἐρατοσθένης λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Διοσπόλει ἱερογραμματέων (l. ἱερογραμμάτων vel ἱερῶν γραμμάτων) παρέφρασεν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίας εἰς Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν ἀρχή· ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βϡ' κοσμικοῦ ἔτους, ἔτεσιν ρκδ' μετὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τῶν γλωσσῶν, λήξασα δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ,γϡοε' (3975) τοῦ κόσμου ἔτος.[28]

Τῶν δὲ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἄλλων ΝΓ Θηβαίων βασιλέων ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου παραδεδομένων, τὰς προσηγορίας περιττὸν ἡγούμεθα ἐνταῦθα ὡς μηδὲν συμβαλλομένας ἡμῖν παραθέσθαι· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν.

[26] Libri: ἔτη E. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος ,γωπθ', ea quæ proxime præcedit linea repetita. Goarus, ut 24 annos inter 3889 Siphoæ et 3913 ultimi regis intercedentes, servato utroque quinque annorum numero, expleret, lacunam illam, de qua ad XXXIII. diximus, inter Siphoam et Phruonem interponendam censet, omissoque huic regi annos tribuit 14. Dindorfius ineptam codicum lectionem restituit.

[27] i. e. ab Amente (Amunta), Ammonis uxore (cui et *Sate* nomen). V. A. IV. init.

[28] Correxi ex τῷ ... ἔτει.

## II.

### DICÆARCHI MESSENII DE SESOSTRIDE REGE FRAGMENTA IN SCHOLIIS AD APOLLONII RHODII ARGONAUTICA REPERTA.

Apoll. Rhod. Argon. iv. 259. Argos hæc dicit:

Ἔστιν γὰρ πλόος ἄλλος, ὃν ἀθανάτων ἱερῆες
πέφραδον, οἳ Θήβης Τριτωνίδος ἐκγεγάασιν.
οὔπω τείρεα πάντα, τάτ' οὐρανῷ εἰλίσσονται,
οὐδέ τί πω Δαναῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἦεν ἀκοῦσαι
πευθομένοις· οἷοι δ' ἔσαν Ἀρκάδες Ἀπιδανῆες,
Ἀρκάδες, οἳ καὶ πρόσθε Σεληναίης ὑδέονται
ζώειν, φηγὸν ἔδοντες ἐν οὔρεσιν· οὐδὲ Πελασγὶς
χθὼν τότε κυδαλίμοισιν ἀνάσσετο Δευκαλίδῃσιν,
ἦμος ὅτ' ἠερίη πολυλήϊος ἐκλήϊστο
μήτηρ Αἴγυπτος προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν,
καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτωνος ἐΰῤῥοος, ᾧ ὕπο πᾶσα
ἄρδεται ἠερίη· Διόθεν δέ μιν οὔ ποτε δεύει
ὄμβρος· ἄλις προχοαῖσι δ' ἀνασταχύουσιν ἄρουραι.
ἔνθεν δή τινα φασὶ πέριξ διὰ πᾶσαν ὁδεῦσαι
Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε, βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ λαῶν
σφωϊτέρων θάρσει τε πεποιθότα· μυρία δ' ἄστη
νάσσατ' ἐποιχόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἤ ποθι ναιετάουσιν,
ἠὲ καὶ οὔ· πουλὺς γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰών.
Αἴά γε μὴν ἔτι νῦν μένει ἔμπεδον, υἱωνοί τε
τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ὅς γε καθίσσατο ναιέμεν Αἶαν.
οἱ δή τοι γραπτοὺς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται
κύρβιας, οἷς ἔνι πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν
ὑγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινισσομένοισιν, κ.τ.λ.

Dicæarcheis scholiis placet alia nonnulla ad hos versus adscripta præmittere:

v. 262. Οὐδέ τί πω Δαναῶν] Τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παλαιοτάτους εἶναί φησιν, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Φρύγας. Κόσμης (Par.

Κόσμος) δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰγυπτιακῶν, καὶ Λέων ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, καὶ Κνωσσὸς ἐν α' Γεωγραφικῶν τῆς Ἀσίας πάντων ἀρχαιοτάτους Αἰγυπτίους φασί· καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρώτην κτισθῆναι πόλιν Θήβας. καὶ Νικάνωρ δὲ τούτοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ Ἀρχέμαχος ἐν ταῖς Μετωνυμίαις, καὶ Ξεναγόρας ἐν πρώτῳ Χρόνων. καὶ Ἵππυς (Paris. Ἵππων) δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀρχαιοτάτους γεγονέναι λέγει καὶ πρώτους στοχάσασθαι τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος κράσεως· καὶ γονιμώτατον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ. γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτούς φησιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸ τοῦ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα φανῆναι· καθὸ τήν τε φύσιν κατανοῆσαι αὐτῶν δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα θεῖναι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δώδεκα ζώδια θεοὺς βουλαίους προσηγόρευσαν· τοὺς δὲ πλανήτας ῥαβδοφόρους. Ἡρόδοτος δέ φησι Φρύγας πρώτους γεγενῆσθαι. Ψαμμίτιχον γάρ, κ.τ.λ. (v. Her. ii. 2.)

v. 264. Ἀρκάδες, οἳ καὶ πρόσθε] Οἱ Ἀρκάδες δοκοῦσι πρὸ τῆς σελήνης γεγονέναι, ὡς καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ. Θεόδωρος δὲ ἐν εἰκοστῷ ἐννάτῳ (ἐν κϐ' Par.) ὀλίγῳ πρότερόν φησι τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πολέμου Ἡρακλέους τὴν σελήνην φανῆναι. Καὶ Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος ἐν ταῖς Θέσεσι (Κτίσεσι corr. Rutgers., v. Wellauer.) καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν πρώτῳ Κτίσεων (Steph. κτίσεως) τὰ αὐτά φασι· καὶ ἔθνος δὲ Ἀρκαδίας Σεληνίτας εἶναι. Μνασέας δέ φησι πρὸ σελήνης Ἀρκάδας βασιλεῦσαι. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν πολιτείᾳ φησὶν, ὅτι βάρβαροι τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ᾤκησαν, οἵτινες ἐξεβλήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιτεῖλαι τὴν σελήνην. διὸ κατωνομάσθησαν προσέληνοι. Δοῦρις δὲ ἐν πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν Ἀρκάδα φησὶν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀρκαδία καλεῖται, Ὀρχομενοῦ υἱόν. διὸ καὶ πόλιν τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Ὀρχομενόν. Τινὲς δέ φασιν Ἐνδυμίωνα εὑρηκέναι τὰς περιόδους καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῆς σελήνης. ὅθεν καὶ προσελήνους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας κληθῆναι. Ἀρκὰς γὰρ ὁ Ἐνδυμίων. Ἔνιοι δὲ ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἄτλαντος Ξεναγόρας εἴρηκεν.

v. 269. Καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων.] Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου ἀναδόσεως (ἀναβάσεως Par.) διάφοροι αἰτίαι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐλέγοντο. Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν γάρ φησι διὰ τὴν

τῆξιν τῆς χιόνος πληθύειν αὐτόν. ᾧ ἕπεται καὶ Εὐριπίδης[1] λέγων·

Νείλου μὲν ἥδε καλλιπάρθενος ῥοὴ
λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύην.

Καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ὑπέλαβον τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον χιονίζεσθαι τόπους, καὶ τηκομένης τῆς χιόνος τὴν χύσιν εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκδίδοσθαι· Νικαγόρας δέ φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντοίκων αὐτὸν ῥεῖν. Δημόκριτος δὲ ὁ φυσικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ὑπερκειμένου πελάγους λαμβάνειν τὸν Νεῖλον τὴν ἐπίχυσιν. ἀπογλυκαίνεσθαι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τὸ διάστημα καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πόρου, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ἀφεψόμενον. δι' ὃ καὶ ἐναντίαν (φησὶν) ἔχει τὴν γεῦσιν. Ἀρίστων δὲ ὁ Χῖος, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὢν ὑπὸ γῆν ὁ ἥλιος εἰσπέμπει τὸ ὕδωρ· τοῦ δὲ θέρους γινόμενος ὑπὲρ γῆν οὐκ ἔτι, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον θερμαίνεσθαι αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ χαλωμένη ἡ γῆ πλέον ὕδωρ ἀναδίδωσιν. Ἔφορος δὲ ποταμόχωστον εἶναί φησι τὴν Αἴγυπτον· ῥηγνυμένης δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῷ ἔαρι ἀναπηδᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπαύξεσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα. Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιός φησιν· ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων συνελαυνόμενα τὰ νέφη κατὰ τὰ ὄρη τῆς Αἰθιοπίας αὐτόθι ῥήγνυσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας συστῶσιν αἱ πνοαὶ προσπίπτουσαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐκ τῆς ἀποπεμπομένης πλήμμης (Par. πλήσμης), τὰς ὑπερχύσεις ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἁρπάζεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης, ὃ τότε εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον καταφέρεσθαι. Οἴεται γὰρ πληροῦσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον ἐν τῷ θέρει διὰ τὸ τὸν ἥλιον εἰς τοῦτον τὰς ὑπὸ γῆς ἰκμάδας τρέπειν. Ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος οὕτω τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο, Τρίτων· μετωνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Νείλου τοῦ Κύκλωπος, τοῦ Ταντάλου, βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ὡς Ἑρμιππός φησιν.[2]

[1] In Helenæ init. In cod. sic leg.: λέγων· εἰλουμένη δέ! Eurip. verba, ut nunc leguntur, hæc sunt:

Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαὶ,
ὃς ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδον
λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας.

[2] Ultima verba inde ab Ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος in Paris. desunt.

Scholia ab H. Stephano edita (Genev. 1574).

v. 272. Ἔνθεν δή τινα] Σεσόγχωσις, Αἰγύπτου πάσης βασιλεὺς, μετὰ Ὧρον, τὸν Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος παῖδα, τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ὁρμήσας πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἀκριβέστερον δέ ἐστι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ Σέσωστριν αὐτὸν καλεῖ. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ προστίθησιν, ὅτι, εἰ μέν τινας πολέμῳ κατέστρεψεν, στήλας ἐτίθει, πῶς ἐνίκησεν· εἰ δὲ παρεχώρουν, γυναικεῖον ταῖς στήλαις αἰδοῖον προσετίθει, σύμβολον τῆς μαλακίας. Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων, καθ' οὓς ἐγένετο Σεσόγχωσις, ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦτο μόνον φησί· πολὺς γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰών· φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ βίου (Wellauer.[3] ἐν δευτ. Ἑλληνικοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦτο) Σεσογχώσιδι μεμεληκέναι· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸν[4] θέσθαι λέγει, ὥστε μηδένα καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην. τοῦτο γὰρ ᾤετο ἀρχὴν εἶναι πλεονεξίας. Καὶ πρῶτόν φασιν αὐτὸν εὑρηκέναι ἵππων ἄνθρωπον ἐπιβαίνειν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ὧρον ἀναφέρουσιν.

v. 276. Ἠὲ καὶ οὔ] Ἡ γὰρ ἐκλελοίπασί τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἢ μετονομασθεῖσαι ἀγνοοῦνται ὑφ' οὗ τυγχάνουσιν ἐκτισμέναι. τούτου δὲ τὸν χρόνον αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι. Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος Ὧρον βασιλέα γεγονέναι Σεσόγχωσιν λέγει. ὥστε γίγνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Σεσογχώσιδος βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Νείλου ἔτη δισχίλια φ', ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτη υλς', ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔτη δισχίλια ἐνακόσια λς'.

Scholia Parisini codicis 2727. a G. H. Schæfero in edit. Apoll. Rhod. vol. ii. publici juris facta (Lips. 1813).[3]

v. 272. Τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν δή τινα περὶ τοῦ Σεσογχώσιδος

[3] In ed. Apoll. Rhod. (Lips. 1828) vol. ii., quod scholia Steph. emendata continet.

[4] M. Fuhr. (Dic. Mess. quæ supersunt, Darmst. 1841, p. 100.) αὐτῶν legit: unde desumptum, nescio. Scilicet Græcorum leges recepisse Sesonchosidem statuit.

[5] Ex apographo in usum Ruhnkenii confecto et ab Heynio ad

λέγει. Οὗτος γὰρ Αἰγύπτου πάσης βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ὧρον, τὸν Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἴσιδος παῖδα, τήν τε Ἀσίαν ὁρμήσας πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο καὶ μέρη πλεῖστα τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἀκριβέστερα δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡρόδοτος διηγεῖται. προστίθησι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς, εἰ μέν τινας τῷ πολέμῳ καταστρέψειε, στήλας ἀνίστη τῆς νίκης σύμβολα· εἰ δέ τινας ἄνευ πολέμου χειρώσαιτο, γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον προσετίθει ταῖς στήλαις τῆς σφων μαλακίας σημεῖον. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῷ γ' Σέσωστριν αὐτὸν καλεῖ. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους, καθ' οὓς ἐγένετο ὁ Σέσωστρις, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ[6] τοῦτο μόνον φησί· πολὺς γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰών. Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἐν α' μετὰ τὸν Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἴσιδος Ὧρον βασιλέα φησὶ γεγονέναι Σέσωστριν· ὥστε γίγνεσθαι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Σεσώστριδος βασιλείας μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου ἔτη βφ', ἀπὸ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς α' ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτη υλς', ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔτη βψλς'. καὶ νόμους δὲ λέγει Δικαίαρχος αὐτὸν τεθεικέναι μηδένα ἐκλείπειν τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην· τοῦτο γὰρ ὥετο ἀρχὴν εἶναι πλεονεξίας, καὶ πρῶτον δὲ εὑρηκέναι ἵππων[7] ἐπιβαίνειν ἄνθρωπον. ἄλλοι δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ὧρον ἀναφέρουσι. καὶ τοῦτο δέ φησι Δικαίαρχος ἐν β' Ἑλληνικοῦ βίου Σεσώστριδι μεμεληκέναι.

Ὅ γε μὴν Ἀπολλώνιος εἰπὼν, τὰ μὲν οὗ ποθι νετάουσιν[8], ἐπήγαγεν ἠὲ καὶ οὔ· δηλῶν διὰ τούτου, ὅτι αἱ μὲν τῶν πόλεων παντάπασιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, αἱ δὲ μετωνομάσθησαν, καὶ ἀγνοεῖται, ὑφ' οὗ τυγχάνουσιν ἐκτισμέναι.

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A. Buttmannus in Quæstionibus de Dicæarcho (Numb. 1832. p 15. seqq.) hoc de loco disserens verum

Schæferum transmisso (v. præfat. ad vol. ii.) — Ceterum Fuhr. idem. hoc scholion affert, sed mire corruptum; desunt enim verba ἐν α' (post Δικαίαρχος δὲ), et post ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Σεσώστριδος βασιλείας hæc: μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου ἔτη βφ', ἀπὸ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας. An corrupte edidit Schæferus?

[6] L. μέν. Correxit jam Schæferus.

[7] Cod. perperam ἵππον: corr. id. cum Larchero in Chronol. Herod. vii. p. 367. ed. nov.

[8] Sic verba in codice efferri videntur.

scholiastam deperditum esse arbitratur, Parisini codicis auctorem ex Stephaniano excerpsisse: utrumque fragmentum primo τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου libro adjudicat. Equidem recte sese habere *librorum denominationem* crediderim: nam in *primo* libro Dicæarchus, antequam de ipsis Græcorum antiquitatibus et historicis et geographicis[9] ageret, generis humani primordia veterrimorumque populorum historiam videtur digessisse[10], in *altero* rem civilem ita tractasse, ut primum civitatis originem[11], deinde antiquissimas civitatum formas, tum Græcorum mores atque instituta ante oculos poneret. Quare illud fragmentum, quo regis definitur ætas, ex primo, quo instituta ad civium vitam pertinentia, ex altero desumptum est.

Quod ad *ordinem* autem fragmentorum attinet, transposita esse in Stephaniano codice manifestum est.

[9] Huc præcipue pertinent: fragm., quo Herculis adspectum habitumque describit (Clem. Alex. Προτρ. i.; v. Fuhr. p. 110.), quo Thebas, Ciliciæ (vel Lyciæ) oppidum, ab eodem Hercule conditas refert (Schol. ad Il. ζ', 396. ed. Bekker. i. 195.; v. Fuhr. p. 111.), quo (in enarranda Medeæ fabula?) de Euripidis tragœdia, cui Medea inscribitur, fert judicium (Arg. Med. Eur.; v. F. p. 66.), quo Tiresiæ narrat fabellam (Phleg. Trall.; v. F. p. 111.), quo ab Echemo et Maratho, Tyndaridarum in Attica invadenda sociis, Academiæ et Marathoni nomina indita fuisse tradit (Plut. Thes. ed. Frcft. i. p. 15.; v. F. p. 109.), quo oraculi in Elide siti mentionem facit (Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. vi. 7.; v. F. p. 112.), quo tetrapolidem Doricam pro tripolide Homeri statuit (Steph. Byz. s. v. Δώριον; v. F. 98.).

[10] V. Porphyrium περὶ ἀποχῆς τ. ἐμψ. iv. 2. (Fuhr. p. 102.), ubi auream ætatem describit; Varronem de Re rust. i. 2. et præc. ii. 1. (Fuhr. 104.), ubi hominum ad varia vitæ genera progressum describit; Zenobii Provv. cent. 5. 23. (Fuhr. p. 107.), ubi portionum in publicis conviviis singulis tribuendarum morem antiquitus non exstitisse contendit; Steph. Byz. s. v. Χαλδαῖοι ("ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλ. βίου," Fuhr. p. 98.), ubi de Nino rege, qui Niniven condiderit, agit, et de Chaldæo, quartodecimo ejus successore, qui Babylonem ædificaverit atque Chaldæorum nominis auctor factus sit.

[11] Huc *fortasse* pertinent quæ de ortu eorum cognationis graduum, quæ πάτρα, φρατρία, φυλή vocabantur, a Dic. dicta Steph. Byz. s. v. πάτρα refert (v. Fuhr. p. 110. sq.).

Et licet non negaverim equidem in Parisino codice ordinem certe rectum servari, tamen ita maluerim verba corrigi, ut majore Stephanianorum scholiorum, sicut fas est, ratione habita, priorem locum alterius libri fragmentum teneat, quippe cui, ex mea quidem sententia (v. infra), ipse operis titulus præmittatur.

Totum locum ita sanandum esse censeo:[12]

Ἔνθεν δή τινα] Σεσόρτωσις, Αἰγύπτου πάσης βασιλεὺς, μετὰ Ὧρον τὸν Ἴσιδος . . . σύμβολον τῆς μαλακίας. φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑλλάδος καὶ πολιτικοῦ βίου Σεσ. μεμεληκέναι καὶ νόμους αὐτὸν θέσθαι λέγει, ὥστε μηδένα καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρῴαν τέχνην· τοῦτο γὰρ ᾤετο ἀρχὴν εἶναι πλεονεξίας· καὶ πρῶτόν φασιν αὐτὸν εὑρηκέναι ἵππων ἄνθρωπον ἐπιβαίνειν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ὧρον ἀναφέρουσιν.

Ἠὲ καὶ οὔ] Ἡ γὰρ ἐκλελοίπασί τινες τῶν πόλεων ἢ μετονομασθεῖσαι ἀγνοοῦνται ὑφ' οὗ τυγχάνουσιν ἐκτισμέναι. τούτου δὲ τὸν χρόνον αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων, καθ' οὓς ἐγένετο Σεσ., ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦτο μόνον φησί· πολὺς γὰρ ἄδην ἐπενήνοθεν αἰών· Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος Ὧρον βασιλέα γεγονέναι Σεσ. λέγει· ὥστε γίγνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Σεσ. βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Νείλου ἔτη δισχίλια φ', ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτη υλς'· ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔτη δισχίλια ἐννακόσια λς'.

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## III.

### CHÆREMON ET LYSIMACHUS DE FUGA HEBRÆORUM.

Apud Josephum c. Ap. i. 32. 34. ed. Hav.

(Cap. 32.) Μετὰ τοῦτον (sc. Manethonem) ἐξετάσαι βούλομαι Χαιρήμονα. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Αἰγυπτιακὴν φά-

[12] Quæ in libro secundo de Sesostride agentes hoc de loco disserimus.

σκων ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν, καὶ προσθεὶς ταὐτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ ὁ Μανεθὼς, Ἀμένωφιν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥαμέσσην, φησὶν, ὅτι καθ' ὕπνους ἡ Ἶσις ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀμενώφει, μεμφομένη αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατέσκαπται. Φριτιφάντην[1] δὲ ἱερογραμματέα φάναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν καθάρῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, παῦσαι τῆς πτοίας αὐτόν. ἐπιλέξαντα δὲ τῶν ἐπισινῶν μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε ἐκβαλεῖν. ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωϋσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώσηπον, καὶ τοῦτον ἱερογραμματέα· Αἰγύπτια δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι, τῷ μὲν Μωϋσῇ Τισιθὲν, τῷ δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ Πετεσήφ. τούτους δ' εἰς Πηλούσιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν μυριάσι τριακονταοκτὼ καταλελειμμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος, ἃς οὐ θέλειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διακομίζειν. οἷς φιλίαν συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον στρατεῦσαι. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὸν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν φυγεῖν, καταλιπόντα τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον· ἣν κρυπτομένην ἔν τισι σπηλαίοις τεκεῖν παῖδα, ὄνομα Ῥαμέσσην[2], ὃν ἀνδρωθέντα ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ὄντας περὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀμένωφιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καταδέξασθαι.

(Sequitur in cap. 33. Chæremonis refutatio; deinde adduntur hæcce:)

Ἐπεισάξω δὲ τούτοις Λυσίμαχον, εἰληφότα μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ψεύσματος, ὑπερπεπαικότα δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπιθανότητα τοῖς πλάσμασι. δι' ὃ καὶ δῆλός ἐστι συντεθεικὼς κατὰ πολλὴν ἀπέχθειαν. λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ Βοκχόρεως, τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως, τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λεπροὺς ὄντας καὶ ψωροὺς, καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματά τινα ἔχοντας, εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταιτεῖν τροφήν. παμπόλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων νοσηλίᾳ περιπεσόντων, ἀκαρπίαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι. Βόκχοριν δὲ, τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, εἰς Ἄμμωνος[3] πέμψαι περὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας τοὺς

[1] Φριτοβάτην vel Φριτοβάντην in aliquot MSS. Hav.

[2] Sic c. cod. Eliensi dedimus; reliqui MSS. et Edd. omnes Μεσσήνην.

[3] Sic. c. MSS. Hav. εἰς Ἄμμωνα.

μαντευσομένους· τὸν Θεὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ καθᾶραι ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγνων καὶ δυσσεβῶν, ἐκβαλόντα αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους, τοὺς δὲ ψωροὺς καὶ λεπροὺς βυθίσαι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ζωῇ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἁγνίσαι καὶ οὕτω τὴν γῆν καρποφορήσειν. τὸν δὲ Βόκχοριν τοὺς χρησμοὺς λαβόντα, τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιβωμίτας προσκαλεσάμενον, κελεῦσαι ἐπιλογὴν ποιησαμένους τῶν ἀκαθάρτων, τοῖς στρατιώταις τούτους παραδοῦναι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον· τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς μολυβδίνους χάρτας ἐνδήσαντας, ἵνα καθῶσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. βυθισθέντων δὲ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ ψωρῶν, τοὺς ἄλλους συναθροισθέντας εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους ἐκτεθῆναι ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ· συναχθέντας δὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ καὶ λύχνους καύσαντας φυλάττειν ἑαυτούς, τήν τ' ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα νηστεύσαντας ἱλάσκεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτούς. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μοϋσῆν τινα συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς, παραβαλλομένους μίαν ὁδὸν τέμνειν, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθωσιν εἰς τόπους οἰκουμένους, παρακελεύσασθαί τε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀνθρώπων τινὶ εὐνοήσειν, μήτε ἄριστα συμβουλεύσειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρονα, θεῶν τε ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς, οἷς ἂν περιτύχωσιν, ἀνατρέπειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δοχθέντα ποιοῦντας διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορεύεσθαι, ἱκανῶς δὲ ὀχληθέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην χώραν, καὶ τούς τε ἀνθρώπους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντας καὶ ἐμπρήσαντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν προσαγορευομένην, κτίσαντας δὲ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα κατοικεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ τοῦτο Ἱερόσυλα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων διαθέσεως ὠνομάσθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας χρόνῳ διαλλάξαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὀνειδίζεσθαι, καὶ τήν τε πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἱεροσολύμους προσαγορεύεσθαι.

# IV.

## SYNCELLI REGUM ÆGYPTIACORUM, QUI DICITUR LATERCULUS.

(Chronogr. p. 91. 96. 101. 103, 104. 108. 123. 147. 151. 155. 160. 169, 170. 177. 184. 191. 210.)

(P. 91.) Τῷ ,ΒΨΟϛ′ (2776) ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου (post diluvium annis 534, quo linguæ confusæ sunt) ὁ πρῶτος οἰκήσας τὴν Μεστραίαν χώραν, ἤτοι Αἴγυπτον, ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν αὐτῇ πρῶτος ἔτη ΛΕ.

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Μεστραὶμ ὁ καὶ Μήνης . . . . . | λε′ | | 35 | (2776) |
| Αἰγύπτου δεύτερος ἐβασίλευσε Κουρώδης . . . . . | ξγ′ | ,βωια′ | 63 | 2811 |
| Αἰγυπτίων τρίτος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρίσταρχος . . . . . | λδ′ | ,βωοδ′ | 34 | 2874 |
| Αἰγυπτίων τέταρτος ἐβασίλευσε Σπάνιος | ϛλ′ | ,βϑη′ | 36 | 2908 |
| Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέων δυοῖν[1], ε′ καὶ ϛ′ ἀνεπιγράφων . . . . . | οβ′ | ,βϑμδ′ | 72 | 2944 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ζ′ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὡσιροπὶς[2] . | κγ′ | ,γιϛ′ | 23 | 3016 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἡ ἐβασίλευσε Σεσόγχωσις . . . . . | μϑ′ | ,γλϑ′ | 49 | 3039 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ϑ′ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενέμης . | κϑ′ | ,γπη′ | 29 | 3088 |
| (p. 96.) Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ι′ Ἄμασις . . . . . | β′ | ,γριζ′ | 2 | 3117 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ια′ Ἀκεσέφθρης . . . . . | ιγ′ | ,γριϑ′ | 13 | 3119 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιβ′ Ἀγχορεὺς . | ϑ′ | ,γρλβ′ | 9 | 3132 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιγ′ Ἀρμιϋσῆς . | δ′ | ,γρμα′ | 4 | 3141 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιδ′ Χαμοΐς . . | ιβ′ | ,γρμε′[3] | 12 | 3145 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιε′ Μιαμοὺς . | ιδ′ | ,γρνζ′ | 14 | 3157 |

[1] Cod. B. β′, ε′ καὶ ϛ′.

[2] Ita cod. B. Goar. et Dindorf. ὁ Σέραπις.

[3] In margine codd. A. B.: Εὐσέβιός φησιν, ὅτι παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἐτύγχανεν ις′ δυναστεία, καθ' ἣν ἐβασίλευσαν Θηβαῖοι ἔτη ρξ′, ἔν τισι δὲ ἀντιγράφοις ρϟ′, Νίνου βασιλεύοντος Ἀσσυρίου (Bredovius em. Ἀσσυρίας).

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ις' Ἀμεσῆσις .. | ξε' | ,γροα' | 65 | 3171 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιζ' Οὔσης . . | ν' | ,γσλς' | 50 | 3236 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ιη' Ῥαμέσης . | κϑ' | ,γσπς' | 29 | 3286 |
| (p. 101.) Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσεν ιϑ' Ῥαμεσομενὴς (Ῥαμεσσομενὴς cod. A.) . | ιε' | ,γτιε' | 15 | 3315 |
| Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε κ' Οὐσιμάρη (Οὐσιμάρης cod. A.) . . . . . | λα' | ,γτλ' | 31 | 3330 |
| Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε κα' Ῥαμεσσήσεως | κγ' | ,γτξα' | 23 | 3361 |
| Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε κβ' Ῥαμεσσαμένω . . . . . | ιϑ' | ,γτπδ' | 19 | 3384 |
| Οὗτος πρῶτος Φαραὼ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ μνημονεύεται. ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀβραὰμ κατῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. | | | | |
| Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε κγ' Ῥαμεσσῆ Ἰουβασσῆ[4]. . . . . | λϑ' | ,γυγ' | 39 | 3403 |
| (p. 103.) Αἰγυπτίων κϑ' ἐβασίλευσε Ῥαμεσσῆ Οὐάφρον . . . . . | κϑ' | ,γυμβ' | 29 | 3442 |
| Αἰγυπτίων κε' ἐβασίλευσε Κόγχαρις . | ε' | ,γυοα' | 5 | 3471 |
| Τούτῳ τῷ ε' ἔτει, τοῦ κε' βασιλεύσαντος Κογχάρεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῆς ις' δυναστείας τοῦ Κυνικοῦ λεγομένου κύκλου παρὰ τῷ Μανεθῷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως καὶ οἰκιστοῦ Μεστραΐμ . τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πληροῦνται ἔτη ψ', βασιλέων κε', τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ βψος' ἔτους, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἡ διασπορὰ γέγονεν, ἐν τῷ λδ' ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀρφαξὰδ, ε' δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαλέκ. καὶ διεδέξαντο Ταν̃ιται βασιλεῖς δ', οἳ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας ἔτη σνδ', ὡς ἐξῆς ἐστοιχείωται. | | | | |
| (p. 104.) Αἰγυπτίων κς' ἐβασίλευσε Σιλίτης . . . . . | ιϑ' | ,γυοζ' | 19 | 3477 |
| πρῶτος τῶν ϛ τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας παρὰ Μανεθῷ. | | | | |
| (p. 108.) Αἰγυπτίων κζ' ἐβασίλευσε Βαίων . . . . . | μδ' | ,γυϛς' | 44 | 3496 |
| Αἰγυπτίων κη' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀπαχνὰς . | λς' | ,γφμ' | 36 | 3540 |
| Αἰγυπτίων κϑ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄφωφις . | ξα' | ,γφος' | 61 | 3576 |
| Τοῦτον λέγουσί τινες πρῶτον κληθῆναι | | | | |

[4] Sic Scaliger (p. 20.) cod. A. secutus, qui lectionem præbet *ῥαμεσσῆ ἰοὐβασση* sine accentu; cod. B. sic: *ῥαμεσσηΐ ουβαση.*

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Φαραὼ, καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον δοῦλον. Οὗτος κατέστησε τὸν Ἰωσὴφ κύριον Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τῷ ιζ' ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνείρων διασάφησιν ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς θείας συνέσεως αὐτοῦ διὰ πείρας γέγονεν. ἡ δὲ θεία γραφὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου Φαραὼ καλεῖ. | | | | |
| (p. 123.) Αἰγυπτίων λ' ἐβασίλευσε Σέθως . . . . . | ν' | ,ϡχλζ' | 50 | 3637 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λα' ἐβασίλευσε Κήρτως . . κατὰ Ἰώσηππον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Μανεθῶ ἔτη μδ'. | κϑ' | ,ϡχπζ' | 29 | 3687 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λβ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσὴθ . . Οὗτος προσέθηκε τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς ε' ἐπαγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς φασιν, ἐχρημάτισεν τξε' ἡμερῶν ὁ Αἰγυπτιακὸς ἐνιαυτὸς τξ' μόνον ἡμερῶν πρὸ τούτου μετρούμενος. ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Μόσχος θεοποιηθεὶς Ἆπις ἐκλήθη. | κ' | ,ϡψις' | 20 | 3716 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λγ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄμωσις ὁ καὶ Τέθμωσις . . . . . | κς' | ,ϡψλς' | 26 | 3736 |
| (p. 147.) Αἰγυπτίων λδ' ἐβασίλευσε Χεβρών. . . . . | ιγ' | ,ϡψξβ'[5] | 13 | 3762 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λε' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμεμφὶς (Ἀμεμφὴς cod. A.) . . . . . | ιε' | ,ϡψοε' | 15 | 3775 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λς' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενσῆς . | ια' | ,ϡψϛ' | 11 | 3790 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λζ' ἐβασίλευσε Μισφραγμούθωσις . . . . . | ις' | ,ϡωα' | 16 | 3801 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λη' ἐβασίλευσε Μισφρὴς . | κγ' | ,ϡωιζ'[6] | 23 | 3817 |
| Αἰγυπτίων λϑ' ἐβασίλευσε Τούθμωσις. | λϑ' | ,ϡωμ' | 39 | 3840 |
| (p. 151.) Αἰγύπτου μ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενῶφθις . . . . . Οὗτος ὁ Ἀμενῶφθίς ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος. ὃν λίθον χρόνοις ὕστερον Καμβύσης ὁ Περσῶν τέμνει νομίζων εἶναι γοητείαν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς Πολύαινος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορεῖ. | λδ' | ,ϡωοϑ' | 34 | 3879 |

[5] Emendavit jam Goar. pro ,ϡψξ', quod præbent codd.

[6] Emendavit jam Goar. pro ,ϡωζ', quod præbent codd.

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Περὶ Αἰθιόπων πόθεν ἦσαν καὶ ποῦ ὤκησαν.] Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὤκησαν. | | | | |
| Αἰγυπτίων μα' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὧρος . . | μη' | ,γϑιγ' | 48 | 3913 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μβ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀχενχερὴς . . . . . | κε' | ,γϑξα' | 25 | 3961 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μγ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθωρὶς . | κϑ' | ,γϑπς' | 29 | 3986 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μδ' ἐβασίλευσε Χενχερὴς . | κς' | ,διε' | 26 | 4015 |
| (p. 153.) Αἰγυπτίων με' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀχερρὴς . . . . . | η' ἢ καὶ λ' | ,δμα'[7] | 8 30 | 4041 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μς' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρμαῖος, ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς . . . . . | ϑ' | ,δμϑ'[8] | 9 | 4049 |
| Ἀρμαῖος, ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς, φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥαμεσσῆν τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἐκπίπτει τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, εἰς Ἑλλάδα τε ἀφικνεῖται. Ῥαμεσσῆς δὲ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος καλούμενος, ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ξή, μετονομάσας τὴν χώραν Αἴγυπτον τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, ἥτις πρότερον Μεστραία, παρ' Ἕλλησι δὲ Ἀερία ἐλέγετο. Δαναὸς δὲ, ὁ καὶ Ἀρμαῖος, κρατήσας τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἐκβαλὼν Σθένελον τὸν Κροτωποῦ Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν Δαναΐδαι καλούμενοι ἐπ' Εὐρυσθέα τοῦ Σθενέλου τοῦ Περσέως. μεθ' οὓς οἱ Πελοπίδαι ἀπὸ Πέλοπος παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἀτρεύς. | | | | |
| (p. 160.) Αἰγυπτίων μζ' ἐβασίλευσε Ῥαμεσσῆς, ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος . . . . | ξη' | ,δνη'[9] | 68 | 4058 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μη' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμένωφις. | η' | ,δρκς' | 8 | 4126 |
| Αἰγυπτίων μϑ' ἐβασίλευσε Θούωρις . | ιζ' | ,δρλδ' | 17 | 4134 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ν' ἐβασίλευσε Νεχεψὼς . . | ιϑ' | ,δρνα' | 19 | 4151 |
| Αἰγυπτίων να' ἐβασίλευσε Ψαμουθὶς. | ιγ' | ,δρο' | 13 | 4170 |
| Αἰγυπτίων νβ' ἐβασίλευσε . . . . | δ' | ,δρπγ' | 4 | 4183 |

[7] Item pro ,δυμα'.

[8] Item pro ,δυμϑ'.

[9] Emendavit Goar. pro ,δνη', quem numerum ex superiore versu transtulit cod. B. Dind. additis ad hos 4058 annos octo illis, qui Amenophi adscribuntur, corr. ,δξς'.

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Αἰγυπτίων νγ' ἐβασίλευσε Κήρτως . . | κ'[10] | ,δρπζ' | 20 | 4187 |
| Αἰγυπτίων νδ' ἐβασίλευσε Ῥάμψις . . | με' | ,δσζ' | 45 | 4207 |
| Αἰγυπτίων νε' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενσὴς ὁ . καὶ Ἀμμενέμης . . . . . | κς' | ,δσνβ' | 26 | 4252 |
| (p. 169.) Αἰγυπτίων νς' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀχυρὰς . . . . . | ιδ' | ,δσοη' | 14 | 4278 |
| Αἰγυπτίων νζ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενδὴς . | κζ' | ,δσϟβ' | 27 | 4292 |
| Αἰγυπτίων νη' ἐβασίλευσε Θούωρις[11] . | ν' | ,δτιϡ' | 50 | 4319 |
| Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Πόλυβος Ἀλκάνδρας[12] ἀνὴρ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ φερόμενος, παρ' ᾧ φησι τὸν Μενέλαον σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Τροίας κατῆχθαι πλανώμενον. | | | | ... |
| Αἰγυπτίων νϡ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄθωθις, ὁ καὶ Φουσανὸς, ἐφ' οὗ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐγένοντο μηδέπω γεγονότες ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸ τούτου . . . . . | κη' | ,δτξϡ' | 28 | 4369 |
| (p. 170.) Αἰγυπτίων ξ' ἐβασίλευσε Κενκένης . . . . . | λϡ' | ,δτϟζ' | 39 | 4397 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξα' ἐβασίλευσεν Οὐέννεφις . . . . . | μβ'[13] | ,δυλς' | 42 | 4436 |
| (p. 177.) Αἰγυπτίων ξβ' ἐβασίλευσε Σουσακείμ . . . . . | λδ' | ,δνοη' | 34 | 4478 |
| Σουσακεὶμ Λίβυας καὶ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Τρωγλοδύτας παρέλαβε πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. | | | | |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξγ' ἐβασίλευσε Ψούενος . | κε' | ,δφιβ' | 25 | 4512 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξδ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμμενῶφις . | ϡ' | ,δφλζ' | 9 | 4537 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξε' ἐβασίλευσε Νεφεχέρης . | ς' | ,δφμς' | 6 | 4546 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξς' ἐβασίλευσε Σαΐτης . . | ιε' | ,δφνβ' | 15 | 4552 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξζ' ἐβασίλευσε Ψινάχης . | ϡ' | ,δφξζ' | 9 | 4567 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ξη' ἐβασίλευσε Πετουβάσης . . . . . | μδ' | ,δφος' | 44 | 4576 |
| Αἰγύπτίων ξϡ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀσώρθων . | ϡ' | ,δχκ' | 9 | 4620 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ο' ἐβασίλευσε Ψάμμος . . | ι' | ,δχκϡ' | 10 | 4629 |
| Αἰγυπτίων οα' ἐβασίλευσε Κόγχαρις . | κα' | ,δχλϡ' | 21 | 4639 |
| (p. 184.) Αἰγυπτίων οβ' ἐβασίλευσε Ὀσόρθων . . . . . | ιε' | ,δχξ' | 15 | 4660 |
| Αἰγυπτίων ογ' ἐβασίλευσε Τακαλῶφις | ιγ' | ,δχοε' | 13 | 4675 |

[10] Emend. recte Goar. ex ις'.
[11] Θούωρης codd. A. B.
[12] Ἄλκανδρος codd. A. B.
[13] λϵ' cod. B.

| Αἰγύπτου τῆς πάλαι Μεστραίας βασιλέων ἔτη. | ἔτη | τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος | Anni Dominationis. | Anno Mundi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Αἰγυπτίων οδ' ἐβασίλευσε Βόκχωρις[14]. | μδ'[15] | ,δχπη' | 44 | 4688 |
| Βόκχωρις[16] Αἰγυπτίοις ἐνομοθέτει, ἐφ' οὗ λόγος ἀρνίον φθέγξασθαι. | | | | |
| Αἰγυπτίων οε' ἐβασίλευσε Σαβάκων . | ιβ' | ,δψλβ' | 12 | 4732 |
| Αἰθίοψ. Οὗτος τὸν Βόκχωριν αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν ζῶντα ἔκαυσεν. ... | | | | |
| Αἰγυπτίων ος' ἐβασίλευσε Σεβήχων . | ιβ' | ,δψμδ'[17] | 12 | 4744 |
| (p. 191.) Αἰγυπτίων οζ' ἐβασίλευσε Ταράκης . . . . . | κ' | ,δψνς' | 20 | 4756 |
| Αἰγυπτίων οη' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμαῆς . . | λη' | ,δψος' | 38 | 4776 |
| Αἰγυπτίων οϑ' ἐβασίλευσε Στεφινάθης . . . . . | κζ' | ,δωιδ' | 27 | 4814 |
| Αἰγυπτίων π' ἐβασίλευσε Νεχεψὼς . . | ιγ' | ,δωμα' | 13 | 4841 |
| (p. 210.) Αἰγυπτίων πα' ἐβασίλευσε Νεχαὼ . . . . . | η' | ,δωνδ' | 8 | 4854 |
| Αἰγυπτίων πβ' ἐβασίλευσε Ψαμμήτιχος[18] . . . . . | ιδ' | ,δωξβ' | 14 | 4862 |
| Αἰγυπτίων πγ' ἐβασίλευσε Νεχαὼ β' Φαραὼ . . . . . | ϑ' | ,δωος' | 9 | 4876 |
| Αἰγυπτίων πδ' ἐβασίλευσε Ψαμουθὶς ἕτερος ὁ καὶ Ψαμμήτιχος[19] . . | ιζ' | ,δωπε' | 17 | 4885 |
| Αἰγυπτίων πε' ἐβασίλευσεν Οὔαφρις[20]. | λδ' | ,δϑβ' | 34 | 4902 |
| Αἰγυπτίων πς' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄμωσις[21]. | ν' | ,δϑλς' | 50 | 4936 |

Ἕως τοῦ ,δϑπς' χρόνου ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεία διαρκέσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ ,βψος' κοσμικοῦ ἔτους ἐν δυναστείαις ι', βασιλεῦσι δὲ πς', ἔτεσι ,βσια', ὑπὸ Καμβύσου καθῃρέθη ἐπὶ τοῦ πς' βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Μεστραίας ἤτοι Αἰγύπτου χώρας Ἀμώσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῶν Μεστραΐμ τοῦ καὶ Μηνέως.

[14] βόκχορης cod. B.
[15] μ' cod. B.
[16] βόκχωρης cod. B.
[17] ,δψνς' codd.
[18] ψαμίτειχος cod. B.
[19] Ψαμιτικός cod. B.
[20] οὔαφρης codd. A. B.
[21] Ἄμασις codd.; at recurrit Ἀμώσεως infra.

# C.

# ÆGYPTIACA VARIA.

## I.

### STRABONIS LOCUS DE LACU MŒRIDIS ET DE LABYRINTHO, IN DESCRIPTIONE NOMI ARSINOITIS.

(Lib. xvii. 1.)

Ἡ δ' οὖν Μοίριδος λίμνη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος ἱκανή ἐστι κατά τε τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν πλημμυρίδα φέρειν καὶ μὴ ὑπερπολάζειν εἰς τὰ οἰκούμενα καὶ πεφυτευμένα, εἶτα ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει, τὸ πλεονάζον ἀποδοῦσα τῇ αὐτῇ διώρυγι κατὰ θάτερον τῶν στομάτων, ἔχειν ὑπολειπόμενον τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐποχετείας, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ διῶρυξ. Ταῦτα μὲν φυσικά· ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀμφοτέροις τῆς διώρυγος κλεῖθρα, οἷς ταμιεύουσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες τό τε εἰσρέον ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐκρέον.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παρασκευὴ πάρισον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐστὶν ἔργον, καὶ ὁ παρακείμενος τάφος τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος βασιλέως τὸν λαβύρινθον. Ἔστι δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον εἴσπλουν τὸν εἰς διώρυγα προελθόντι ὅσον τριάκοντα ἢ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἐπίπεδόν τι τραπεζῶδες χωρίον, ἔχον κώμην τε καὶ βασίλειον μέγα ἐκ πολλῶν βασιλειῶν[1], ὅσοι πρότερον ἦσαν νομοί· τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αὐλαὶ περίστυλοι συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις, ἐφ' ἑνὸς στίχου πᾶσαι καὶ ἐφ' ἑνὸς τοίχου, ὡς ἂν τείχους μακροῦ, προκειμένας ἔχοντος

[1] v. *βασιλέων*. Correxerunt jam Galli.

τὰς αὐλάς·[2] αἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὶ καταντικρὺ τοῦ τείχους εἰσί· πρόκεινται δὲ τῶν εἰσόδων κρυπταί τινες μακραὶ καὶ πολλαί, δι' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσαι σκολιὰς τὰς ὁδούς, ὥστε χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος μηδενὶ τῶν ξένων εἶναι δυνατὴν τὴν εἰς ἑκάστην αὐλὴν πάροδόν τε καὶ ἔξοδον. Τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι αἱ στέγαι τῶν οἴκων ἑκάστου μονόλιθοι· καὶ τῶν κρυπτῶν τὰ πλάτη μονολίθοις ὡσαύτως ἐστέγασται πλαξὶν, ὑπερβαλλούσαις τὸ μέγεθος, ξύλων οὐδαμοῦ καταμεμιγμένων οὐδ' ἄλλης ὕλης μηδεμιᾶς· ἀναβάντα τε ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος, οὐ μεγάλῳ ὕψει, ἅτε μονοστέγῳ, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν πεδίον λίθινον ἐκ τηλικούτων λίθων, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς ἐκπίπτοντα, ἐξῆς ὁρᾶν κειμένας ὑπὸ μονολίθων κιόνων ὑπηρεισμένας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐλαττόνων τῷ μεγέθει λίθων σύγκεινται. Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ταύτης πλέον ἢ στάδιον ἐπεχούσης[3] ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ πυραμὶς τετράγωνος, ἑκάστην τετράπλεθρόν πως ἔχουσα τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον. ΜΑΙΝΔΗΣ[4] δ' ὄνομα ὁ ταφείς. Πεποιῆσθαι δέ φασι τὰς αὐλὰς τοσαύτας, ὅτι τοὺς νομοὺς ἔθος ἦν ἐκεῖσε συνέρχεσθαι πάντας ἀριστίνδην μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἱερῶν καὶ ἱερείων, θυσίας τε καὶ δικαιοδοσίας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων χάριν·[5] κατήγετο δὲ τῶν νομῶν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν αὐλὴν αὐτῷ.

[2] v. ὡς ἂν τείχους μικροῦ προκειμένας ἔχοντες τὰς αὐλάς. Correxerunt iidem doctissimi viri.

[3] v. ἀπεχούσης. Correxerunt Coraius et Galli: qui in Germania vel ultimi ediderunt et hic et in ceteris locis rectum non viderunt.

[4] Libri Ἰμάνδης. Ἰσμάνδης correxerunt viri illi ex nobilissimo loco de Memnone et de Abydo, qui mox sequitur, et quem in primo libro dedimus. Quod et nobis tum verum esse videbatur: a Lepsio tamen edocti *Amenemis* nomen in pyramide esse inventum, de qua Strabo loquitur, lectionem Epitomes (quæ in loco de Memnone pariter Μαΐνδης præbet) recipiendam esse duximus. Vide nos plura de hoc loco disserentes in iis quæ ad secundum librum præfati sumus.

[5] Totius hujus loci restitutio debetur Tyrwhittio. Vulgo ita et legebatur et legitur: ἔθος ἦν ἐκεῖσε συνέρχεσθαι πάντας· ἄριστον δ' ἦν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἱερῶν καὶ ἱερείων, θυσίας τε καὶ θεοδοσίας καὶ δικαιοδοσίας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων χάριν: ubi verba καὶ θεοδοσίας nil esse nisi glossam ex prava lectione verborum, quæ proxime sequuntur, καὶ δικαιοδοσίας, ortam unusquisque viderit.

## II.

### PLINII SECUNDI ÆGYPTIACA EX LIBRIS HISTORIÆ NATURALIS EXCERPTA.

1. H. N. lib. xxxvi. cap. viii—xiii. § 64—89. ed. Sillig.

(Cf. Jani coll. c. cod. Bambergensi vol. v. p. 446. seqq.)

(64.) Trabes ex eo (syenite) fecere reges quodam certamine, *obeliscos* vocantes, Solis numini sacratos. Radiorum ejus argumentum in effigie est, et ita significatur nomine Ægyptio. Primus omnium id instituit MESPHRES[1], qui regnabat in Solis urbe, somnio jussus; hoc ipsum inscriptum in eo; etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, Ægyptiæ sunt literæ. (65.) Postea et alii excidere reges. Statuit eos in supra dicta urbe SESOTHES[2], quatuor numero, quadragenûm octonûm cubitorum longitudine: RHAMESIS autem[3], quo regnante Ilium captum est CXXXX[4] cubitorum. Idem digressus inde, ubi fuit MNEVIDIS regia, posuit alium longitudine quidem CXX cubitorum, sed prodigiosa crassitudine, undenis per latera cubitis.[5] Opus id fecisse dicunt CXX M. hominum. (66.) Ipse rex cum subrecturus esset, vereretur que, ne machinæ ponderi non sufficerent, quo maturius periculum curæ artificum denuntiaret, filium suum adalligavit cacumini, ut salus ejus apud molientes prodesset et lapidi. Hac admiratione operis effectum est, ut, cum oppidum id

[1] Ita cum Sill. Mespheres B., at idem infra Mesphres, quo loco Vulg. Mestres.

[2] Sothis Vulg.

[3] Rhamsesis autem B.; Ramises autem Mon.; Rhamses autem is Vulg.

[4] quadraginta Vulg. Mox pro Mnevidis inneuuidis B.

[5] undenis pedibus per latera cubitis quatuor B.; correxi cum Jano.

expugnaret Cambyses rex, ventumque esset incendiis ad crepidines obelisci, exstingui juberet, molis reverentia, qui nullam habuerat urbis. (67.) Sunt et alii duo, unus a ZMANTE[6] positus, alter a PHIO[7] sine notis, quadragenûm octonûm cubitorum. Alexandriæ statuit unum Ptolemæus Philadelphus octoginta cubitorum. Exciderat eum NECTNEBIS[8] rex purum, majusque opus fuit in devehendo statuendove multo quam in excidendo. A Satyro architecto aliqui devectum tradunt rati, Callixenus a Phœnice fossa, perducto usque ad jacentem obeliscum Nilo[9], (68.) navesque duas in latitudinem patulas, pedalibus ex eodem lapide ad rationem geminati per duplicem mensuram ponderis oneratas, ita ut subirent obeliscum pendentem extremitatibus suis in ripis utrinque: postea egestis laterculis allevatas naves excepisse onus: statutum autem in sex talis e monte eodem, et artificem donatum talentis quinquaginta. Hic fuit in Arsinoëo positus a rege supra dicto, munus amoris in conjuge eademque sorore Arsinoë. (69.) Inde eum navalibus incommodum Maximus quidam præfectus Ægypti transtulit in forum, reciso cacumine, dum voluit fastigium addere auratum, quod postea omisit. Et aliæ duæ sunt Alexandriæ ad portum in Cæsaris templo, quas excidit MESPHRES rex quadragenûm binûm cubitorum. Super omnia accessit difficultas mari Romam devehendi, structis ad modum navibus.[10] (70.) Divus Augustus eam, quæ priorem advexerat, miraculi gratia Puteolis[11] navalibus dicaverat: sed incendio consumpta ea est. D. Claudius aliquot per annos asservatam eam, qua C. Cæsar impor-

[6] vel ZMANDE, i. e. Ismande. Zmarre codd. et Vulg.
[7] alter Raphio Vulg.
[8] ceciderat eum Necthebis B. Nectebis Vulg.
[9] e Nilo B.
[10] Corr. c. Pintiano; codd. spectatis admodum navibus.
[11] Puteolis perpetuis navalibus B. et alii codd.; *perpetuis*, glossema ex *Puteolis* ortum, omisi. Vestigium originis servavit cod. B.

taverat, omnibus quæ unquam in mari visa sunt mirabiliorem [12], turribus Puteolano [13] ex pulvere exædificatis, perductam Ostiam portus gratia mersit. Alia ex hoc cura navium, quæ Tiberi subveherent. Quo experimento patuit non minus aquarum huic amni esse quam Nilo. (71.) Is autem obeliscus, quem D. Augustus in Circo Magno statuit, excisus est a rege PSAMETICHO NEPHERPHREO [14], quo regnante Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit, LXXXV pedum et dodrantis, præter basim ejusdem lapidis: is vero, quem in Campo Martio, novem pedibus minor, a SESOTHIDE.[15] Inscripti ambo rerum naturæ interpretationem Ægyptiorum philosophia continent. . . . . .

(Cap. xi. 74.) Tertius est Romæ in Vaticano Caii et Neronis principum Circo, ex omnibus unus [omnino] fractus est in molitione [16]: quem fecerat SESOSIDIS [17] filius MENOPHTHEVS.[18] Ejusdem remanet et alius centum cubitorum, quem post cæcitatem visu reddito ex oraculo Soli sacravit.

(Cap. xii. 75.) Dicantur obiter et *pyramides* in eadem Ægypto, regum pecuniæ [19] otiosa ac stulta osten-

[12] mirabiliores in ipsa turribus B.

[13] Puteolis B.

[14] B. SPEMETNEPSERPHREO: Vulg. *Semenpserteo*. Unicum at certum Psammetichi prænominis regii apud classicos scriptores exemplum: hausit Plinius, ut omnia, quæ hic legimus, e fontibus vere Ægyptiis, ut est Hermapionis opus. De Psammeticho Magno hic agi dubium non est. Plinius in hoc tantum erravit, quod Psammetichi opus obeliscum in Circo positum credidit, alterum in Campo Martio Sesothidis: cujus revera est ille (nunc Flaminius), Psammetichi vero obeliscus in Campo Martio inventus est (nunc in Monte Citorio collocatus).

[15] *assesothide* B. a Sothide Vulg.

[16] in immolatione B.

[17] Sesodis B.

[18] Nencoreus B., quæ scriptura ex Græco MENOΦΘEYΣ nata leviter est corrupta. Nuncoreus Vulg. Apud Theonem idem rex dicitur Μενοφθῆς (v. Μενοφρῆς) in fragmento nobilissimo, de quo in libro quarto agemus.

[19] pecunia B.

tatio, quippe quum faciendi eas causa a plerisque tradatur, ne pecuniam successoribus aut æmulis insidiantibus præberent, aut ne plebs esset otiosa. Multa circa hoc vanitas hominum illorum fuit, vestigiaque complurium inchoatarum exstant. *Una* est in *Arsinoite* nomo non procul labyrintho, de quo et ipso dicemus; (76.) *duæ* in *Memphite:* totidem [20] ubi fuit MŒRIDIS lacus, hoc est, fossa grandis, sed Ægyptiis inter mira ac memoranda narrata. Harum cacumina L ulnas [21] extra aquam eminere dicuntur. Reliquæ tres, quæ orbem terrarum implevere fama, sane conspicuæ undique adnavigantibus, sitæ sunt in parte Africæ monte saxeo sterilique, inter Memphim oppidum et quod appellari diximus Delta, a Nilo minus quatuor [22] milia passuum, a Memphi [23] VIIMD, vico apposito, quem vocant Busirim: in eo sunt assueti scandere illas.

(77.) Ante has est *sphinx*, vel magis narranda, de qua siluere, numen adcolentium. HARMAIN [24] regem putant in ea conditum, et volunt invectam videri. Est autem saxo naturali elaborata. Rubrica facies monstri colitur. Capitis per frontem ambitus centum duos pedes colligit, longitudo pedum CCXLIII est, altitudo a ventre ad summam aspidem [25] in capite LXI,S.[26]

[20] Ita totum huncce locum esse constituendum censuit jam Jomard (du Labyr. p. 504.). Codd. omnes sic: Una est in Arsinoïte nomo, duæ in Memphite, non procul labyrintho, de quo et ipso dicemus. (76.) Totidem cet.

[21] L *ulnas* ex Herod. cum Jano supplevi.

[22] illi B., i. e. IIII.

[23] ad Memphin B. VIIMD sunt 7500 passus, i. e. septem milliaria cum dimidio.

[24] c. B. et Regg. pro ARMAIN, quod præbent Monac. all. AMASIS Vulg. Plinius hic ex more suo regis *prænomen* expressit, quo ab aliis ejusdem nominis regibus distingueretur. Harmais Ægyptiace est Har-mai, i. e. *ab Horo dilectus.*

[25] i. e. *βασιλίσκον*, uræum, quem in capite regali more gestat. Summum aspidem Vulg. Cod. Voss. *aspide*, apicem B., quod probat Janus.

[26] i. e. LXI cum semisse.

(78.) Pyramis amplissima ex Arabicis lapicidinis constat. CCCLX milia hominum annis XX eam construxisse produntur. Tres vero factæ annis LXXVIII[27] et mensibus IV. Qui de illis scripserint, sunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butoridas, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion. (79.) Inter omnes eos non constat, a quo factæ sint, justissimo casu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus. Aliqui ex iis prodiderunt in raphanos et allium et cæpas MD[28] talenta erogata. Amplissima septem jugera obtinet soli, quatuor angulorum *paribus intervallis* singulorum per octingentos octoginta tres pedes laterum; altitudo a cacumine ad solum pedes DCCXXV colligit: ambitus cacuminis pedes XVI,S.[29] (80.) Alterius intervalla singula per quatuor angulos pedes DCCLVII,S comprehendunt. Tertia minor quidem prædictis, sed multo spectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus, assurgit CCCLXIII pedibus inter angulos. Vestigia in terra ædificationum[30] nulla exstant. Arena late pura circum, lentis similitudine, qualis in majore parte Africæ. Quæstionum summa est, quanam ratione in tantam altitudinem subvecta[31] sint cæmenta. (81.) Alii enim nitro ac sale adaggeratis cum crescente opere, et peracto fluminis irrigatione dilutis, alii lateribus e luto factis exstructos pontes, peracto opere lateribus[32] in privatas domos distributis. Nilum enim non putant rigare potuisse multo humiliorem. In pyramide maxima est intus puteus octoginta sex cubitorum, flumen illo admissum arbitrantur.

[27] LXXIX (ras. ante IX) B.

[28] Vulg. sexcenta. Mox pro septem *octo*.

[29] i. e. pedes sedecim cum semisse : et sic mox.

[30] c. B. Vestigia interædificationum. Correxit Janus, cujus sollertia in optimo illo codice tractando summa laude digna est. Vulg. Vest. æd.

[31] subjecta B.

[32] vc. *lateribus* Janus omittit, utpote a librario ex iis, quæ præcedunt, repetitum.

(82.) Mensuram altitudinis earum omniumque[33] similium deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius, umbram metiendo, qua hora par esse corpori solet. Hæc sunt pyramidum miracula, postremumque illud, ne quis regum opes miretur, minimam ex iis, sed laudatissimam a *Rhodopide*[34] meretricula factam. Æsopi fabularum philosophi conserva quondam et contubernalis hæc fuit, majore miraculo tantas opes meretricio esse conquisitas quæstu. . . .

(Cap. xiii.) Dicamus et *labyrinthos*, vel portentosissimum humani impendii opus, sed non, ut existimari potest, falsum. Durat etiamnum in Ægypto, *Heracleopolite*[35] *nomo* qui primus factus est ante annos, ut tradunt, MMMDC[36] a Petesuchi rege SEVEKNEFROE[37], quanquam Herodotus totum opus XII regum dicit esse novissimique Psammetichi. Causam faciendi varie interpretantur. Demoteles regiam MENEVIDIS[38] fuisse, Lyceas sepulchrum MŒRIDIS, plures Soli sacrum id exstructum, quod maxime creditur. Hinc utique sumsisse Dædalum exemplar ejus labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centesimam tantum ejus partem imitatum, quæ itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet, non ut in pavimentis puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus, brevi lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem, sed crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursus, redeundumque in errores eosdem. Secundus hic fuit ab Ægyptio[39] labyrinthus, tertius in Lemno,

[33] omnemque B.

[34] Rhodopede B. Rhodope Vulg.

[35] *Heracleopolites:* dicere debebat *Arsinoite.* Lapsus Pliniani originem explicant fortasse quæ de Heracleopolitarum in destruendo labyrintho industria legerat, quæque mox adfert.

[36] Vulg. quater mille sexcentos.

[37] Libri: Petesuchi (vulg. Petesucco) rege, SIVE TITHOE.

[38] Moteridis B. Motherudis Vulg. *Mœridis* ne corrigas, v. sequentia.

[39] Ægypto B.

quartus in Italia. Omnes lapide polito fornicibus tecti, Ægyptius (quod miror equidem) introitu lapide[40] e Pario columnisque, reliquis[41] e syenite, molibus compositis, quas dissolvere ne sæcula quidem possent, adjuvantibus Heracleopolitis, qui id opus invisum mire infestavere.[42] Positionem operis ejus singulasque partes enarrare non est, quum sit in regiones divisum atque in præfecturas, quas vocant nomos XXVII[43] nominibus earum totidem vastis molibus[44] attributis: præterea templa omnium Ægypti deorum contineat superque millies XL ædiculas[45] incluserit, pyramidem complectens quadragenarum ulnarum, senas radice aruras obtinentem.[46] Fessi jam eundo perveniunt ad viarum illum inexplicabilem errorem. Quin et cœnacula clivis excelsa, porticus quoque descenduntur nonagenis gradibus omnes: intus columnæ[47] de porphyrite lapide, Deorum simulacra, regum statuæ, monstrificæ effigies. Quarundam autem domuum[48] talis est situs, ut adaperientibus fores tonitruum intus terribile exsistat. Majore autem in parte transitus est per tenebras: aliæque rursus extra murum labyrinthi ædificiorum moles, pteron appellant. Inde aliæ perfossis cuniculis subterraneæ domus. Refecit unus omnino pauca ibi CHÆREMON[49], spado NECTNEBIS, regis Δ′ ante Alexandrum

[40] lapidis B.

[41] B. reliqua.

[42] B. quod opus invisum mire spectavere. Expressimus vulgatam.

[43] XXL B., unde Janus XLV. Vulg. sedecim; nos ex Strabone numerum correximus.

[44] nominibus B. ex prioribus repetitum.

[45] nemeses XL ædiculis B. Nemeses quindecim ædiculis Vulg.

[46] Hæc ita in libris leguntur: B. pyramides complures quadringenarum binarum senas radice aruras obtinentes. Vulg. idem, at pro quadringenarum binarum, quadragenarum ulnarum præbet.

[47] columna B.

[48] domum B, qui mox tonitrum.

[49] Circummon Vulg.

Magnum.[50] Is[51] quoque traditur fulsisse trabibus spinæ[52] oleo mixtæ, dum fornices quadrati lapidis assurgerent.

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2. H. N. lib. v. cap. ix. § 49.

Summa pars contermina Æthiopiæ *Thebais* vocatur. Dividitur in præfecturas oppidorum, quas Nomos vocant (11):

Ombiten, Apollopoliten, Hermonthiten, Thiniten, Phaturiten, Coptiten, Tentyriten, Diospoliten, Antæopoliten, Aphroditopoliten, Lycopoliten.

Quæ juxta *Pelusium* est regio nomos habet (4):

Pharbæthiten, Bubastiten, Sethroïten, Taniten.

Reliqua[53] autem (25) Arabicum, Hammoniacum tendentem ad Hammonis Jovis oraculum, Oxyrynchiten, Leontopoliten, Atharrhabiten, Cynopoliten, Hermopoliten, Xoïten, Mendesium, Sebennyten, Cabasiten, Latopoliten, Heliopoliten, Prosopiten, Panopoliten, Busiriten, Onuphiten, Saïten, Ptenethu, Phthemphu, Naucratiten, Meteliten, Gynæcopoliten, Menelaïten, Alexandriæ regione: item Libyæ Mareotis.

Heracleopolites est in insula Nili, longa passuum quinquaginta M., in qua et oppidum Herculis appellatum. Arsinoitæ duo sunt: hi et Memphites usque ad summum Delta perveniunt. Cui sunt contermini ex Africa duo Oasitæ. Quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant et substituunt alios nomos, ut Heroopoliten,

[50] Necthebis regis D ante Alexandrum Magnum B. Nectabis regis ante Alexandrum Magnum annis quingentis Vulg. Sermo est de Nectanebo I., quarto ante Alexandrum Magnum rege. Ex Δ', quod a Græco scriptore assumserat Plinius, male intellecto et in D mutato, nata est absurdissima hujus loci depravatio.

[51] Id B.

[52] i. e. *ἀκάνθου* Græcorum.

[53] sc. Deltæ. Legebatur *Reliqui*.

Crocodilopoliten. Inter Arsinoïtem autem ac Memphiten lacus fuit circuitu CCL M. passuum, aut, ut Mucianus tradit, CCCCL M., et altitudinis quinquaginta passuum, manu factus, a rege, qui fecerat, MŒRIDIS appellatus. Inde LXXIII[54] M. passuum abest Memphis, quondam arx Ægypti regum: unde ad Hammonis oraculum XII dierum iter est. Ad scissuram autem Nili, quod appellavimus Delta, XV M. passuum.

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3. H. N. lib. v. cap. ix. § 61.

Deinde Arsinoë et jam dicta Memphis, inter quam et Arsinoïten nomon, in Libyco, turres, quæ pyramides vocantur: labyrinthus ad Mœridis lacum[55] nullo addito ligno exædificatus, et oppidum Crialon.

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## III.

### CLEMENTIS ALEXANDRINI DE LITERIS ÆGYPTIORUM ET DE SACRIS EORUM LIBRIS LOCI DUO EX STROMATUM LIBRIS EXSCRIPTI (ed. Potter.).

1. Strom. lib. v. p. 237. (Pott. ii. 657.)

Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἱερατικήν, ᾗ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ἱερογλυφικήν· ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική. τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται,

[54] Ita cum cod. Reg. apud Broterium LXIIII Vulg.

[55] Præeuntibus Tolet. et Salmant., quorum lectio: Labyrinthus et Myridis lacum; et Mœridis lacu Regg. I, II.

ἡ δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατά τινας αἰνιγμούς. ἥλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι κύκλον ποιοῦσι, σελήνην δὲ σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογικὸν εἶδος· τροπικῶς δὲ κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες χαράττουσιν. τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλυφῶν· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμοὺς, τρίτου εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὄφεων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείας ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλινδεῖ. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξάμηνον μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς θάτερον δὲ τοῦ ἔτους τμῆμα τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ γῆς διαιτᾶσθαι, σπερμαίνειν τε εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν καὶ γεννᾶν· καὶ θῆλυν κάνθαρον μὴ γίνεσθαι.

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2. Strom. lib. vi. p. 268. sq. (Pott. 756.)

Εὕροιμεν δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλο μαρτύριον εἰς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ τα κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν φιλοσόφων παρ' ἡμῶν σφετερισαμένους, ὡσεὶ διαυχεῖν τῷ (τῷ corr. Sylburg.) καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἀπηνθίσθαι, τῶν εἰς ἑκάστην αἵρεσιν συντεινόντων τινὰ, μάλιστα δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν μετενσωμάτωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς δόγμα. μετίασι γὰρ οἰκείαν τινὰ φιλοσοφίαν Αἰγύπτιοι. αὐτίκα τοῦτο ἐμφαίνει μάλιστα ἡ ἱεροπρεπὴς αὐτῶν θρησκεία· πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ προέρχεται ὁ ᾠδὸς, ἔν τι τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιφερόμενος συμβόλων. τοῦτόν φασι δύο βίβλους ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τῶν Ἑρμοῦ· ὧν θάτερον μὲν ὕμνους περιέχει θεῶν, ἐκλογισμὸν δὲ βασιλικοῦ βίου τὸ δεύτερον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ᾠδὸν ὁ ὡροσκόπος, ὡρολόγιόν τε μετὰ χεῖρα καὶ φοίνικα ἀστρολογίας ἔχων σύμβολα, πρόσεισιν (Sylburg. πρόειsιν). τοῦτον τὰ ἀστρολογούμενα τῶν Ἑρμοῦ βιβλίων, τέσσαρα ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀεὶ διὰ στόματος ἔχειν χρή· ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστι περὶ τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν ἀπλανῶν φαινομένων ἄστρων, τὸ δὲ περὶ τῶν συνόδων καὶ φωτισμῶν ἡλίου καὶ

σελήνης, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν περὶ τῶν ἀνατολῶν. ἐξῆς δὲ ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς προέρχεται, ἔχων πτερὰ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βιβλίον τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ κανόνα, ἐν ᾧ τό τε γραφικὸν μέλαν καὶ σχοῖνος, ᾗ γράφουσι. τοῦτον τά τε ἱερογλυφικὰ καλούμενα, περί τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ περὶ τῶν ε' πλανωμένων, χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου διαγραφῆς, περί τε τῆς καταγραφῆς σκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων αὐτοῖς χωρίων, περί τε μέτρων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρησίμων εἰδέναι χρή. ἔπειτα ὁ στολιστὴς τοῖς προειρημένοις ἕπεται, ἔχων τόν τε τῆς δικαιοσύνης πῆχυν, καὶ τὸ σπονδεῖον· οὗτος τὰ παιδευτικὰ πάντα καὶ μοσχοσφαγιστικὰ καλούμενα· δέκα δέ ἐστι τὰ εἰς τὴν τιμὴν ἀνήκοντα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν, καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν εὐσέβειαν περιέχοντα· οἷον περὶ θυμάτων, ἀπαρχῶν, ὕμνων, εὐχῶν, πομπῶν, ἑορτῶν, καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἕξεισι, προσφανὲς τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐγκεκολπισμένος· ᾧ ἕπονται οἱ τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἄρτων βαστάζοντες· οὗτος, ὡς ἂν προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὰ ἱερατικὰ καλούμενα ι' βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει. περιέχει δὲ περί τε νόμων καὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς ὅλης παιδείας τῶν ἱερέων· ὁ γάρ τοι προφήτης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν προσόδων ἐπιστάτης ἐστίν. δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν λς' τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν οἱ προειρημένοι ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἓξ οἱ παστοφόροι, ἰατρικὰς οὔσας, περί τε τῆς τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς καὶ περὶ νόσων καὶ περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον περὶ τῶν γυναικείων. καὶ τὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ φάναι, τοσαῦτα.

# D.

# BABYLONICA ET TYRIA QUÆDAM.

## I.

## BEROSIANA.

### 1. De Terræ Hominumque Primordiis.

Ex Rerum Babylonicarum Berosi libro primo, Alexandrum Polyhistorem secuti, Eusebius et Syncellus hæc dederunt:

| Eusebius ex interprete Armenio. (Chronogr. i. 2.) | Syncellus. (Chronogr. p. 28 seqq.) |
|---|---|
| Berosus narrat in primo Babylonicarum rerum libro se coætaneum fuisse Alexandro Philippi, compluriumque auctorum | Βήρωσσος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν φησι γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν ἡλικίαν[1], ἀνα- |

[1] De *Beroso* hæc tradit Tatianus (adv. Gr. cap. lviii. p. 171. ed. Paris.):

Βήρωσσος, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βήλου, κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον γεγονὼς, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τρίτῳ τὴν Χαλδαίων ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκθέμενος. Quæ verba Eusebius (Pr. Ev. x. 11.) emendare se opinatus scripsit: Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετὰ Σέλευκον τρίτῳ. Scilicet Alexandrum Magnum, a. C. 323 mortuum, sequutus est Seleucus, hunc Antiochus I. Σωτὴρ (281), hunc Antiochus II. Θεός (262). Quare vix credibile Berosum κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, ut ipse ait, γενέσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, et sexaginta annis post librum Antiocho τῷ Θεῷ transmisisse.

Syncellus Chronogr. p. 14. B:

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Βήρωσσος ὁ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας συγγραφεὺς ἀκμάσας κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ὥς φησι, καὶ εὑρὼν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι πολλῶν ἀναγραφὰς φυλασσομένας ἐπιμελῶς, αἳ περιεῖχον ἐτῶν μυριάδας που δεκαπέντε καὶ μικρὸν πρὸς, ἱστορίας τινὰς περὶ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βασιλέων ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν, περί τε θέσεως τῆς Βαβυλωνίας γῆς καὶ καρποφορίας

EUSEBIUS ex interprete Armenio.

codices exscripsisse, qui magna cura Babylone adservabantur jam inde ab *annorum myriadibus ducentis et quindecim:* quibus codicibus continebantur rationes temporum, itidemque scriptæ erant historiæ cœli terræque et maris primæque rerum originis, nec non regum facinorumque ab his patratorum.

Et primum quidem dicit regionem Babyloniorum sitam

SYNCELLUS.

γραφὰς δὲ πολλῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυλάσσεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπὸ ἐτῶν που ὑπὲρ μυριάδων ιέ περιεχούσας χρόνον· περιέχειν δὲ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρωτογονίας καὶ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πράξεων.[2]

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Βαβυλωνίων γῆν φησι κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ

αὐτῆς καὶ ζώων τινῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης φανέντων παρὰ φύσιν τῷ εἴδει, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ μυθώδη ταῦτα, κομπολογίᾳ τινὶ συνέγραψεν, ἅτινα πάντα κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον πλάσματα δαιμόνων εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐν κανονίῳ παραθέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ἐνάτου ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου ὄντα, καίπερ πληροφορούμενος, ὅτι δοξάσαι θέλων τὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔθνος καὶ δεῖξαι πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀρχαιότερον ὁ Βήρωσσος καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, φημὶ, ὁ Πολυΐστωρ λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀβυδηνὸς, ταῦτα γεγράφασι.

Ceterum de Beroso ejusque scriptis cf. I. D. W. Richteri libellum summa cum diligentia confectum atque bonæ frugis plenum (Lips. 1825).

[2] Est de his rebus locus classicus apud Plin. H. N. vii. 57.: Literas semper arbitror Assyriis (c. Periz. pro Assyrias) fuisse . . . .

E diverso Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX M. annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor imprimis: qui minimum, *Berosus* et Critodemus, CCCCXC M. annorum (signum M. in utroque loco addidimus, c. Periz., suffragante etiam Cicerone de Divin. i. 19., qui Babylonios CCCCLXX M. annorum monumentis gloriari dicit). Ex quo apparet æternum literarum usum. Cf. etiam *Simplicium* ad Aristot. de Cœlo ii. 6. Comment. p. 46.; τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ ἅστινας διηγεῖται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐννεακοσίων τριῶν μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Μακεδόνος σωζομένας.

V. *Jamblich.* apud Procl. in Timæum Platon. i. p. 31. Ἵππαρχος.

Quibuscum concilianda sunt quæ habet Syncellus, auctore, ut asserit, ipso Beroso, Chron. p. 207. B: Ἀπὸ δὲ Ναβονασάρου τοῦς χρόνους τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεως Χαλδαῖοι ἠκρίβωσαν καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι μαθηματικοὶ λαβόντες, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέ-

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

esse ad amnem Tigrim; Euphratem autem eandem interfluere. Ibidem silvestre triticum nasci et hordeum et lentem et ervum et sesamum: tum in paludibus et arundinetis ejus fluminis radices quasdam occurrere esui aptas, quibus nomen est gongis, easque panis hordeacei vim habere: denique ibi esse palmas et mala aliaque multi generis poma, piscesque et volatilia silvestria atque palustria. Porro regionis ejus partem, quæ Arabiam spectat, aridam esse fructibusque carentem: quæ vero contra Arabiam sita est, eam montibus et fructibus abundare. Jam in ipsa urbe Babylone ingentem alienigenarum hominum, qui videlicet Chaldæam incolunt, colluviem versari, eosdemque luxuriosam et beluini prorsus ritus vitam agitare.

Atque primo anno e rubro mari emersisse ait intra eosdem terminos Babyloniorum horrendam quandam beluam, cui nomen Oanni, quod et Apollodorus in historia narrat: eamque toto quidem corpore piscem fuisse, verum sub capite piscis

Syncellus.

Τίγριδος καὶ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ μέσην. φέρειν δὲ αὐτὴν πυροὺς ἀγρίους καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ὄχρον καὶ σήσαμον καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι φυομένας ῥίζας ἐσθίεσθαι· ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐτὰς γόγγας· ἰσοδυναμεῖν δὲ τὰς ῥίζας ταύτας κριθαῖς. γίνεσθαι δὲ φοίνικας καὶ μῆλα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκρόδρυα καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ ὄρνεα χερσαῖά τε καὶ λιμναῖα. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν μέρη ἄνυδρά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα, τὰ δὲ ἀντικείμενα τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ὀρεινά τε καὶ ἄφορα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἀλλοεθνῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν Χαλδαίαν· ζῆν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ φανῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸν ὁμοροῦντα τόπον τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ ζῷον ἄφρενον ὀνόματι Ὡάννην, καθὼς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱστόρησε, τὸ μὲν ὅλον σῶμα ἔχον ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἄλλην

ξανδρος καὶ Βήρωσσός φασιν, οἱ τὰς Χαλδαϊκὰς ἀρχαιολογίας περιειληφότες, Ναβονάσαρος συναγαγὼν τὰς πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἠφάνισεν, ὅπως ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ καταρίθμησις γίνεται τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων.

Vide de his omnibus et de saris, neris, sossis docte et sollerter, ut semper, disserentem Idelerum, i. p. 211. seqq., et nos in libro quarto.

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

aliud caput appositum, et in cauda pedes ad instar hominis, et loquelam humanæ similem: ejusque imaginem ad hunc usque diem delineatam supercesse. Hanc beluam inquit interdiu cum hominibus versari solitam nullumque cibum capere: docuisse homines literas et varia genera artium, descriptiones urbium, templorum structuras, juris prudentiam, finium regundorum doctrinam: semina præterea et fructuum collectionem demonstravisse, atque omnia prorsus, quæ mundanæ societati conducunt, hominibus tradidisse: ita ut ex eo tempore nemo aliquid frugi invenerit. Tum sub solis occasum eam beluam Oannem denuo mergi solitam mari noctuque in immenso pelago collocari, atque ita ancipitem quandam vitam degere. Deinceps et alias superiori similes beluas semet prodidisse, de quibus in regum historia dicturum se pollicetur. Rursusque ab Oanne ait scriptum de regum origine et de publico regimine, impertitamque ab eadem belua hominibus loquelam et industriam.

Tempus, inquit, aliquando fuit, quum universus orbis tenebris et aquis occupabatur: erantque ibi et aliæ beluæ, quarum quædam ex se ipsis natæ erant, figuris tamen utebantur

Syncellus.

κεφαλὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ ἰχθύος κεφαλῆς, καὶ πόδας ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου, παραπεφυκότας δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἰχθύος· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ φωνὴν ἀνθρώπου, τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάσσεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ, φησὶ, τὸ ζῶον τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διατρίβειν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν τροφὴν προσφερόμενον, παραδιδόναι τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γραμμάτων καὶ μαθημάτων καὶ τεχνῶν παντοδαπῶν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ πόλεων συνοικισμοὺς καὶ ἱερῶν ἱδρύσεις, καὶ νόμων εἰσηγήσεις καὶ γεωμετρίαν διδάσκειν, καὶ σπέρματα καὶ καρπῶν συναγωγὰς ὑποδεικνύναι, καὶ συνόλως πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν ἀνήκοντα βίου παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισσὸ εὑρεθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου δύναντος τὸ ζῶον τουτονὶ Ὡάννην δῦναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαιτᾶσθαι· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀμφίβιον. ὕστερον δὲ φανῆναι καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα ὅμοια τούτῳ, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγραφῇ φησι δηλώσειν. τὸν δὲ Ὡάννην περὶ γενεᾶς καὶ πολιτείας γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τόνδε τὸν λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τερατώδη καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ διπτέρους γεννηθῆναι, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

nascentium ex ante viventibus. Erant et homines, partim quidem duabus, partim quaternis alis instructi duabusque faciebus; et corpore in uno geminum caput habentes, muliebre videlicet et virile, cum duobus item genitalibus, femineo et masculino. Erant et alii homines caprinis femoribus, capite cornigero: alii rursus equinis pedibus: alii denique posteriore parte equina, anteriore autem humana, cujusmodi hippocentauris figura est. Tauros quoque humanis cum capitibus procreatos esse ait: et canes cum quadruplici corpore, quibus caudæ ad instar piscium e clunibus prominerent: equos præterea cynocephalos: et homines aliasque beluas hippocephalas, et humana forma cum piscium caudis: alia insuper multiplicia animalia draconum formam referentia: denique pisces sirenum similes, et reptilia et serpentes aliasque feras mira varietate inter se differentes, quarum imagines accurate depictæ in Beli templo adservabantur. Porro iis omnibus dominatam esse mulierem quandam, cui nomen Marcaiæ: eamque Chaldæorum lingua dici Thalatth, Græce vero converti θάλατταν (nempe mare).

Quumque ea omnia mixta fuissent, supervenientem Belum mediam dissecuisse mulie-

Syncellus.

τετραπτέρους καὶ διπροσώπους· καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχοντας ἓν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν, καὶ αἰδοῖά τε δισσὰ, ἄῤῥεν καὶ θῆλυ· καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν αἰγῶν σκέλη καὶ κέρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππόποδας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὀπίσω μὲν μέρη ἵππων, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς ἱπποκενταύρους τὴν ἰδέαν εἶναι. ζωογονηθῆναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὰς ἔχοντας καὶ κύνας τετρασωμάτους οὐρὰς ἰχθύος ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν μερῶν ἔχοντας, καὶ ἵππους κυνοκεφάλους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα κεφαλὰς μὲν καὶ σώματα ἵππων ἔχοντα, οὐρὰς δὲ ἰχθύων. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ξῶα παντοδαπῶν θηρίων μορφὰς ἔχοντα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἰχθύας καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα πλείονα θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα τὰς ὄψεις ἀλλήλων ἔχοντα· ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βήλου ναῷ ἀνακεῖσθαι. ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμόρωκα· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεσθαι θάλασσα, κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη.

Οὕτως δὲ τῶν ὅλων συνεστηκότων ἐπανελθόντα Βῆλον σχίσαι τὴν γυναῖκα μέσην, καὶ τὸ

EUSEBIUS ex interprete Armenio.

rem, ex ejusque dimidio altero terram, ex altero cœlum fecisse, universis quæ in ipsa erant beluis internecione deletis. Ait autem de harum rerum naturis allegorice sic fuisse dictum: nimirum quo tempore humidum et aqua omnia tenebant, nihilque ibi præter beluas erat, idolum illud caput suum præcidisse, sanguinemque inde manantem humo ab aliis idolis esse commixtum, et sic homines procreatos: qui idcirco et intelligentia præditi sunt et divinæ mentis participes.

Age vero Belum aiunt, quem Græci interpretantur Δία (Armenii vero Aramazdem), scissis tenebris terram a cœlo separavisse pulchreque mundum disposuisse: beluas autem non sustinentes lucis vim exanimatas esse. Tunc Belum, qui regionem desertam, attamen feracem cerneret, cuidam e diis imperavisse, ut cum sanguine, qui e suo capite abscisso defluueret, terram subigeret atque homines fingeret, cum ceteris brutis et beluis, quæ hunc aërem pati possent. Belum item stellas et solem et lunam et quinque sidera errantia condidisse.

Hæc, Polyhistore teste, Berosus *primo libro* narrat.

SYNCELLUS.

μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι γῆν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ οὐρανόν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ζῶα ἀφανίσαι. ἀλληγορικῶς δέ φησι τοῦτο πεφυσιολογῆσθαι. ὑγροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζώων ἐν αὐτῷ γεγεννημένων, τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὸ ῥυὲν αἷμα τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς φυρᾶσαι τῇ γῇ καὶ διαπλάσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· δι' ὃ νοερούς τε εἶναι καὶ φρονήσεως θείας μετέχειν.

Τὸν δὲ Βῆλον, ὃν Δία μεθερμηνεύουσι, μέσον τεμόντα τὸ σκότος χωρίσαι γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ διατάξαι τὸν κόσμον· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐνεγκόντα τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς δύναμιν φθαρῆναι. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Βῆλον χώραν ἔρημον καὶ καρποφόρον κελεῦσαι ἑνὶ τῶν θεῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφελόντι ἑαυτοῦ τῷ ἀπορρύεντι αἵματι φυρᾶσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ διαπλάσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ θηρία τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν ἀέρα φέρειν. ἀποτελέσαι δὲ τὸν Βῆλον καὶ ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς πέντε πλανήτας.

Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Πολυΐστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Βήρωσσον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φάσκειν.[3]

[3] Præterea sacra quasi Saturnalia Babyloniorum memorasse videtur hoc libro Berosus. Athenæus enim in Deipnosophista (xiv. p. 639.

2. De Rebus ante Diluvium, ex Berosi libro secundo.
(Eus. Chron. lib. i. cap. 1, ex interprete Armenio.)

(Hæc quidem Berosus in primo libro narravit; secundo autem reges singillatim recensuit.[4] Ut ipse inquit, Nabonassarus erat eo tempore rex. Et regum quidem nomina diligenter acervat; nullum tamen eorum opus peculiariter recitat, fortasse quia nihil memorandum esse arbitratur. Ex eo igitur regum tantummodo seriem depromere licet.) Hac vero ratione narrationem exorditur, ut *Apollodorus* ait[5]: nempe primum

Casaub.) hæc refert: Βήρωσος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Βαβυλωνικῶν τῷ Λώῳ φησὶ μηνὶ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ ἄγεσθαι ἑορτὴν Σακέαν προσαγορευομένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πέντε· ἐν αἷς ἔθος εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς δεσπότας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀφηγεῖσθαί τε τῆς οἰκίας ἕνα αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βασιλικῇ, ὃν καὶ καλεῖσθαι Ζωγάνην. Μνημονεύει τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ Κτησίας ἐν δευτέρῳ Περσικῶν.

[4] Cf. quæ Sync. ex Polyhistore ei quem modo descriptum dedimus loco addit (p. 30. A): ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοὺς δέκα βασιλεῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάρους ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἤτοι ἐτῶν μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

[5] Confer cum toto hocce loco Syncelli verba in Chronogr. p. 39.: Πρὸς τούτοις (Abydeni narratione) καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁμοίως τούτοις τερατευόμενος οὕτω λέγει· ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βήρωσσος ἱστόρησε, πρῶτον γενέσθαι βασιλέα ΑΛΩΡΟΝ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαῖον· βασιλεύσαι δὲ σάρους δέκα, καὶ καθεξῆς ΑΛΑΠΑΡΟΝ καὶ ΑΜΗΛΩΝΑ τὸν ἐκ Παντιβίβλων· εἶτα ΑΜΜΕΝΩΝΑ τὸν Χαλδαῖον, ἐφ' οὗ φησι φανῆναι τὸν μυσαρὸν Ὡάννην, τὸν Ἀννήδωτον, ἐκ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς· ὅπερ Ἀλέξανδρος προλαβὼν εἴρηκε φανῆναι τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει· οὗτος δὲ μετὰ σάρους τεσσαράκοντα· ὁ δὲ Ἀβυδηνὸς τὸν δεύτερον Ἀννήδωτον μετὰ σάρους εἴκοσιν ἕξ. εἶτα ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΟΝ ἐκ Παντιβίβλων πόλεως, βασιλεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ΔΑΩΝΟΝ ποιμένα ἐκ Παντιβίβλων βασιλεύσαι σάρους δέκα. κατὰ τοῦτον πάλιν φησὶ φανῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς Ἀννήδωτον τέταρτον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄνω ἔχοντα διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἰχθύος πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μῖξιν. εἶτα ἄρξαι ΕΥΕΔΩΡΑΧΟΝ ἐκ Παντιβίβλων, καὶ βασιλεύσαι σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα. ἐπὶ τούτου φησὶν ἄλλον φανῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὅμοιον κατὰ τὴν ἰχθύος πρὸς ἄνθρωπον μῖξιν, ᾧ ὄνομα Ὡδάκων. τούτους δέ φησι πάντας τὰ ὑπὸ Ὡάννου κεφαλαιωδῶς ῥηθέντα κατὰ μέρος ἐξηγήσασθαι. Περὶ τούτου Ἀβυδηνὸς οὐδὲν εἶπεν. εἶτα ἄρξαι ΑΜΕΜΨΙΝΟΝ Χαλδαῖον ἐκ Λαράγχων· βασιλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὄγδοον

exstitisse regem *Alorum* ex urbe Babylone Chaldæum: hunc saris decem regno potitum. Porro is sarum ex annis ter mille et sexcentis conflat. Addit etiam nescio quos neros et sossos: nerum ait sexcentis annis constare, sossum annis sexaginta. Sic ille de veterum more annos supputat.

His dictis pergit porro regesque Assyriorum singillatim ex ordine enumerat: decem videlicet ab Aloro primo rege usque ad Xisuthrum, sub quo magnum illud primumque diluvium contigisse ait, quod Moses quoque commemorat. Jam summam temporum, quibus hi reges imperitaverunt, ait esse saros centum viginti, nempe quadraginta tres annorum myriades annosque bis mille.[6] Tum et disertis verbis ita scribit: defuncto, inquit, Aloro, regnavit ejus filius *Alaparus* saris duobus. Post Alaparum *Almelon* ex urbe Pantibiblis[7] Chaldæus saris tredecim. Almeloni successit *Ammenon* item ex Pantibiblis Chaldæus saris duodecim. Hujus ætate belua quædam, cui nomen Idotioni, e rubro mari emersit, forma ex homine et pisce mixta. Hinc *Amegalarus*[8] Pantibiblicus octodecim saris regnavit. Deinde pastor *Daonus* Pantibiblicus, qui et ipse saris decem regno potitus est. Hoc imperante, rursus e rubro mari emerserunt, eadem hominis itemque piscis figura, monstra quatuor. Postea regnavit *Edoranchus* Pantibiblicus saris octodecim. Eo tempore item apparuit e rubro mari aliud quiddam simile piscis et hominis, cui nomen Odaconi. Hos inquit omnes ea, quæ ab Oanne

*σάρους δέκα. Εἶτα ἄρξαι ΩΤΙΑΡΤΗΝ Χαλδαῖον ἐκ Λαράγχων, βασιλεῦσαι δὲ σάρους ἡ'. Ὠτιάρτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ΞΙΣΟΥΘΡΟΝ βασιλεῦσαι σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα. ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμόν φησι γεγενῆσθαι. ὡς γίνεσθαι ὁμοῦ πάντας βασιλεῖς δέκα, σάρους δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.*

[6] Suidas voce *σάροι* pro MM scribit MMCCXXII. A. Maius.

[7] In hac voce scribenda fluctuat Armenius cod. inter Pantibiblos et Pautibiblos.

[8] Corr. Mai.; cod. Arm. enim hic Amelagarum, infra Amegalarum nominat.

summatim dicta erant, accurate exposuisse. Exin imperavisse *Amempsinum* e Lancharis Chaldæum saris decem. Tum regnum tenuisse *Otiartem* e Lancharis Chaldæum saris octo. Defuncto denique Otiarte, filium ejus *Xisuthrum* rexisse imperium saris octodecim, sub eoque evenisse magnum diluvium. Conflatur igitur summa decem regum et sarorum centum viginti. Hæc est porro regum series:[9]

I. Alorus saris x.
II. Alaparus saris III.
III. Almelon saris XIII.
IV. Ammenon saris XII.
V. Amegalarus saris XVIII.
VI. Daonus saris x.
VII. Edoranchus saris XVIII.
VIII. Amempsinus saris x.
IX. Otiartes saris VIII.
X. Xisuthrus saris XVIII.

Summa, reges decem, sari centum viginti. Jam ab his centum viginti saris confici aiunt quadraginta tres annorum myriades et bis mille insuper annos; siquidem sarus annis ter mille et sexcentis constat. Hæc in Polyhistoris Alexandri libris narrantur.

[9] Afr. ap. Sync. p. 17. D: *τὰ γάρ Φοινίκων τρισμύρια ἔτη ἢ τὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων λῆρον, τὸ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ μυριάδων, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; κ. τ. λ.* Quem Africani locum sequitur hic laterculus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Χαλδαίων α' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀλῶρος σάρους δέκα . . . . | a. | 36,000 |
| Χαλδαίων β' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀλάσπαρος σάρους τρεῖς . . . | a. | 10,800 |
| Χαλδαίων γ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμηλὼν σάρους δεκατρεῖς . . | a. | 46,800 |
| Χαλδαίων δ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμενὼν σάρους δώδεκα . . . | a. | 43,200 |
| Χαλδαίων ε' ἐβασίλευσε Μετάλαρος σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα . | a. | 64,800 |
| Χαλδαίων ϛ' ἐβασίλευσε Δάωνος ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα . | a. | 99 |
| Χαλδαίων ζ' ἐβασίλευσεν Εὐεδώραχος σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα | a. | 64,800 |
| Χαλδαίων η' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμφὶς σάρους δέκα . . . . | a. | 36,000 |
| Χαλδαίων θ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀτιάρτης σάρους ὀκτώ . . . | a. | 28,800 |
| Χαλδαίων ι' ἐβασίλευσε Ξίσουθρος σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα . | a. | 64,800 |
| Summa: 110 sari + 99 a. = | a. | 396,099 |

3600

3. De Diluvio, ex Berosi libro secundo, secundum Alexandrum Polyhistorem.

Apud Eusebium (Chron. lib. i. cap. 3.) et Syncellum (Chron. p. 30, 31.).

Eusebius ex interprete Armenio.

Is enim (Alex.) hoc pacto de illo (diluvio) scripsit. Defuncto inquit Otiarte filium hujus Xisuthrum tenuisse regnum saris octodecim sub eoque magnum diluvium esse conflatum. Sic autem accuratius narrationem scripto persequitur. Κρόνον (Saturnum) ait illi in somno prædixisse (qui Jovis genitor fertur, et ab aliis dicitur Χρόνος, tempus) die quintadecima mensis Dæsii (qui est Mareri) fore ut homines a diluvio perirent. Mandavisse, ut libros omnes, primos nimirum, medios et ultimos, terræ infossos in solis urbe Sipparis poneret: tum navim strueret, eamque cum consanguineis carisque familiaribus conscenderet: congestisque illuc esculentis atque poculentis, inductis etiam beluis et volatilibus ac quadrupedibus cunctaque supellectile, paratus esset ad navigandum. Quærenti autem, quonam cursus dirigendus esset, respondisse, ad deos, ad orandum quo hominibus bene esset. Eum vero haud recusasse, quominus navigium compingeret, longum stadia quindecim, latum duo: cuncta, quæ mandata sibi fuerant, efficienda curasse: uxorem, filios carosque familiares eodem introduxisse.

Syncellus.

*Λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων αὖθις παρακατιὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνάτου βασιλέως Ἀρδάτου ἐπὶ τὸν δέκατον λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ξίσουθρον οὕτως·*

*Ἀρδάτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ξίσουθρον βασιλεῦσαι σάρους ὀκτωκαίδεκα· ἐπὶ τούτου μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι. ἀναγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸν λόγον οὕτως· τὸν Κρόνον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φάναι μηνὸς Δαισίου πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ κατακλυσμοῦ διαφθαρήσεσθαι. κελεῦσαι οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων πάντων ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὰς ὀρύξαντα θεῖναι ἐν πόλει ἡλίου Σισπάροις, καὶ ναυπηγησάμενον σκάφος ἐμβῆναι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων φίλων· ἐνθέσθαι δὲ βρώματα καὶ πόματα, ἐμβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῶα πτηνὰ καὶ τετράποδα, καὶ πάντα εὐτρεπισάμενον πλεῖν· ἐρωτώμενον δὲ, ποῦ πλεῖ; φάναι, πρὸς τοὺς θεούς· εὐξάμενον ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ γενέσθαι. τὸν δ' οὐ παρακούσαντα ναυπηγήσαντα σκάφος τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων πέντε, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σταδίων δύο· τὰ δὲ συνταχθέντα πάντα συνθέσθαι, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους ἐμβιβάσαι.*

EUSEBIUS ex interprete Armenio.

Ingruente demum diluvio et mox decrescente, misisse Xisuthrum quædam volatilia, quæ, quum neque escam neque locum, in quo considerent, invenissent, reversa in navim recepta sunt. Rursus diebus aliquot post emisisse aves alias, quæ item ad navim regressæ sunt pedibus luto infectis. Tertio denique dimissæ aves quum ad navim non reverterentur, cognovisse Xisuthrum terram prorsus esse patefactam. Tunc navis tecto partim effracto, navim ipsam monti cuidam innitentem vidisse: moxque ipsum cum uxore filiaque et navis architecto exscendisse, ac pronum terram esse veneratum, structaque ara diis sacrum obtulisse: quo facto, cum iis, qui secum navi exierant, nusquam comparuisse. Reliquos autem, qui in navi substiterant neque cum Xisuthri comitatu egressi erant, facta mox exscensione cum quæritasse, eundemque oberrantes nomine inclamasse. At vero Xisuthrum haud ultra se conspiciendum dedisse; voce tantum ex aëre missa, deos ut colerent, mandavisse: nam et se religiosæ pietatis ergo ad deorum venisse habitacula, eodem honore uxorem quoque suam et filiam et navis architectum frui. Tum iisdem imperasse, ut Babylonem redirent, et ex deorum mandato qui in

SYNCELLUS.

*Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ εὐθέως λήξαντος τῶν ὀρνέων τινὰ τὸν Ξίσουθρον ἀφιέναι. τὰ δὲ οὐ τροφὴν εὑρόντα οὔτε τόπου, ὅπου καθίσαι, πάλιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον πάλιν μετά τινας ἡμέρας ἀφιέναι τὰ ὄρνεα· ταῦτα δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς πόδας πεπηλωμένους ἔχοντα. τό τε τρίτον ἀφεθέντα οὐκ ἔτι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον ἐννοηθῆναι γῆν ἀναπεφηνέναι, διελόντα τε τῶν τοῦ πλοίου ῥαφῶν μέρος τι καὶ ἰδόντα προσοκεῖλαν τὸ πλοῖον ὄρει τινὶ ἐκβῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προσκυνήσαντα τὴν γῆν καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυσάμενον καὶ θυσιάσαντα τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐκβάντων τοῦ πλοίου ἀφανῆ. τοὺς δὲ ὑπομείναντας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μὴ εἰσπορευομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ξίσουθρον ἐκβάντας ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀνόματος βοῶντας. τὸν δὲ Ξίσουθρον αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔτι ὀφθῆναι, φωνὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος γενέσθαι κελεύουσαν ὡς δέον αὐτοὺς εἶναι θεοσεβεῖς· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν οἰκήσοντα, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην μετεσχηκέναι. εἶπέ τε αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐλεύσονται πάλιν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ ὡς εἴμαρται αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σισπάρων ἀνελομένοις τὰ γράμματα διαδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,*

EUSEBIUS ex interprete Armenio.

Sipparis urbe conditi fuerant libros effoderent atque hominibus traderent. Locum autem, in quo nave egressi tunc insisterent, Armeniorum esse regionem. Hæc omnia edoctos, celebrato diis sacrificio, Babylonem pedestri itinere contendisse.

Ejus navigii, quod demum substitit in Armenia, fragmentum aliquod in Cordiæorum Armeniaco monte nostra adhuc ætate reliquum esse aiunt. Quin et erasum bitumen quidam inde referunt remedii amuletique causa ad infausta quæque averruncanda. Illi autem Babylonem profecti, libros ex urbe Sipparis effodisse, oppida multa condidisse, fana deorum struxisse, Babylonemque restituisse feruntur.

SYNCELLUS.

καὶ ὅτι ὅπου εἰσὶν ἡ χώρα Ἀρμενίας ἐστί. τοὺς δὲ ἀκούσαντας ταῦτα θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πέριξ πορευθῆναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

Τοῦ δὲ πλοίου δὲ τούτου κατακλιθέντος ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἔτι μέρος τι ἐν τοῖς Κορκυραίων ὄρεσι τῆς Ἀρμενίας διαμένειν, καί τινας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου κομίζειν ἀποξύοντας ἄσφαλτον, χρᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς. ἐλθόντας οὖν τούτους Βαβυλῶνα τά τε ἐκ Σισπάρων γράμματα ἀνορύξαι καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς κτίζοντας καὶ ἱερὰ ἀνιδρυσαμένους πάλιν ἐπικτίσαι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα.

Τούτων δὴ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυΐστορος, ὡς ἀπὸ Βηρώσσου τοῦ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ ψευδηγοροῦντος, προκειμένων, κ.τ.λ.

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## 4. De Dynastiis, quæ a Diluvii Tempore usque ad Persarum Tempora dominatæ sint.

Alexander Polyhistor ap. Euseb. in Chron. i. 4. § 2—5.

Prædictis[10] autem hæc addit idem Polyhistor[11]: post diluvium imperitasse regioni Chaldæorum *Evc-*

[10] i. e. Sibyllæ Pseudo-Berosianæ de turri ædificata narrationi.

[11] Cf. Sync. Chronogr. p. 78.: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ βυε′ κοσμικοῦ ἔτους βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ

*xium*[12] neris quatuor: inde imperium exceptum a filio ejus *Chomasbelo* neris quatuor cum sossis quinque. A Xisuthro et a diluvio donec Medi Babylonem occuparunt, summam regum sex supra octoginta supputat Polyhistor, singulosque nominatim e Berosi libro recenset. Ex horum autem omnium ætatibus tres myriades annorum conficit, prætereaque annos ter mille et unum supra nonaginta. Post hos, qui successione inconcussa regnum obtinuerant, derepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum edisserit octo annosque eorum viginti quatuor supra ducentos (in marg. CCXXXIV) ac rursus undecim reges et annos octo supra quadraginta: tum et *Chaldæos* reges quadraginta novem, annosque quadringentos et octo supra quinquaginta: postea et *Arabes* novem reges, annosque

*σώσσων βεβασιλευκέναι Χαλδαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖς πϛ' ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ ͵δϟ' τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν σάροις Ϡ καὶ νήροις β' καὶ σώσσοις η', ἅπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐ καλῶς ἐξελάβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλιακὰ ϟδ' καὶ μῆνας η', ἅπερ, ὡς φασιν, εἰς τὸ ͵βυϟϠ' ἔτος κοσμικὸν συντρέχει. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πϛ' δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων, Εὐηχίου καὶ Χωμασβήλου, πδ' δὲ Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ' Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρϟ', ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυΐστωρ, οὐκ ἔτι διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλόγου μυθικῆς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν.* Quæ ultima leviter turbata sic, ni fallor, facillime restituuntur: *Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πϛ' μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων (ὧν δύο, Εὐήχιος καὶ Χωμάσβηλος), πϠ' δὲ Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ' Χαλδαΐων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει.* Regum catalogi Chaldæorum initium reges exhibet octoginta sex; Medorum vero catalogus reges octoginta quatuor: utrique ante Zoroastrem, secundæ dynastiæ Babylone auctorem. Præcedunt igitur ultimum primæ Chaldæorum dynastiæ regem 84 reges, Chaldæorum ex stirpe orti: excipit ejus regnum Babylone Zoroaster, Mediæ rex, quem in Medorum catalogo 84 reges—vel Bactriani vel Medi—præcedunt. Illorum Chaldæorum regum primos eosque notissimos Euechium et Chomasbelum quum jam nominasset, hic eorum nomina indicat, quo melius intelligatur agi de indigena illa Chaldæorum dynastia, quæ ante Babylonem a Medis captam regnaverit.

[12] *Εὐήχιος ὁ καὶ Νεβρώδ* Sync. p. 79. B, *ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν Νεβρώδ* id. p. 90. C.

ducentos quadraginta quinque.[13] Horum annorum recensione perscripta, de *Semiramide* quoque narrat, quæ imperavit Assyriis. Rursumque distincte admodum nomina regum quadraginta enumerat iisque annos tribuit viginti sex supra quingentos. Post hos ait exstitisse Chaldæorum regem, cui nomen *Phulus* erat (quem Hebræorum quoque historia memorat, quemque item Phulum appellat. Hic Judæum invasisse dicitur). Deinde Polyhistor Senecherimum regno potitum esse ait: quem quidem Hebræorum libri regnantem referunt imperante Ezechia et prophetante Isaia. Ait autem diserte divinus liber: Anno quartodecimo Ezechiæ regis ascendisse Senecherimum ad urbes Judææ munitas easque cepisse. Cujus rei peracta historia subdit: Et regnavit Asordanes filius ejus pro eo. Rursusque pergens, ea tempestate ait ægrotasse Ezechiam. Tum etiam ordinatim eodem tempore Marudachum Baldanem, Babyloniorum regem, misisse oratores cum litteris et muneribus ad Ezechiam. Hæc tradunt Hebræorum scripturæ. Et quidem Senecherimum cum ejus filio *Asordane* nec non *Marudacho Baldane* Chaldæorum quoque historiographus memorat: cum quibus etiam *Nabuchodonosorum*[14], uti mox dicetur. Hac autem ratione de iis scribit:

(Cap. v.) Postquam regno defunctus est Senecherimi frater, et post *Hagisæ* in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto tricesimo imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, *Marudachus* ipse *Baldanes*[15] tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex, donec eum

[13] Cf. Sync. p. 90. D: Διεδέξαντο τὴν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν Ἄραβες ἐπὶ ἔτη σιε', βασιλεῖς ς' (eadem p. 92. B dicta). Quæ præterea Syncellus de Chaldæorum regibus narrat, vix pluris sunt æstimanda quam laterculus ille Ægyptiorum regum, quem B. IV. dedimus.

[14] Regis illius nomen modo ita ut h. l. effertur, modo *Nabuchodrossorus*.

[15] Cf. Josephum, qui, quum in Antiqq. x. 2. 2. de Babyloniorum rege Βαλάδᾳ verba faciat, hæc addit: Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλάδα Βήρωσσος.

sustulit vir quidam nomine *Elibus*, qui et in regnum successit. Hoc postremo tertium jam annum regnante, *Senecherimus*, rex Assyriorum, copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prœlioque cum iis conserto superior evadebat: captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is Babyloniorum potitus filium suum *Asordanem* eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est, prœlioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit: suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit: cui Chaldaicis litteris res a se gestas insculpi mandavit ad memoriam temporum sempiternam. Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar, eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin. Jam et reliquis Senecherimi gestis perscriptis subdit eum annis vixisse regnantem octodecim, donec eidem structis a filio *Ardumuzane* (in marg. *Ardamuzane*) insidiis exstinctus est. Hæc Polyhistor.

Sane etiam tempora cum narratione divinorum librorum congruunt. Sub Ezechia enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis octodecim: post quem ejusdem filius annis octo: tum annis viginti et uno *Samuges*: itemque hujus frater viginti et uno: deinde *Nabupalasarus* annis viginti: denique *Nabucodrossorus* tribus annis supra quadraginta: ita ut a Senecherimo ad Nabucodrossorum octoginta et octo anni excurrant. . . .

His omnibus absolutis pergit denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Senecherimo gestas exponere: deque hujus filio eadem plane ratione scribit, qua libri Hebræorum; accurateque admodum cuncta edisserit. Pythagoras sapiens fertur ea tempestate sub his exstitisse. Jam post Samugem imperavit Chaldæis *Sardanapallus*

viginti annis et uno. Is[16] ad Astyagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, legationem misit, ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam, e filiabus Astyagis unam. Deinde *Nabucodrossorus* dominatus est tribus annis supra quadraginta, qui et collecto exercitu impressionem faciens Judæos, Phœnices et Syros in servitutem redegit. (Neque sane opus est me pluribus confirmare Polyhistorem item in his cum Hebraica historia congruere.) Post Nabucodrossorum regnat ejus filius *Amilmarudochus* annis duodecim, quem Hebræorum litteræ Ilmarudochum appellant. Mox Polyhistor ait imperitasse Chaldæis *Neglisarum* annis quatuor: deinde *Nabonedum* annis septemdecim. Eo regnante Cyrus, Cambysis filius, Babylonicam regionem copiis invasit, quicum Nabodenus certamine inito victus se fuga proripuit. Regnavit autem Babylone *Cyrus* annis novem, donec in planitie Daharum alio prœlio conserto periit. Tum imperium tenuit *Cambyses* annis octo: exin *Darius* annis sex et triginta: deinde Xerxes cetĕrique Persarum reges.

Jamvero de Chaldæorum regno uti breviter distincteque tractat Berosus, ita prorsus loquitur et Polyhistor.

[16] Cf. Sync. p. 210. B: Τοῦτον (sc. Ναβοπαλάσαρον) ὁ Πολυΐστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλον καλεῖ πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀστυάγην, σατράπην Μηδείας, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀμυΐτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ. οὗτος στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σάρακος τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σάρακος εἰς Νίνον ἐπιστρατεύει· οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος ἑαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπαλάσαρος, ὁ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ πατήρ.

### 5. Josephi ex Beroso Excerpta.

a. *De Abrahami Ætate, ex libro secundo.* (Antiqq. i. 7. 2., unde Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 16.)]

Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βήρωσσος, οὐκ ὀνομάζων, λέγων δὲ οὕτως·

Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος.

b. *De Rebus gestis Nabuchodonosori et Successorum ejus usque ad Excidium Babylonis, ex libro tertio.* (C. Apion. i. c. 19. seqq.)

Λέξω δὲ νῦν ἤδη τὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ ἡμῶν, ἅπερ ἔχει πολλὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων Βήρωσσος, ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς περὶ παιδείαν ἀναστρεφομένοις, ἐπειδὴ περί τε ἀστρονομίας καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις φιλοσοφουμένων[17] αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς συγγραφάς. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Βήρωσσος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περί τε τοῦ γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς οὕτως ἱστόρηκε· καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, ἐν ᾗ Νῶχος ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς διεσώθη, προσενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν. εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ Νώχου καταλέγων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστιθεὶς, ἐπὶ Ναβολάσσαρον[18] παραγίνεται τὸν Βαβυ-

[17] Hi libri astronomici et astrologici per multa sæcula exstitisse videntur: excerpta ex iis nonnulla habemus, quæ collegit *Richter* in libello, quem memoravimus, p. 82. seqq. Vitruvius de iis hæc (ix. 4.): "Eorum" (sc. Chaldæorum) "inventiones (sc. astrologicas) quas scriptis reliquerunt, qua sollertia quibusque acuminibus et quam magni fuerint, qui ab ipsa natione Chaldæorum profluxerunt, ostendunt. Primusque *Berosus* in insula et civitate Co consedit, ibique aperuit disciplinam." Adde Plinii verba (II. N. vii. 37.): "Astrologia (enituit) *Berosus*, cui ob divinas prædictiones Athenienses publice in Gymnasio statuam inaurata lingua statuere."

[18] Ναβοπολλάσαρον legit Scaliger in Prolegomenis ad librum de

λῶνος καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέα καὶ τὰς τούτου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος λέγει, τίνα τρόπον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπειδήπερ ἀφεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπύθετο, πάντων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησε τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅλως τε πάντα τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν λαὸν ἀναστήσας, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετῴκισεν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθῆναι χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, μέχρι Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. κρατῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου, Συρίας, Φοινίκης, Ἀραβίας, πάντας δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βεβασιλευκότας. εἶθ' ἑξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὀλίγον ὁ Βήρωσσος, πάλιν παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἱστοριογραφίᾳ. αὐτὰ δὲ παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηρώσσου τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον.[19]

"Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβολάσσαρος, ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν[20], συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβοχοδονοσόρῳ, ὄντι ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, μέρη τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος, αὐτοῦ τε ἐκυρίευσεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς[21] ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ[22] βασιλείαν ἐποίησεν. τῷ δὲ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβολασσάρῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀῤῥωστήσαντι, ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον, ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι εἴκοσιν ἐννέα.[23] αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονόσορος, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν

Emendatione Temporum, p. 13. *Nabupalassarum* ut supra nominat Arm., itemque filium *Nabuchodrossorum*.

[19] ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν, idem ait Jos. in Antiqq. x. 11. 1., ubi fidem hunc locum rursus exscripsit.

[20] Arm.: "quum ipse per se jam ad pœnas expetendas non valeret," unde Maius colligit legisse illum κακοποιεῖν pro κακοπαθεῖν.

[21] ἐξαῦθις Eus. in l. ix. Præpar. Evangel. p. 455.

[22] Ita etiam Arm. αὐτοῦ Euseb. l. l., αὐτῶν in Josephi exemplaribus.

[23] Arm., Josephus Antt. x. 11. et Syncellus, p. 210. A, unum et viginti annos memorant.

λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς παρεγένετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενόμενος συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀποικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν, καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀνακαινίσας[24], πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπερεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω τούτων, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίνθου. καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς, προσκατεσκεύακεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα ἐκείνων, ὑπεραίροντα ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν πολλὴν πολυτέλειαν. μακρὰ δ' ἴσως ἔσται, ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται. πλὴν ὄντα γε εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα, συνετελέσθη ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλὰ ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο, καὶ κατασκευάσας τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως, τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις."

(Cap. 20.) Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτος ἱστόρησε περὶ τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ[25]

[24] Arm.: tum belli manubiis Beli templum et reliqua affluenter exornavit, atque in ipsam urbem extravagantes adduxit aquas, munivitque locos, ne in posterum, etc.

[25] Illa ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ addidit Hav. ex MSS., quorum unus est Hafn.

τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν, ἐν ᾗ μέμφεται τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν, ὡς μάτην οἰομένοις ὑπὸ Σεμιράμιδος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτισθῆναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια κατασκευασθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνης ἔργα ψευδῶς γεγραφόσι. καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν τῶν Χαλδαίων γραφὴν ἀξιόπιστον ἡγητέον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῶν Φοινίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρώσσου λεγομένοις ἀναγέγραπται περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο. περὶ τούτων γοῦν συμφωνεῖ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, μεμνημένος τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας. καὶ Μεγασθένης[26] ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, δι' ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Ἡρακλέους ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ μεγέθει πράξεων διενηνοχέναι. καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι καὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν.[27]

[26] Cf. cum seqq. usque ad voc. Ἰβηρίαν Sync. p. 221. D. Plura ex Megasthene refert Abydenus ap. Eus. in Præp. Ev. ix. 41.: Μεγασθένης δέ φησι Ναβουκοδρόσορον, Ἡρακλέως ἀλκιμώτερον γεγονότα, ἐπί τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίην στρατεῦσαι· ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενον ἀποδασμὸν αὐτέων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου κατοικίσαι. Μετὰ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων, ὡς ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήϊα κατασχεθείη Θεῷ ὅτεῳ δή. φθεγξάμενος δὲ εἶπεν οὕτως· Ἐγὼ Ναβουκοδρόσορος, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγέλλω συμφορὴν, τὴν ὅ τε Βῆλος, ἐμὸς πρόγονος, ἥ τε βασίλεια Βῆλτις ἀποτρέψαι Μοίρας πεῖσαι ἀσθενοῦσιν. (Posterius hoc comma, inde ab ὅ τε omittit Arm.) Ἥξει Πέρσης τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν. Ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην. Οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον αὔχημα. Ὡς εἴθε μιν, πρόσθεν ἢ δοῦναι τοὺς πολίτας, χάρυβδίν τινα ἢ θάλασσαν εἰσδεξαμένην ἀϊστῶσαι πρύρριζον· ἢ μιν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς στραφέντα φέρεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, ἵνα οὔτε ἄστεα, οὔτε πάτος ἀνθρώπων, θῆρες δὲ νομὸν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὄρνιθες πλάζονται, ἔν τε πέτρῃσι καὶ χαράδρῃσι μοῦνον ἀλώμενον· ἐμέ τε, πρὶν ἐς νόον βαλέσθαι ταῦτα, τέλεος ἀμείνονος κυρῆσαι. Ὁ μὲν θεσπίσας παραχρῆμα ἠφάνιστο ὁ δὲ οἱ παῖς Εὐιλμαλούρουχος ἐβασίλευσε. Τὸν δὲ ὁ κηδεστὴς ἀποκτείνας Νηριγλισάρης, λεῖπε παῖδα Λαβασσοάρασκον. Τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος βιαίῳ μόρῳ Ναβαννίδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδὲν, τῷ δὲ Κῦρος ἑλὼν Βαβυλῶνα Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίην δωρέεται. Eus. in Chron. i. 10. 3. hunc locum iterum affert quidem, sed omissa maxima oraculi parte, inde a τὴν ὅ τε usque ad Ὁ μὲν θεσπίσας (quæ ceterum verba falso vertit: eum, qui tanto elatus fastu imperabat). Præterea Neriglisarem Niglisarem, Labossoarascum Labossoracum, Nabannidochum Nabonedochum nominat.

[27] Ἰβηρίας legisse videtur Arm.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προειρημένα τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι κατεπρήθη μὲν ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων, ἤρξατο δὲ πάλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι Κύρου τῆς Ασίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἐκ τοῦ Βηρώσσου σαφῶς ἐπιδειχθήσεται παρατεθέντων. λέγει γὰρ οὕτω διὰ τῆς τρίτης. "Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν, μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον, βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη τεσσαρακοντατρία. τῆς δὲ βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐειλμαράδουχος.[28] οὗτος[29] προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος Νηριγλισσοόρου[30] ἀνῃρέθη βασιλεύσας ἔτη δύο. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλισσόορος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα· τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρχοδος[31] ἐκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας ἐννέα· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη. ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου, συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, ὄντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως. ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. οὔσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει, προεξεληλυθὼς[32] Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν[33], ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.[34] αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς, συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυ-

[28] Arm. Evilmarudâchus. Εὐειλὰδ Μαρόδαχ Sync. p. 226. A.

[29] Quæ sequuntur breviter enarrat Sync. p. 226. A. seqq.

[30] Ita Scaliger. Νηριγλισσούρου in Editis Josephi. Arm. Neriglassares. Νιριγλήσαρος Sync. l. l.

[31] Arm. Labesorachus. Λαβοροσάρσαχος Al. Χαβαεσσοάραχος Euseb. Λαβοσάροχος Sync. l. l.

[32] προσεληλυθὼς Euseb.

[33] βασιλείαν ἅπασαν Euseb. Arm.: post cetera regna subversa.

[34] Arm.: Babylonem aggressus est.

λῶνα καταλαβόμενος, καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι, διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον, ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον."[35]

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## 6. Berosus de Artaxerxis secundi contra Persarum Religionem Instituta.

Ex libro tertio *Clemens Alexandr. Adm. ad Gentes*, p. 43. de *Persis* verba faciens hæc refert: Ἀγάλματα μὲν Θεῶν οὐ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπειλήφασιν ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ μὲν ἴδιδας καὶ ἰχνεύμονας, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. Μετὰ δὲ πολλὰς μέντοι ὕστερον περιόδους ἐτῶν ἀνθρωποειδῆ ἀγάλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς Βήρωσσος ἐν τρίτῃ Χαλδαϊκῶν παρίστησι, τοῦτο Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὤχου εἰσηγησαμένου, ὃς πρῶτος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀναΐτιδος[36] τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναστήσας

[35] Cf. cum hisce Josephianis quæ, tanquam e Beroso hausta, de Cyro et Dario templi instaurationem decernentibus, minus quidem accurate, tradit *Theophilus ad Autolycum*, iii. p. 139.: Ὅτι δὲ περὶ ὧν φαμεν χρόνων συνῴδει καὶ Βήρωσσος, ὁ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις φιλοσοφήσας, καὶ μηνύσας Ἕλλησι τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ γράμματα, ὃς ἀκολούθως τινὰ εἴρηκε τῷ Μωϋσεῖ, περί τε κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐξιστορῶν. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ τοῖς προφήταις Ἱερεμίᾳ καὶ Δανιὴλ σύμφωνα ἐκ μέρους εἴρηκε· τὰ γὰρ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Βαβυλωνίων, ὃν αὐτὸς ὀνομάζει Ἀβοβάσσαρον, κέκληται δὲ παρὰ Ἑβραίοις Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Μέμνηται καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὡς ἠρημῶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, καὶ ὅτι, Κύρου τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος βασιλεύσαντος τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν θεμελίων τεθέντων, Δαρείου πάλιν βασιλεύσαντος τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ ναὸς ἐπετελέσθη.

[36] Ita legendum pro Ταναΐδος ostendit Bochartus (Phaleg, iv. 19. p. 245. ed. Lugd. 1692). Vid. Strab. xi. 14. et xv. 3., Plut. Artax. 17. *Richt.*

ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις καὶ Ἐκβατηνοις καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Σάρδεσι, Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτροις[37] ὑπέδειξε σέβειν.

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## II.

### CANON PTOLEMÆI, QUI DICITUR ASTRONOMICUS.

Κανὼν βασιλέων (al. βασιλειῶν) Ptol. κανὼν ἀστρονομικὸς ap. Sync. p. 208. D. seqq. πρόχειροι κανόνες Theon.

(Præcipue secundum Ptolemai cod. Voss. 2dum.)

| Βασιλέων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων. | ἔτη. | συναγωγή. | Anni Dominationis. | Summa Annorum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| α′ ΝΑΒΟΝΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ . . . . Ναβονασάρου Sync. l. l. | ΙΔ | ΙΔ | 14 | 14 |
| β′ ΝΑΔΙΟΥ . . . . . c. Halma: Codd. et Sync. Ναβίου. v. Aparanadius. | Β | Ις | 2 | 16 |
| γ′ ΧΙΝΖΙΡΟΥ καὶ ΠΩΡΟΥ . . Χίνζιρος Voss. l. et Sync. | Ε | ΚΑ | 5 | 21 |
| δ′ ΙΛΟΥΛΑΙΟΥ . . . . . Ἐλούλαιος Tyriorum rex apud Menandr. Ephes. | Ε | Κς | 5 | 26 |
| ε′ ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΠΑΛΟΥ[1] . . | ΙΒ | ΛΗ | 12 | 38 |

[37] Corr. ex Vulg.: ἀναστήσας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις καὶ Ἐκβατήνοις, Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπέδειξε σέβειν. Primum enim populorum cum urbium nominibus componi incommodum est; dein autem Damascenos Sardianosque ad Veneris cultum cogi non magis necesse erat quam Babylonios, Susanos, Ecbatan., sed Persas tantum et Bactrios hunc cultum abhorrentes.

[1] Libri omnes Μαρδοκεμπάδον. Rex idem est, qui in Jes. 39. 1. מְרֹדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן et in II. Regg. 20. 12. בְּרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן dicitur. Nomen compositum ex Mardoch (qui Chaldæorum fuit Mars) -Bal-Adan (cf. Kinnel-Adan et Assar-Adin vel Addon cet.), unde omissa ultima voce Mardoch-Bal et conglutinatum Mardochembal vel Mardochempal. Hodie etiam Græci, quippe qui β literam per v efferant, nostrum b præposita n ante β vel π exprimunt. Quare lectionem Μαρδοκεμπάδου mutandam esse censui. Ceterum Ptol. in Magna Syntaxi quoque tradit annum, quo regnum susceperit Mardokemp.,

| Βασιλέων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων. | ἔτη. | συναγωγή. | Anni Dominationis. | Summa Annorum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ς' ΑΡΚΕΑΝΟΥ . . . . . Ἀρκαιάνου Voss. 1. | Ε | ΜΓ | 5 | 43 |
| ζ' ΑΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ . Ἀβασιλεύτου πρώτου Voss. 1. et cett. ἀβασίλευτος Sync. | Β | ΜΕ | 2 | 45 |
| η' ΒΗΛΙΒΟΥ[2] . . . . . | Γ | ΜΗ | 3 | 48 |
| θ' ΑΠΑΡΑΝΑΔΙΟΥ . . . . Ἀπαρανναδίσου Sync. cod. B. Dodw. Ἀπραναδίσου. | ς | ΝΔ | 6 | 54 |
| ι' ΡΗΓΕΒΗΛΟΥ . . . . . Ἠριγεβάλου Sync. Ῥιγηβάλου Dodw. | Α | ΝΕ | 1 | 55 |
| ια' ΜΕΣΗΣΗΜΟΡΔΑΚΟΥ . . . Μεσησιμόρδακος Sync. Μεσεσσημορδάκου Voss. 1. Μεσεσσιμυρδακου Dodw. | Δ | ΝΘ | 4 | 59 |
| ιβ' ΑΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ Ἀβασίλευτος ἄλλος Sync. | Η | ΞΖ | 8 | 67 |
| ιγ' ΑΣΑΡΑΔΙΝΟΥ . . . . . Ἰσαριηδίνου Sync. cod. B., pro quo edd. recte Ἰσαρινδίνου substituerunt. | ΙΓ | Π | 13 | 80 |
| ιδ' ΣΑΟΣΔΟΥΧΙΝΟΥ . . . . Σαοδουχίνου Sync. cod. B. | Κ | Ρ | 20 | 100 |
| ιε' ΚΙΝΗΛΑΔΑΝΟΥ. . . . Κινηλαδάλου Sync. Κινιλαδάνου Voss. 1. | ΚΒ | ΡΚΒ | 22 | 122 |
| ις' ΝΑΒΟΠΟΛΑΣΑΡΟΥ . . . Ναβοπολλασάρου Voss. 1. Ν. πατρὸς Ναβουχοδονόσωρ Sync. | ΚΑ | ΡΜΓ | 21 | 143 |
| ιζ' ΝΑΒΟΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. . . Ναβοκολασάρου Voss. 1. Ναβουκολασσάρου τοῦ καὶ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ Sync. | ΜΓ | ΡΠς | 43 | 186 |
| ιη' ΙΛΛΟΑΡΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ . . . | Β | ΡΠΗ | 2 | 188 |
| ιθ' ΝΗΡΙΓΑΣΣΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ . Νιρηγασολασάρου Sync. Νηριγασσολασσάρου Voss. 1. | Δ | ΡϛΒ | 4 | 192 |

æræ Nabonassaricæ fuisse vicesimum septimum additis aliquot diebus.

[2] Conj. Scaliger Βηλίθου.

| Βασιλέων Ἀσσύριων καὶ Μήδων. | ἔτη. | συναγωγή. | Anni Dominationis. | Summa Annorum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| κ′ ΝΑΒΟΝΑΔΙΟΥ . . . . . τοῦ καὶ Ἀστυάγους add. Sync. | ΙΖ | ΣΘ | 17 | 209 |
| **Περσῶν Βασιλεῖς.** | | | | |
| κα′ ΚΥΡΟΥ . . . . . | Θ | ΣΙΗ | 9 | 218 |
| κβ′ ΚΑΜΒΥΣΟΥ . . . . . | Η | ΣΚς | 8 | 226 |
| κγ′ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ . . . πρώτου om. Sync. | Λς | ΣΞΒ | 36 | 262 |
| κδ′ ΞΕΡΞΟΥ . . . . . | ΚΑ | ΣΠΓ | 21 | 283 |
| κε′ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ . | ΜΑ | ΤΚΔ | 41 | 324 |
| κς′ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ . . | ΙΘ | ΤΜΓ | 19 | 343 |
| κζ′ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ | Μς | ΤΠΘ | 46 | 389 |
| κη′ ΩΧΟΥ . . . . . | ΚΑ | ΤΙ | 21 | 410 |
| κθ′ ΑΡΩΓΟΥ . . . . . Σάρου Sync., unde conj. Scal. Ἄρσου. | Β | ΤΙΒ | 2 | 412 |
| λ′ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ . . . τοῦ καὶ Ἀρσάμου add. Sync. | Δ | ΤΙς | 4 | 416 |
| **Ἑλλήνων Βασιλεῖς.** | | | | |
| λα′ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ . . . . . τοῦ μεγάλου Sync. | Η | ΤΚΔ | 8 | 424 |

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## III.

### TYRIA EX JOSEPHO.

1. De Hiromo, Salomonis æquali, ejusque Octo Successoribus. (C. Ap. i. cap. 17. seq. ed. Havercamp. p. 447. seqq.)

Ἔστι τοίνυν παρὰ Τυρίοις πολλῶν ἐτῶν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραχθέντων μνή-

μης ἀξίων. ἐν τούτοις γέγραπται, ὅτι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναὸς ὑπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτεσι ϑᾶττον ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισὶν καὶ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα, ἀνεγράφη δὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν. Εἴρωμος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φίλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν Σολομῶνος, πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαδεδεγμένος· αὐτὸς οὖν συμφιλοτιμούμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος τῷ Σολομῶνι λαμπρότητα, χρυσίου μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔδωκε τάλαντα· τεμὼν δὲ καλλίστην ὕλην ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, ὃ καλεῖται Λίβανος, εἰς τὸν ὄροφον ἀπέστειλεν· ἀντεδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Σολομὼν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ γῇ κατὰ χώραν τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῇ Χαβουλῶν λεγομένῃ. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν τῆς σοφίας συνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία· προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπέστελλον λύειν κελεύοντες, καὶ κρείττων ἐν τούτοις ἦν ὁ Σολομὼν, καὶ τἆλλα σοφώτερος. σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλαὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔγραψαν. ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ἐστὶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκείμενος ὁ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις γραμμάτων, παραθήσομαι μάρτυρα Δῖον, ἄνδρα περὶ τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον. οὗτος τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις γράφει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσεν, καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ πεποίηκεν, καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐν νήσῳ, χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον, συνῆψε τῇ πόλει, καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν· ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ναῶν κατασκευήν. τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἴρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦν· τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι. εἶτα δὴ Ἀβδήμονόν τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν· ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτίσαι χρήματα." Δῖος μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν μεμαρτύρηκεν. (Cap. 18.) Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτῳ παραθήσομαι

Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφε δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γενομένας, ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν. γράφων δὴ περὶ τῶν βεβασιλευκότων ἐν Τύρῳ, ἔπειτα γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Εἴρωμον, ταῦτά φησι· "τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα. οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸν εὐρύχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν· ἔτι τε ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου ὄρους Λιβάνου, κέδρινα ξύλα εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας· καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καινοὺς ναοὺς ᾠκοδόμησε τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης τέμενος ἀνιέρευσεν, καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους πρῶτον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνὶ, εἶτα τὸ τῆς Ἀστάρτης, ὁπότε Τιτυοῖς ἐπεστράτευσεν μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους. οὓς καὶ ὑποτάξας ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου δέ τις ἦν Ἀβδήμονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, ἃ ἐπέτασσε Σολομὼν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς." ψηφίζεται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἄχρι τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως· "τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βαλεάζαρος ὁ υἱὸς, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἑπτά. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀβδάσταρτος ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς βιώσας ἔτη εἴκοσιν ἐννέα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἐννέα. τοῦτον οἱ τῆς τροφοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπώλεσαν, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δεκαδύο· μεθ' οὓς Ἄσταρτος ὁ Δελαιαστάρτου, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα τέσσαρα, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀσέρυμος, βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἐννέα. οὗτος ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φέλητος, ὃς λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἦρξε μῆνας ὀκτὼ, βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα. τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν Εἰθώβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεὺς, ὃς, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τριακονταδύο, ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ἑξηκονταοκτώ. τοῦτον διεδέξατο Βαδέζωρος υἱὸς, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη τεσσαρακονταπέντε, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἕξ. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονε Μάτγηνος ὁ υἱὸς, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη τριακονταδύο, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἐννέα. τούτου διάδοχος γέγονε Φυγμαλίων,

βιώσας δ' ἔτη πεντηκονταὲξ, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τεσσαρακονταέπτά. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ὠκοδόμησε Καρχηδόνα." συνάγεται δὲ πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας ἄχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε', μῆνες η'.

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## 2. De Ithobalo, Nabuchodonosori æquali, ejusque Successoribus usque ad Cyri Tempora.

(C. Ap. i. cap. 21. ed. Hav. p. 452.)

Προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς· οὐ γὰρ παραλειπτέον τῶν ἀποδείξεων τὴν περιουσίαν. ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη τῶν χρόνων ἡ καταρίθμησις· "ἐπὶ Εἰθωβάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπολιόρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρον ἐπ' ἔτη δεκατρία. μετὰ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσε Βαὰλ ἔτη δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτον δικασταὶ κατεστάθησαν καὶ ἐδίκασαν· Ἐκνίβαλος Βασλάχου μῆνας δύο, Χέλβης Ἀβδαίου μῆνας δέκα, Ἄββαρος ἀρχιερεὺς μῆνας τρεῖς, Μύτγονος καὶ Γεράστρατος τοῦ Ἀβδηλέμου δικασταὶ ἔτη ἓξ, ὧν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε Βαλάτορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος μετεπέμψαντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσιν· ἐπὶ τούτου Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν." οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος ἔτη πεντήκοντα τέσσαρα καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες πρὸς αὐτοῖς. ἑβδόμῳ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν Τύρον, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ δ' ἔτει τῆς Εἰρώμου Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν.

# REMARKS

ON

# DR. HINCKS'S PRINCIPLE OF EXPLETIVE SIGNS

AND

# HIS METHOD OF DISCOVERING THEM.

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At the close of our introductory observations to the chapter on Phonetics, we have briefly adverted to Dr. Hincks's remarks on the Egyptian alphabet.

As the researches of this learned and ingenious writer have been exhibited in a series of elaborate papers read before the Royal Irish Academy in the year 1846, and subsequently printed*; and evincing as they do an accurate and extensive reading of Egyptian texts, particularly of written texts; we think it necessary to examine more closely the grounds on which his new system rests.

Although Dr. Hincks admits, on the whole, the correctness of Champollion's alphabet, as amended by Lepsius, and as represented, with some modifications and additions, in the German edition of my "Egypt," he is, nevertheless, of opinion that we have all failed in discovering the whole truth, and this for two reasons: first, because, though acquainted with the principle of homophones, we were ignorant of the antagonistic principle of expletives; and, secondly, because we have followed an unsound method in investigating the power of the characters.

We shall first, then, have to examine the "new principle." Egyptologers had hitherto supposed that the Egyptians, when

* An Attempt to ascertain the Number, Names, and Powers of the Letters of the Hieroglyphic or ancient Egyptian Alphabet, grounded on the Establishment of a new Principle in the Use of Phonetic Characters. By the Rev. Edward Hincks, D. D. Extracted from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxi. pt. 2. Read 26th Jan., 9th Feb., and 8th June, 1846. Dublin, 1847, 4to.

writing phonetically, expressed the sounds by the signs of these sounds; Dr. Hincks endeavours to establish that they also expressed the sounds by writing, in full letters, the name of the letter destined for that sound: names of which we avowedly know nothing. As this may appear to our readers rather startling, we give his definition of the new principle in the author's own words. He says (p. 10.): "The principle which I wish to establish is this. The phonoglyphs which compose the proper Egyptian alphabet had *names*, which consisted of *themselves with the addition of certain expletive characters*; and these names might be, and often were, used in place of the simple phonoglyphs. If, then, a phonoglyph, belonging to the alphabet, be followed by the expletive character which appertains to it, that expletive *may be*, and for the most part *should be, altogether neglected.*" To illustrate this supposition, the author says the Egyptians might have written *Rome*, either by its four letters, or by the names of those letters, which would be like writing *Rome* in English, A R-O-E M-E. He is himself fully aware that such a system of writing is not only unheard of in palæography, but also that it seems difficult to discover any good reason for it, unless it be the occasional difficulty in hieratic writing of distinguishing one sign from another: a circumstance which would, at all events, not explain the use of so strange a method as applied to monuments sculptured or painted with such exquisite and plastic distinctness. Lastly (as seems, indeed, to be insinuated in the above quotation), he is obliged to confess that the pretended expletives are sometimes sounded, and that it is impossible to establish a rule as to when they are real expletives, when they are to be considered as ordinary letters.

So much for the principle. As to the method hitherto followed, it has been, in general, this. After the mine of proper names of kings, Egyptian and foreign, had been exhausted, the writing of one and the same word by different characters, either on monuments or in written texts, was very accurately studied. Signs, used indiscriminately for a given sound in one and the same word, were, upon the strength of this fact, set down as homophones, or signs of the same sound; and, as a subsidiary test, the corresponding words in Coptic were compared. This method Dr. Hincks considers unsound. His own is the following: — First, an Egyptian word expressing "sea,"

preserved in the Coptic *iom*, and in the Hebrew *iam*, is generally written *imã;* but we also find it written *iûmã*. Now this full writing would have seemed to me to confirm the theory laid down by myself, and explained in the text, namely, that, in this and similar words, the vowel written at the end is really to be sounded where it is written, at the end (as *a terminal sound*), and not merely (as Lepsius had explained these and similar instances of that phenomenon first observed by him) before the final or penultimate consonant (as *an inherent sound*). Although, in this case, the concluding vowel is not absolutely the same as that pronounced before the *m*, it confirms my principle. For, according to a very valuable observation of Dr. Hincks himself, to which we shall refer hereafter, the "*arm*" at the end of the word had a sound very much like the Hebrew *kametz-khatuf*, or short u=å. Few persons, at all events, will believe that the word *iûmã* proves that the Egyptians called I, *iu*, and M, *ma*.

The other proofs, as far as they can be substantiated, are derived from the manner of writing certain foreign words and names, either Hebrew or transmitted to us through the Hebrew, on the monuments and hieratic papyri. Dr. Hincks has very ingeniously conjectured that the Hebrew word for "war-chariots" (*mar-ka-bûth*, מַרְכָּבוֹת) is expressed in old hieratic texts by *mar-ka-bu-ta*, or, as he writes it, *marukabuta*, taking the stroke under the Egyptian *r*, without any proof, to represent a *u*; whereas we believe it merely marks the division of syllables, like the corresponding Hebrew *scheva*. This, according to his theory, means MRKBT, written by the names of these five letters, according to the new, and hitherto in palæography unheard of, principle. We scarcely see how the Egyptians, generally so accurate in their whole system of writing, could have represented the Hebrew word by less, or by other, than those nine sounds. They might supply the vowels in their own words, but must have been rather explicit in indicating those of foreign words. Thus the Chinese write Cristo (Christ) *Kilisito*. Lepsius, had already adverted, in his Letter, to the analogy between the Chinese and Egyptian writing in this respect. In the same manner, the Arabs write Greek names (e. g. Plato) with a very explicit indication of the vocalisation for the Arabian reader. It would be very extraordinary if the accurate Egyptians had not followed the same method. How the sound of the

strange Hebrew word for a "war-chariot" could have been suggested to the Egyptian reader by five consonants, *mrkbt*, it is not easy to divine; the fact, however, is, that the word is not found written in that unintelligible manner, but with the vowels which we require. It is merely Dr. Hincks's conjecture which creates a difficulty; fortunately there is no reason for adopting it. There certainly is a vowel added at the end, simply, we should have supposed, in order to make the uncouth strange word a little more pronounceable to the Egyptians. In a similar way, we are inclined to believe, Dr. Hincks has very acutely made out that the word *kar-ha-ma-χa* represents the celebrated town on the Chaboras, *Circesium*, in Hebrew *Carhe-mîχ*. We believe it, however, simply to be written by the sounds which the Egyptians intended to express, and not by the names which the principal letters in this foreign word are to be supposed to have borne in the Egyptian alphabet, names of the existence of which, of course, we absolutely know nothing. We think it very natural that the Egyptians should have expressed the *scheva* sound by *a*, as the Septuagint generally does in similar cases; that they gave the last consonant the soothing vowel *a*, as in the former instance; and lastly, that, where the Hebrew expresses in this word (foreign also to them) a long *î*, it sounded to an Egyptian ear more like their *a*. So the word is written in Arabic *Kirkisiâ*, in Greek Κιρκήσιον, in Latin *Cercusium*: differently in all, and undoubtedly less accurately than in Hebrew and Egyptian. Thus the form of *Astarûta*, for *Astart*, Astarte, the Phœnician goddess, seems easily explainable by the Hebrew plural *Aχtaruth*, images of Astarte: The Egyptians might adopt a plural form as their term for the goddess, as they did the plural of the Hebrew (or Palestinic) word for "chariots," in order to express that sort of war instrument. The other foreign words adduced by Dr. Hincks, of which the meaning is known, are the following: —

*Kanana*, for the land of Kanaan, Heb. Kenāan, Sept. Χανάαν. According to Lepsius, the Egyptian signs represent *Kanaan*; according to my explanation *Kanaana*: according to Dr. Hincks's new principle they mean simply KNAN.

*Nhrina* (explained by Champollion as the Egyptian name for *Naharain*, the land of the two rivers, Mesopotamia) is sometimes written *Nahrina*, which is the fuller and more intelligible mode of writing, but no proof that the Egyptians

called the letter N, *na*, and wrote that name instead of the letter.

*Puharta*, the Egyptian name of the Euphrates, Heb. Phrat, Arab. Furat, is perfectly intelligible as a full writing of the Aramaic name of that river. The Greek, Roman, and Arabic transcriptions of it, all of which indicate a *u* sound connected with the *ph*, prove that the Hebrew manner of writing the name, *Phrat*, is a contraction.

*Pursata*, the name of a people in monuments of the time of the Ramessides, was first interpreted by Birch as meaning the Philistines, Heb. Pêlēχēt, Greek Παλαιστίνοι. Dr. Hincks reads it PRST. The rest are signs, added in order to form the names of these four letters. It is curious that here, again, the Egyptian, according to the common reading, has no more vowels than the Hebrew, and scarcely less than are absolutely necessary to the pronunciation of the word.

The last instance, one where there is a double writing, is the name of Philippos (Aridæus), which is written *Phlipus*, and also (I believe, once) *Phiuliupus*. The full writing seems intended to express that the two I's in the Greek name ought to be sounded very long; for which there is a good reason as to the second I, which in Greek is long by position, whereas the Egyptians do not reduplicate the P. At all events, I do not think this single instance sufficient to prove that the Egyptians called the letter I, *iu*; still less that they ever wrote, not the sound, but the imaginary name of the letter.

So much for the new principle, and new method of proving it by one Egyptian word and seven foreign names, or by eight, if we choose to admit a single instance of a late period. If Dr. Hincks has made any real discovery, it is simply this — that all or some of the Egyptian letters have an inherent vowel, which may be written, or may not be expressed, as the letter will by itself always have that pronunciation, unless another vowel is expressly added. If this be so, it admits of no other explanation than that already given by Lepsius in his Palæography (1834) — namely, that the modern division of the alphabet into consonants and vowels is as inapplicable to the primitive Hebrew as to the ancient Sanscrit writing; and that both were originally syllabic, and only became gradually alphabetic in the strict sense of the word. In his ingenious essay on the ancient alphabets (1835), he likewise adduced substantial reasons for

assuming that the Hebrew Aleph originally stood for *a*, the He for *e* and *i*, and the Ain for *o* and *u*. This theory, applied by him to the Egyptian in his Letter to Rosellini (1837), has been adopted and explained in our text. According to us, the three Egyptian vocal sounds, A, I, U, are not mere vowels, but signs of three different aspirations, all having more or less the nature of a guttural. Lepsius's observations of the conjectural peculiar sound of the "eagle," among the three signs for A, have illustrated and proved the truth of this principle.

The main question, therefore, is, whether Dr. Hincks, without being aware of it, has discovered the fact, that all or most of the Egyptian letters have one inherent vowel? The only satisfactory proof of the truth of such an assertion would be the circumstance of no instance being found where another vowel, besides the supposed inherent one, is sometimes expressed, sometimes omitted, in writing the same word. We are far from either adopting or denying this assumption.* The cases cited by Dr. Hincks are insufficient to establish it, and we have not leisure to see whether it cannot be refuted. At all events, the instances we know of the use of the *reed*, *eagle*, and *arm*, as the letter A, admit of no doubt — so, likewise, of the other homophones established in principle by Champollion, and, as to their extent, rectified by Lepsius.

We, therefore, believe Dr. Hincks's principle to be an imaginary one, and his method not very safe. He deserves great credit, nevertheless, for having directed the attention of Egyptologers to the important fact, that certain letters have, if not exclusively, at least usually, one vowel implied by them, as inherent, whether expressed or not—the "Sieve," for example, which seems to indicate a following *i*. Mr. Birch has furnished us with some interesting instances. The name of king Cheops, of the fourth dynasty, is generally written in contemporary monuments *Χufu* (Khufu); but we also find *Χiufu* (Khiufu): the name of a foreign nation, *Χta* (Khta, Rosellini's Scythians), is sometimes written in the Ramesside age, *Χita* (Khita).

* The careful *expression* of these inherent vowels in writing the names of foreigners at the Ramesside period, and their frequent *suppression* in native Egyptian words, are favourable to the idea of their being actually inherent; as the mixture of the ideal and sonal symbols rendered each Egyptian word a speaking image to the eye, while it was necessary to leave no ambiguity as to the sounds of the names of foreigners.—Birch.

Such facts furnish simply a confirmation of the general philological and historical principle, according to which the whole alphabetic system of the Egyptians, as well as other nations, grew out of a syllabic one: or, in other words, that certain signs, originally syllabic, were gradually selected by them out of the whole number, to express *τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα*, the simple alphabetic sounds.

It may also be, that, when two vocal signs are joined together, they were (at least originally) intended to express a diphthong: but this admits of another explanation, namely, that the second sign indicates that the vowel is to be sounded long or double; as in German the plural or feminine article, pronounced *di* (dee), is written at present *die*, and in Old High German *diu*.

Lastly, the vocal signs hitherto considered as homophones may have expressed originally a specific aspiration of the vocal sound in question. We have already quoted Lepsius's remarks as to the peculiar aspiration probably attached to the "eagle." Here, again, Dr. Hincks has made some valuable observations. He seems to have proved that the "arm" expresses the sound of a strongly guttural *a* like the Ain of the Hebrew alphabet. We have much pleasure in making this acknowledgement, although we cannot adopt his explanation of the writing of the Egyptian word which answers to the Coptic *naeiō*, great, and is expressed by a "pike" followed by the "arm" alone, or by the "arm and eagle," and therefore supposed to have been *nāā* in Old Egyptian. Dr. Hincks explains this group as "the great Ain," which means (as he identifies this Ain with the *o* sound) "the great O, or Omega." Few persons, I believe, will be satisfied with this extraordinary explanation. Dr. Hincks, indeed, seems doubtful of it himself, for he offers it with a certain degree of hesitation.

This, as it seems to me, is the full extent to which any possible value can be assigned to Dr. Hincks's discoveries.

BUNSEN.

Carlton Terrace, April 24. 1848.

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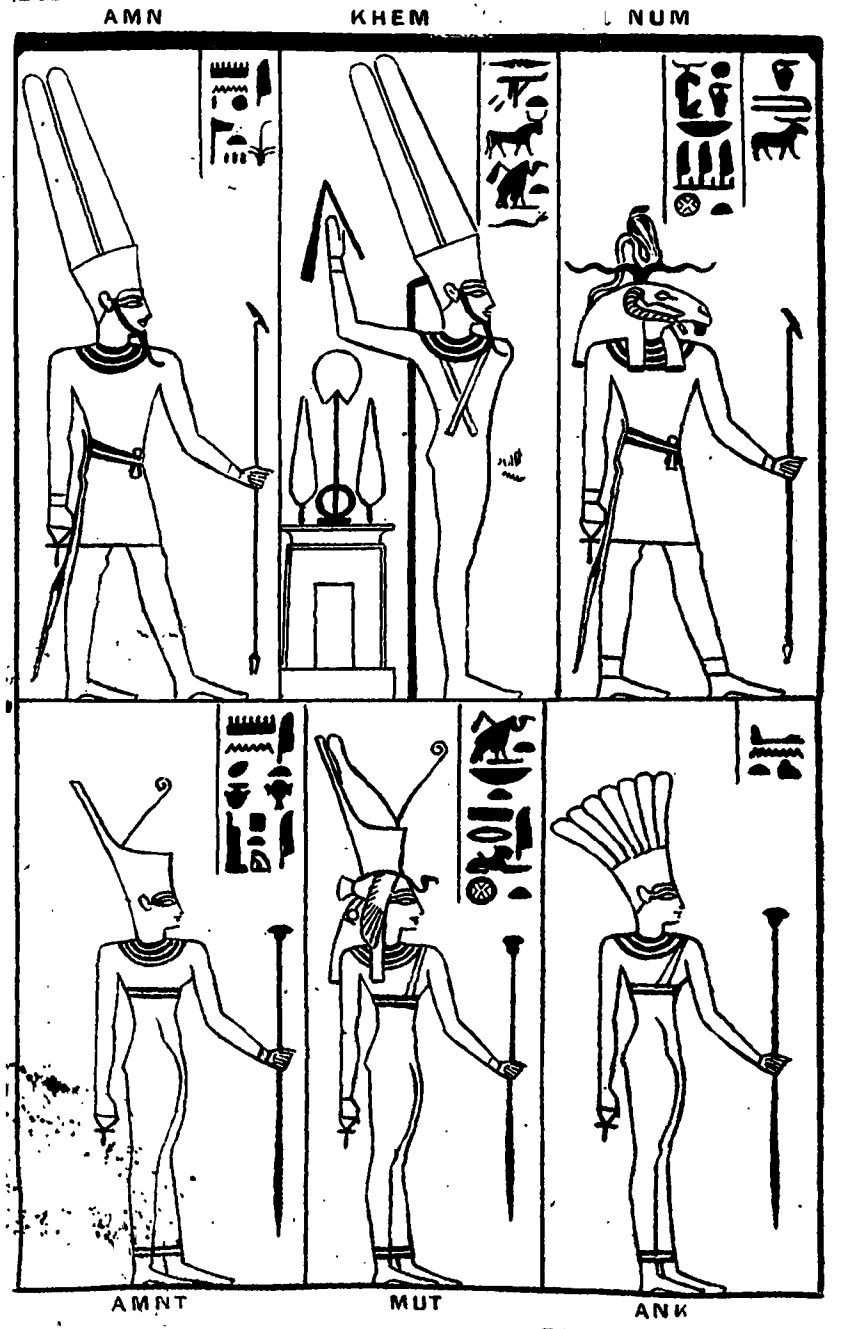
Pl. I

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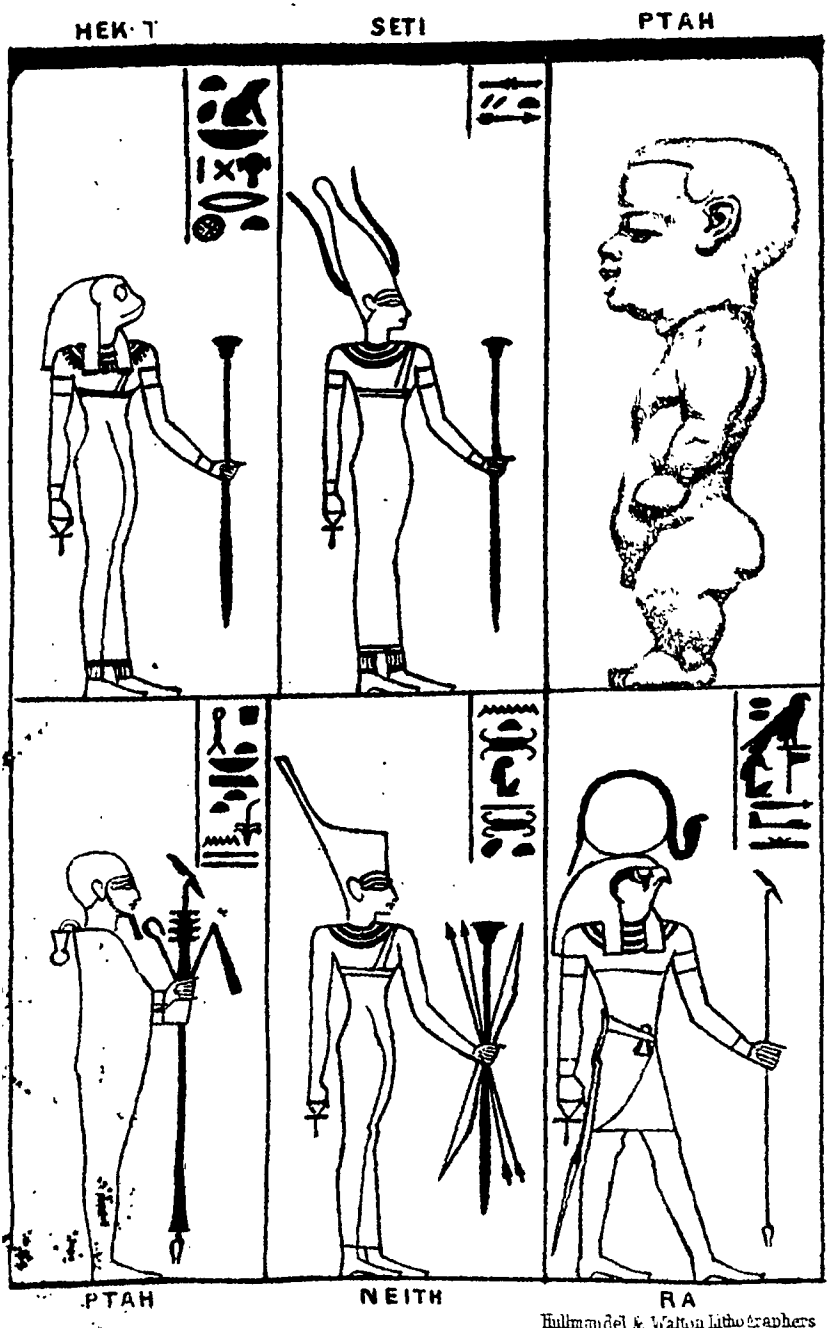
Pl. II

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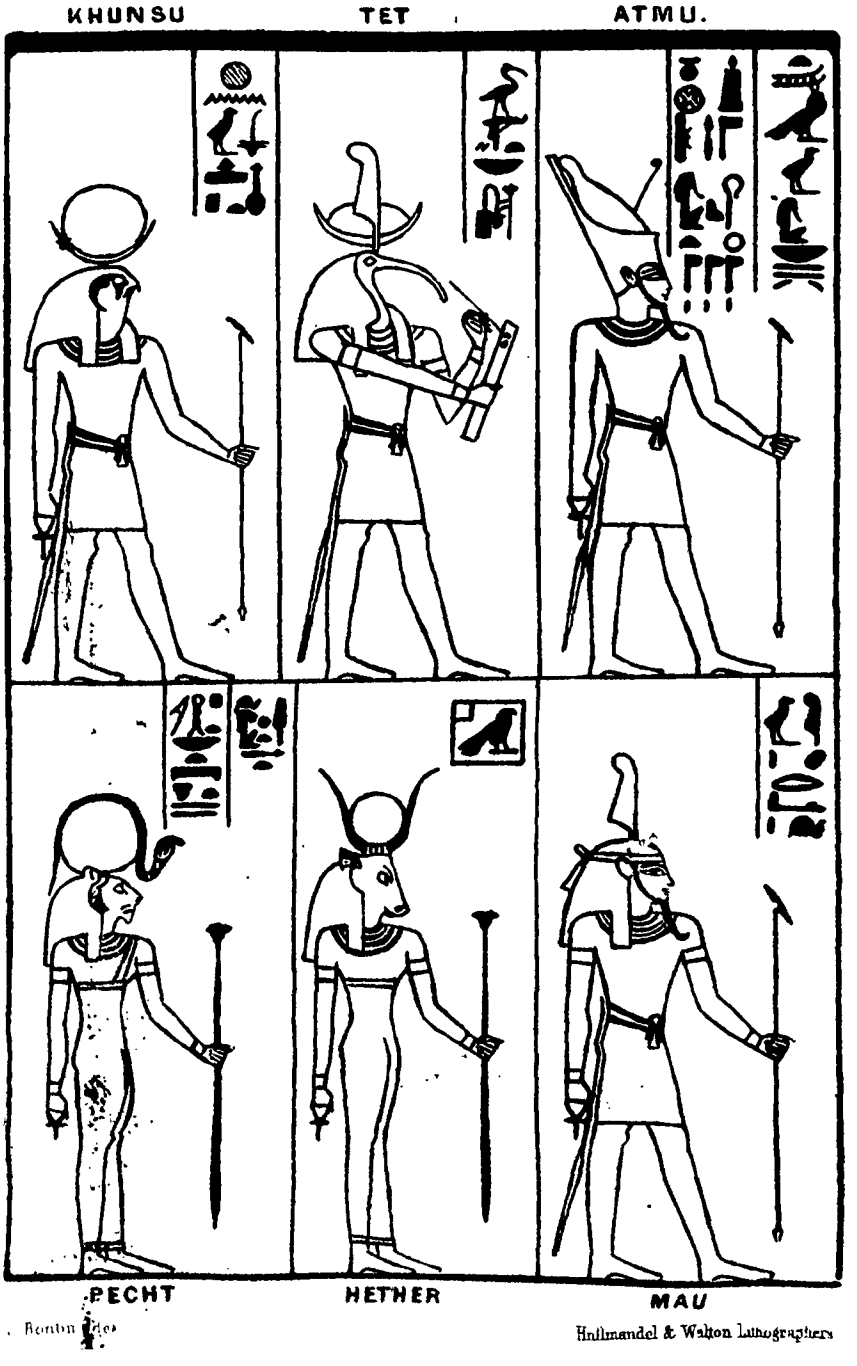


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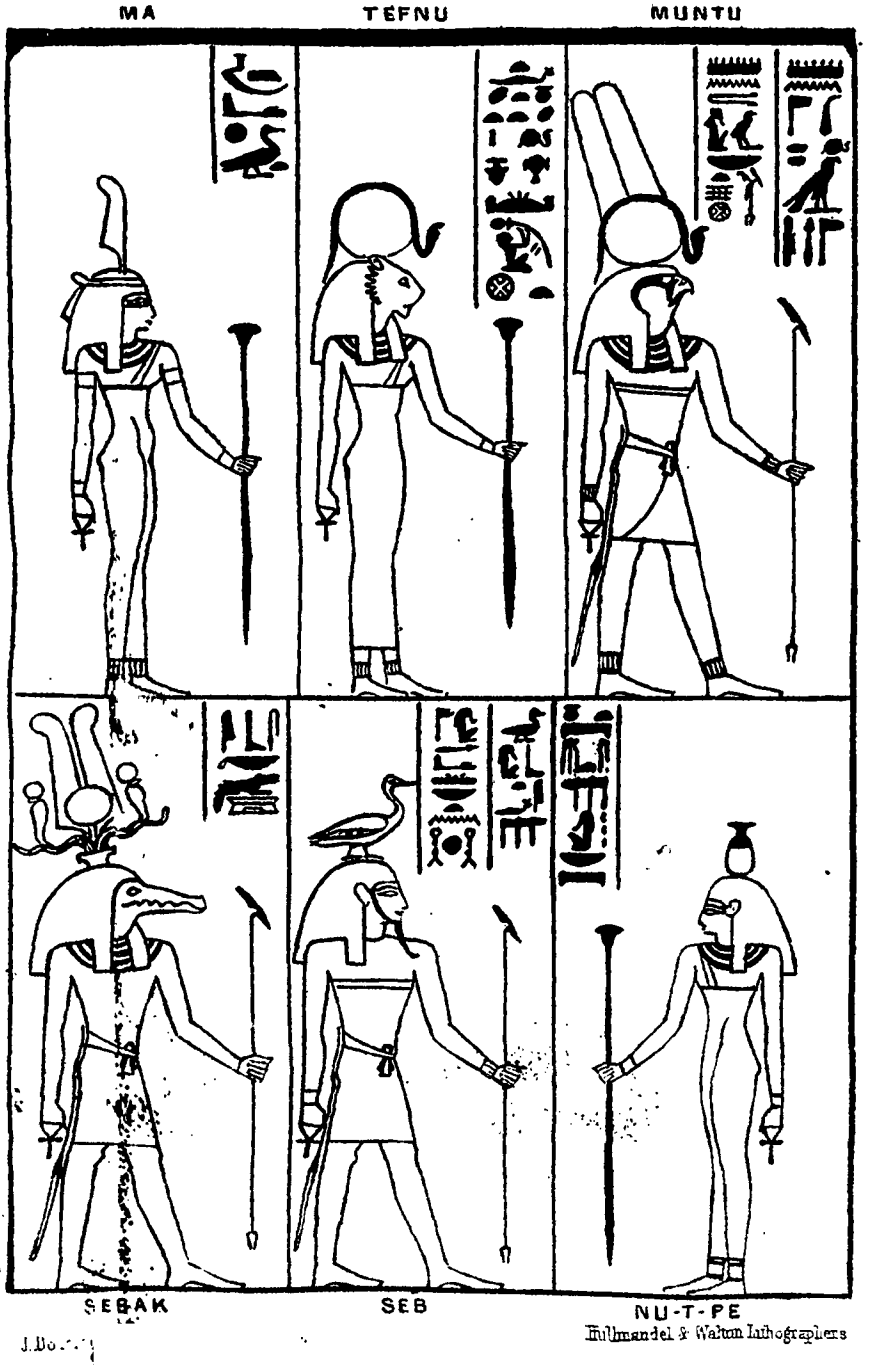


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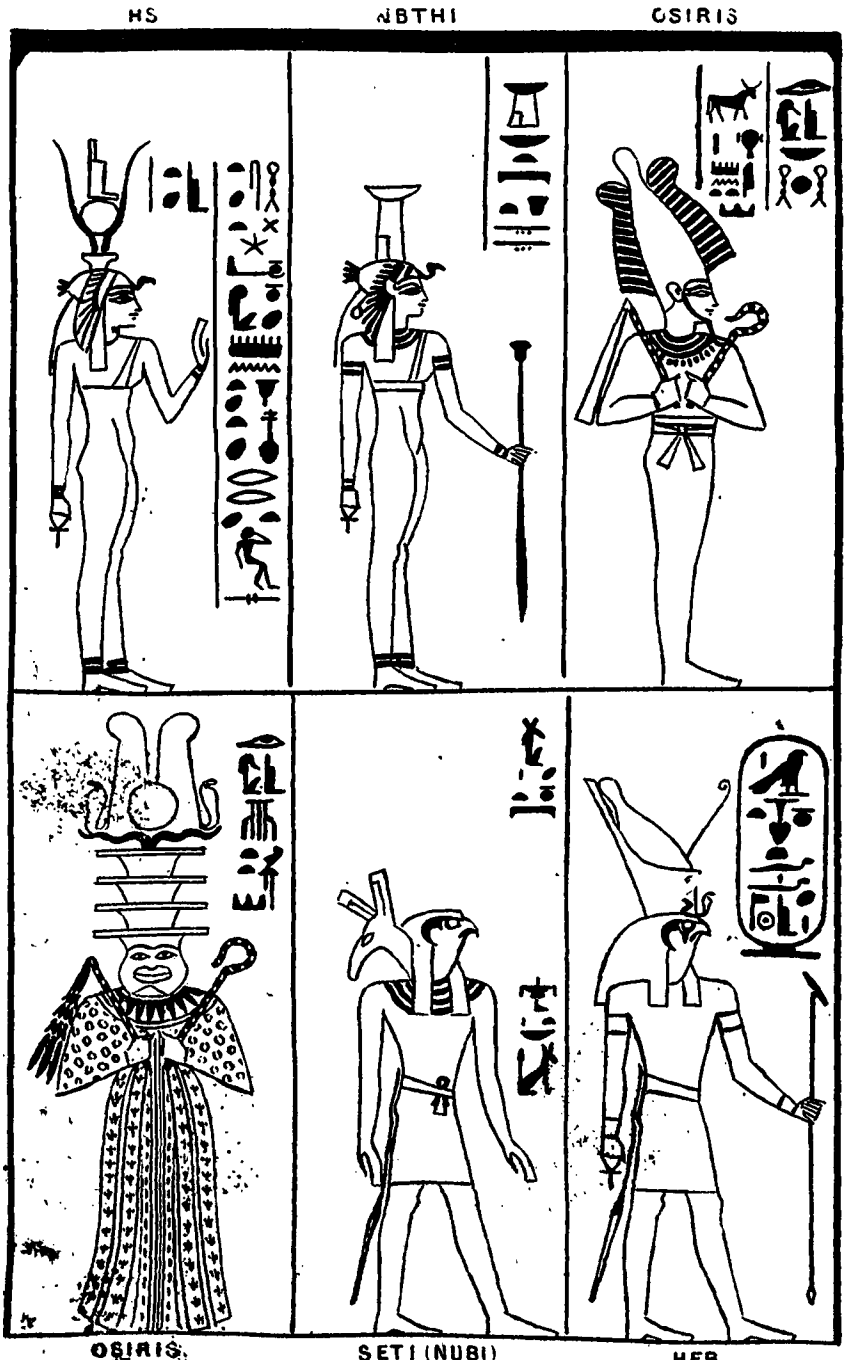


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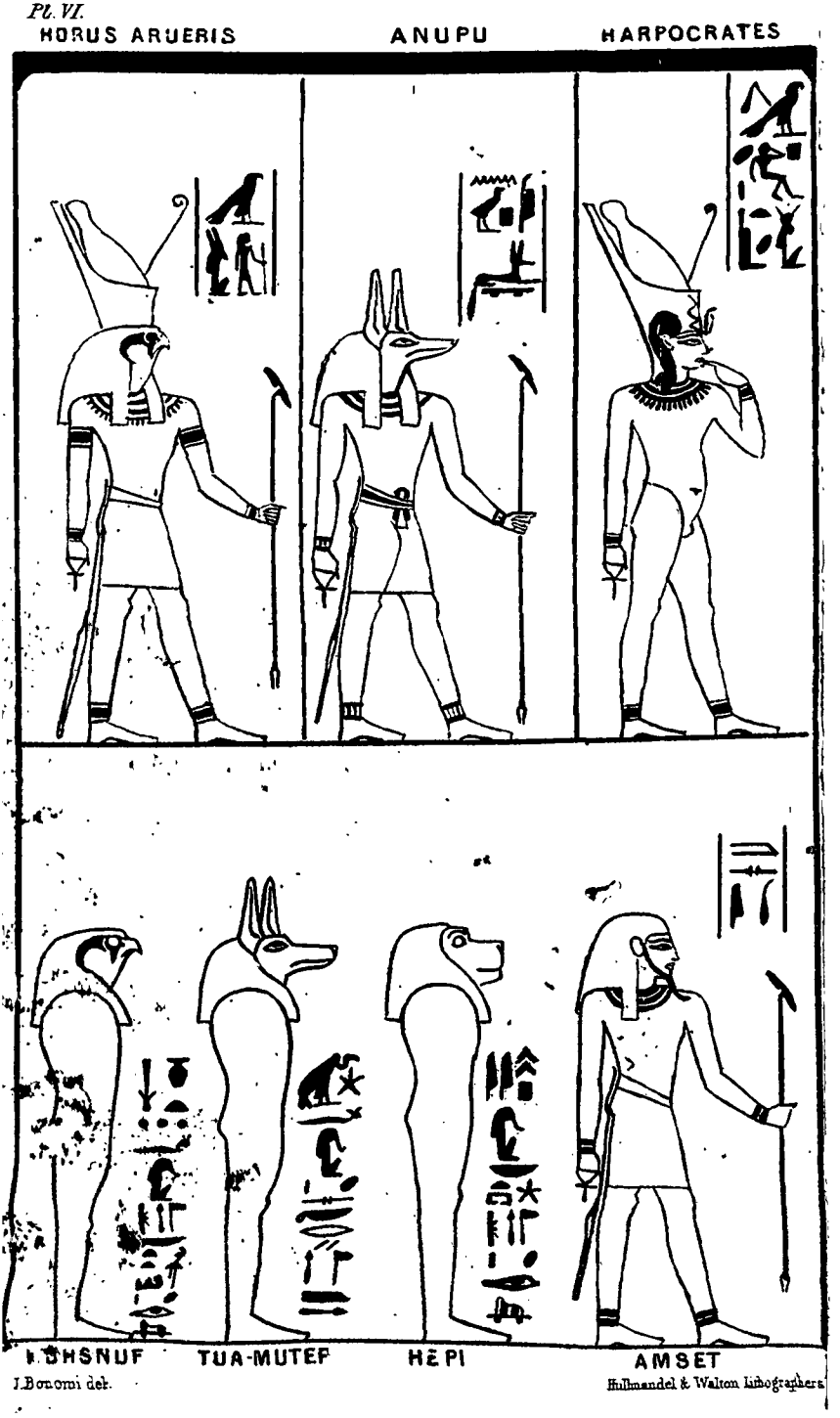
*Pl. VI.*

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